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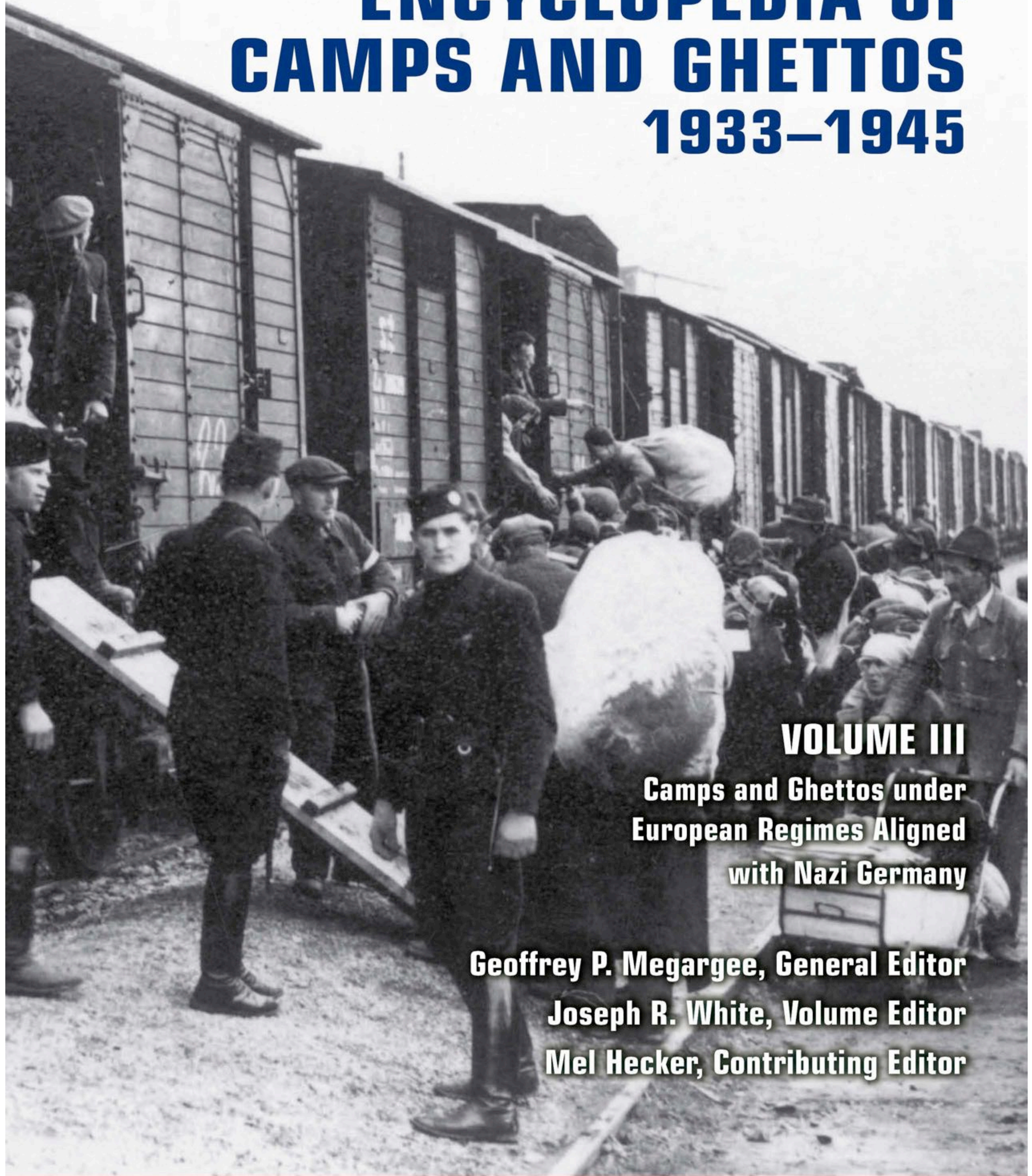
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS 1933–1945



VOLUME III

Camps and Ghettos under European Regimes Aligned with Nazi Germany

Geoffrey P. Megargee, General Editor
Joseph R. White, Volume Editor
Mel Hecker, Contributing Editor

The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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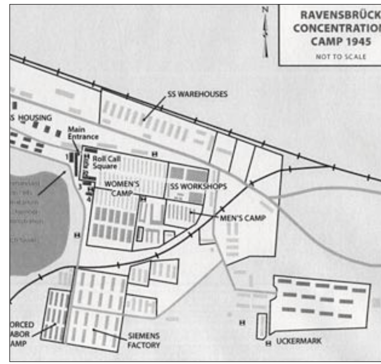

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*Maps produced by Alyson DeGraff Ollivierre of Tombolo Maps and Design.

PREFACE

In the first two volumes of *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, scholars and nonacademics alike found a source of information like no other—a single reference with information about the most notorious and the thousands of little-known camps and ghettos that covered the map of Nazi-dominated Europe and North Africa during World War II. Indeed the appearance of Volume I on the SS-run camps and subcamps garnered mass media attention. The *New York Times* headlined the research, "The Holocaust Just Got More Shocking," because of the astoundingly high number of camps—more than 40,000—and their varied functions as sites of murder, torture, forced labor, detention, and sexual abuse. The public reacted very positively to the release of this important publication, and Volume I received both the 2009 National Jewish Book Award and then the 2010 Judaica Reference Award (from the Association of Jewish Libraries).

In Volume II on ghettos in German-occupied Eastern Europe, Holocaust survivors almost invariably looked for, and found, the towns where they had lived, and even people from that time in their lives. They welcomed the volumes as evidence of their experiences of suffering and as a testament to those who were murdered in the camps. Those entries are now fundamental sources of information for teaching and research around the globe, used in classrooms to educate and in the courtroom to prosecute former perpetrators and settle compensation claims of former forced laborers and Holocaust victims. The impact of this published research has been monumental.

Once again, this volume, which describes the hundreds of camps and ghettos that were not established by the German government, breaks new ground in the understanding of the wider European role in the Holocaust. For decades scholars have researched and discussed the fact that Germans could not have carried out the near destruction of European Jewry without the active participation of collaborators. The public, however, is generally not aware of the extent of civilian and military participation in programs of mass persecution, property theft, deportation, and murder. German allies, satellite states, and collaborationist regimes established their own systems of camps and ghettos, pursued their own racist and authoritarian goals, and often lent direct support to the Germans' efforts as well. On their own initiative or at the Germans' behest, countries from Norway to Italy and France to Hungary imprisoned political opponents, Jews, Roma, prisoners of war, suspected partisans, and foreign nationals. The treatment that these prisoners received at the hands of their captors sometimes rivaled, for sheer barbarity, that which the Germans meted out in their camps. In other instances, regimes simply transferred prisoners from their camps to the Germans.

This third volume will be followed by four more, which are being managed and edited by a team of historians at the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies. Volume IV will cover sites under the control of the German military—the Wehrmacht—including hundreds of prisoner of war camps of various types, army brothels, internment camps, punishment camps, and prisons for Wehrmacht personnel. Subsequent volumes will cover categories such as extermination camps, forced labor camps (for Jews and non-Jews), resettlement camps for Poles, work education camps, so-called euthanasia centers, and sites for forced abortion and infanticide. The goal remains to produce the most comprehensive examination possible of Nazi sites of detention, persecution, and murder in Europe and North Africa. When the project is finished, it will have required the labor of hundreds of scholars over a span of more than two decades.

The Museum is in a unique position to undertake this major project because of its extensive archival holdings of documents, photographs, and other collections available to researchers. With the support of generous donors, the Museum has amassed more than 102 million documents, which are mostly from European countries but span the globe. This major archive of the Holocaust continues to grow each year as more countries, international organizations, and private individuals make available their material. The recent opening of the International Tracing Service archive brought an additional 200 million digitized documents to the Museum. Decades ago, no one—not even the founders of the Museum, who included a library and archive in their original plans—could have imagined the volume of material that would be accessible to scholars and the general public, and the discoveries that would come to light from this vast documentation.

Research of the scale and depth of the *Encyclopedia* could not be undertaken and completed by a single author. It is for this reason that the Mandel Center, the nation's leading generator of Holocaust scholarship, is committed to its completion. For this volume, we marshalled the research of more than 40 contributors who wrote over 700 entries, covering sites under the control of 10 different countries that established persecution sites serving varying purposes and prisoner populations. The contributors mined sources in 13 different languages, from French and Italian to Serbo-Croatian, Finnish, and Arabic. Often the entries were submitted in one of those languages. Nearly half the entries were the work of members of the Mandel Center's own *Encyclopedia* team, because it was difficult to find outside scholars with the required knowledge on particular sites. Our in-house scholars

applied their linguistic expertise and research skills to write about places that no one had ever described before.

As essential as the *Encyclopedia* is, it is only a part of the scholarly work that is being accomplished by the Mandel Center. The Mandel Center's mission is to strengthen and help shape the field of Holocaust studies through activities and programs that stimulate new research and teaching on Holocaust-related topics; to encourage networking and cooperative endeavors among scholars around the globe; and to ensure the training of future scholars of the Holocaust. The Mandel Center's programs include (1) the largest international fellowship residency program for Holocaust-related research, as well as competitive graduate student research assistantships; (2) annual seminars for college/university faculty teaching about the Holocaust; (3) academic symposia, seminars, research workshops, panels, and special lectures both in North America and abroad; (4) specialized research projects, including the publication of the *Encyclopedia* and the Jewish Source Study Initiative's series, *Documenting Life and Destruction: Holocaust Sources in Context*, as well as the digital teaching platform, *Experiencing History: Jewish Perspectives on the Holocaust*; (5) an academic publications program, including the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*; and (6) international archival collection projects in more than 40 countries. The Mandel Center develops and sponsors research and teaching that tap into the Museum's resources and collections of archival documentation, rare books, memoirs, oral history, film, photographs, art, and artifacts, as well as the Holocaust survivors and victims database. These programs and other efforts provide invaluable opportunities to established and emerging scholars, helping the Mandel Center achieve its goal of a secure and thriving field of Holocaust studies, one that will honor the memory of the victims and deepen understanding of the history.

These activities could not succeed without the dedicated, trained staff of the Museum and the Mandel Center. As work on this latest volume was nearing completion, its editor, Dr. Joseph White, died suddenly. With heavy hearts, but inspired by Dr. White's thorough scholarship, staff in the Mandel Center—particularly his colleagues Geoffrey Megargee, Mel Hecker, and Jürgen Matthäus—brought the manuscript to completion. Joe left an indelible mark on every project he worked on as well as on the people he worked with, and he will be sorely missed.

Wendy Lower, Acting Director
Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center
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United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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Academic Committee of the United States
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United States Holocaust Memorial Museum

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This volume would not exist without the help of a great many people and institutions, whom we would like to thank.

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Likewise, the Museum's Academic Committee has continued to give the *Encyclopedia* its firm support and, whenever called on to do so, has provided advice and assistance of great value.

The Mandel Center's director of applied research, Jürgen Matthäus, has been a steady source of guidance, encouragement, and advice.

The contractors who worked on the volume over the years deserve a great deal of credit, especially because many of the entries would never have reached completion without them. Their contributions ranged from research and writing to editing, photo research, mapping, and administration. We offer our thanks to Cristina Bejan, Ovidiu Creangă, Alison DeGraff, Ryan Farrell, Holly Robertson Huffnagle, Andrew Kloes, Jolanta Kraemer, Alexandra Lohse, and Vanda Rajcan.

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A group of very talented interns, fellows, and volunteers helped out in many ways, from research to translation to editing. Many thanks to Guy Aldridge, Jacob Chadwick, Leslie Curley, Christopher Henson, Abigail Holecamp, Anisoara Kostinsika, Max Meller, Joseph Neuhof, Shannon Phillips-Shyrock, Mirna Ungar Pinsky, René Stolbach, and Allison Vuillaume.

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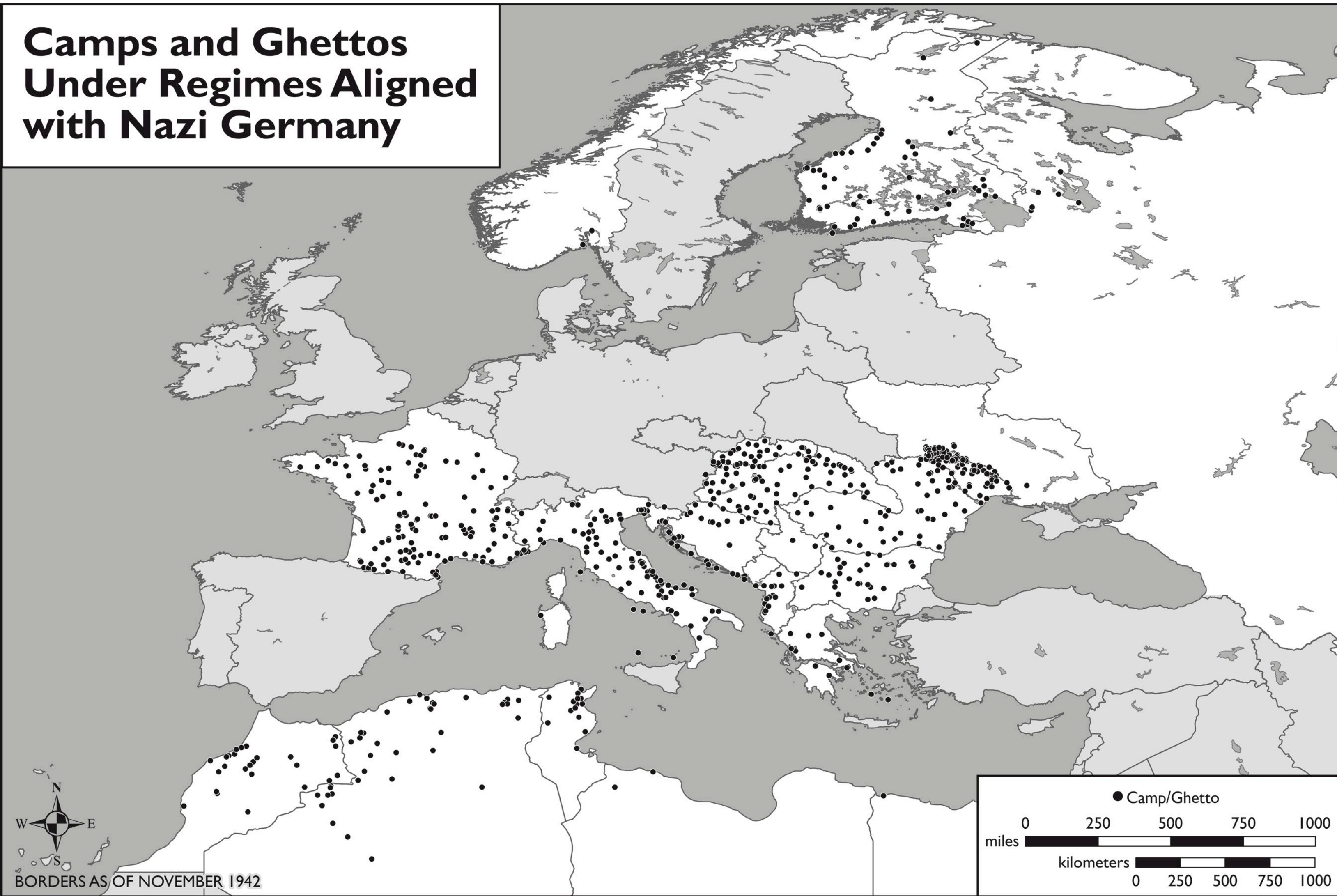
We obviously need to thank the many outside authors who worked so hard on their entries. Their dedication, knowledge, and skill helped bring clarity out of chaos and will ensure that the sites they describe, and thus the suffering of the people in them, shall not be forgotten.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to Joseph Robert White, who put his heart and soul into this volume for years, before he was taken from us, far too young.

To anyone whom we left out, we beg your forbearance. With Joe's passing, we also lost a great deal of institutional memory.

Geoffrey P. Megargee
Mel Hecker


Camps and Ghettos Under Regimes Aligned with Nazi Germany
Camp/Ghetto
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BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

To many people, the story of World War II in Europe is a mostly two-sided affair: Nazi Germany versus the free world. Likewise, when we think of the Holocaust and other crimes of that era, we also tend to think of Germany: of its concentration camps, its ghettos, and its extermination centers. That is not entirely inappropriate: Germany started the war, after all, and was the driving force behind the Holocaust and many other vicious crimes. To stop there, however, is to ignore the roles that many other nations played. Germany did not act alone. Its allies, satellite states, and collaborationist regimes across Europe assisted in carrying out the "Final Solution," as well as implementing their own programs of racial and political persecution. This volume of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* documents the role of those regimes by describing the camps, ghettos, and other detention sites that they ran.

Perhaps more so than any other volume in the series, this book covers sites whose variety is their outstanding characteristic. First, one has only to consider the range of states involved: Italy, Finland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Croatia, Slovakia, Serbia, Vichy France, and Norway. Each had a different historical background; a different governmental system and ruling ideology; different policies toward various minorities, internal opponents, and foreigners; and a different relationship with Germany. Some regimes changed as the war went on. Some occupied parts of other states or held colonies. Their detention sites, the prisoners in those sites, and the conditions there all reflected those varying influences. The sites' designations run the gamut—labor camps, mobile labor units, transit camps, concentration camps, internment camps, ghettos, and prisons—without really telling us much. So much depended on the controlling regime and its attitude toward the prisoners, who came from all over Europe and North Africa. Finns held Soviets; Italians held Greeks, Macedonians, Albanians, and Arabs; French held Arabs and Spaniards; Croats held Serbs. Many countries held Roma, most held political prisoners and resistance fighters from within their own populations, and almost all held Jews, whom they often killed themselves or handed over to the Germans. Geographically, there were sites from northern Scandinavia to Timbuktu, and from the Atlantic coast to western Ukraine. Conditions in them ranged from moderate to murderous.

If the volume were to have any coherence at all, we had to find a central theme or governing principle, according to which we would select the sites for inclusion. Because this is a volume about states that aligned themselves with Nazi Germany—out of whatever combination of enthusiasm and coercion—we set out to describe those sites that bore some relation to Nazi or fascist ideology or to the war aims that such ideology engendered. In other words, we looked for sites that mirrored the kinds of places that the Germans themselves set up; that displayed the same tendency to label, isolate, persecute, and sometimes murder people based on racial, ideological, or national criteria. That means that we did not include some categories of sites. Italian prisoner of war camps, for example, did not meet our criteria, nor did most countries' ordinary prisons. Still, there was no shortage of sites to cover.

We tried to keep the volume's internal organization as simple as possible, while also reflecting important distinctions among sites. The first set of divisions is, logically enough, by country: each country that had its own detention sites gets its own section (plus one for Tunisia, which is a special case). Within those sections, most of the entries appear in alphabetical order, although there are some instances in which there is a further division, according to the country or area in which some sites were located. So, for example, the section for France includes a subsection on French North Africa. Each section has an introductory essay that provides broader background information on that particular country. The Reader's Guide has more to say on this subject.

The topic's complexity goes far toward explaining this volume's long gestation period. There are few experts on the history, and the politics within some present-day countries sometimes interfered with the work of the scholars who are qualified to tackle the subject. The sources are even more scattered than for the other volumes, are usually far from complete, and exist in a bewildering variety of languages. Checking the accuracy of translations and even the use of diacritics has been difficult. To all of that, one can add the confusing nature of the history itself. Sites emerged (some of them well before the war or the appearance of the Third Reich) for various reasons, under the auspices of a huge array of bureaucracies, and for different purposes. Those purposes and the controlling agencies sometimes changed as time went on. There were camps within camps, camps that moved, camps that disappeared and then reappeared, and camps whose names changed. The very borders of states changed. Many of the sites had never been the object of serious research. Finding all the information, and turning it into a coherent whole, was a huge challenge. In the end, though, we believe we have put together a unique volume of enduring value.

This project offers perhaps the broadest single base available for the comparative study of detention systems across Axis-controlled Europe. Considering the wealth of material on which it draws and the vast spectrum of sites it covers, the volume underscores how the idea of the camp (writ large) dominated the continent. It affords scholars an unparalleled opportunity to compare different persecution regimes. It will contribute to the growing literature on so-called generic fascism.[1] In a field in which theory too often takes precedence over fact, in which there exists a quixotic search for the "fascist minimum"—the minimum criteria denoting a fascist regime or political movement—this volume will shed light on one criterion that Germany's allies, collaborationist states, and satellites

shared: the willingness to imprison their political, racial, and/or ideological enemies. At the same time, on a more personal level, this work will provide survivors, their descendants, and general readers an essential reference for little-remembered sites of persecution, torment, and destruction.

Note that non-inclusion of a particular site is this volume should not be construed as proof that there was no camp or ghetto there. Naturally, the team that put this volume together did its best to ensure comprehensiveness and accuracy. That said, any work of such scope is bound to contain some errors, and for those we accept full responsibility.

Joseph Robert White
Geoffrey P. Megargee

Editor's Note: The editors have worked to provide clear and accurate information about the provenance of each illustration in this volume. In some instances, we have been unable to verify the existence or identity of any present copyright holders. If notified of any incorrect or incomplete identification, we will include updated information in reprints of this work.

NOTE

1. See, for example, Roger Griffin, "The Palingenetic Core of Generic Fascist Ideology," in Alessandro Campi (ed.), *Che cos'è il fascismo? Interpretazioni e prospettive di ricerche* (Rome: Ideazione editrice, 2003), pp. 97–122.

READER'S GUIDE TO USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

The purpose of this section is to give the reader tips on how best to use this volume and to offer information on its more technical aspects.

The organization of this volume is straightforward. There is a section for each country that aligned itself with Nazi Germany, in alphabetical order, plus a section for Tunisia, which was a special case. Within each section, the site entries appear in alphabetical order, regardless of type. For example, in the section for France, Drancy, a transit camp, is followed by Eaux-Bonnes, an internment camp (*centre de residence assignée*), and then by Écrouves, a "confinement center" (*centre de séjour surveillé*, CSS). In the cases of France and Italy, the regimes controlled parts of other countries—both occupied territory and colonies—and those areas are covered in subsections, such as "Italian-Occupied Greece."

The *Encyclopedia*'s first purpose is to provide as much basic information as possible on each individual site. To achieve that end and also to provide for as much consistency as possible among the entries, we asked our many contributors to try to answer the following, as best they could, in what is admittedly a small amount of space:

- When was the site established, under what authority, and for what purpose? What agencies were involved in its construction?
- What kinds of prisoners did the site hold, and how many?
- What type of labor did the prisoners perform, and what companies or organizations employed them?
- How did the demographics of the prisoner population change over time (i.e., changes in composition; decreases/increases in overall numbers and death rates; changes in causes of death)?
- If inmates were killed, what were the methods, motives, and circumstances involved?
- Who were the commanders and key officers at the site, and what were their career patterns and length of service there?
- Which units guarded the site? Did these units and their composition change, and if so, why?
- What elements of the prisoner culture were unique to the site, if any? Was there some particular aspect of the prisoners' coping mechanism that enabled greater resilience?
- Were there any key events in the history of the site, such as resistance and/or escapes, either organized or spontaneous?
- When and under what circumstances was the site dissolved or evacuated? What happened to the prisoners afterward?
- Were site personnel tried after the war, and if so, what were the results of those proceedings?

The contributors did an excellent job in answering these questions, given the limitations of space and, at times, of the amount of source material available. We did not insist that they address the questions in any particular order, but they nonetheless put their essays together in such a way that particular items of information are usually easy to find, assuming that the information was available in the sources.

The *Encyclopedia*'s second purpose is to encourage additional research on the sites in question, and so we also asked each author to include citations to key documents, when available, and a narrative description of both primary and secondary sources, published and archival, at the end of each entry. In that way, readers can see what sources an author already consulted and where to seek additional information.

In practical terms, this volume can be used for either of two related purposes. If your goal is to learn about a particular site or sites, you may, of course, go to the relevant essays and just read them. However, if you also want to understand a site's place within the larger universe of a particular country's detention system and how that system developed and functioned, you should begin with the introductory essay for that country and then move to the site entry or entries of interest. This is also a useful approach if you are interested in sources, because those listed for a particular site may not include broader works that might contain valuable information; for those you must go to the country essay.

Finding a particular essay is easy. If you are looking for a particular site and you know which regime administered it, just look in the appropriate section of the table of contents or leaf through the body of the volume. If you are less sure of the details about a site, the index might be a better place to look, especially because it includes a variety of alternative site names.

For the entry titles, we used the names that the governing regimes used for the sites, but we have tried to include the most important variants within the entries.

Readers should also be aware of two space-saving measures. The names of archives have been abbreviated in the source sections and citations; please refer to the List of Abbreviations for the full names. Also, there are only a few cross-references within the text, for the simple reason that most such references would be to other camps, for which there are entries in any case. We have made exceptions to this policy only where there seemed a special need to do so.

BULGARIA

Jews at forced labor in a Bulgarian labor camp near the former Yugoslav border, 1942.
USHMM WS #09056, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

BULGARIA

In November 1935 a pro-monarchical regime bestowed near-dictatorial authority on Bulgaria's reigning Tsar Boris III. Boris and his prime minister Bogdan Filov were fervent admirers of Adolf Hitler. Berlin became Sofia's dominant trade partner by the late 1930s, effectively renewing the Central powers alignment of World War I. By 1940 the royal government, reflecting its support for German predominance on the continent, aligned with Germany as a nonbelligerent vassal in the war. The recognition of Nazi hegemony entailed ideological tutelage and the adoption of an antisemitic state policy. German inducements included weaponry and territorial transfers, starting with southern Dobrudzha during the 1940 partition of Romania. In turn, Sofia enacted the Law for the Defense of the Nation in January 1941, removing Jews from social, professional, and economic life and conscripting adult Jewish males for forced labor. In the wake of the Wehrmacht's 1941 Balkan triumph and with German approval, Bulgaria seized long-coveted irredenta from Greece and Yugoslavia. The annexations boosted the number of Bulgaria's Jews from 48,000 to approximately 60,000, all of whom became subject to escalating mistreatment.

Historically, antisemitism was not absent from Bulgaria, and in step with continental trends, anti-Jewish propaganda increased in volume and stridency during the 1930s. Although they comprised less than 1 percent of the population and many had served loyally in Bulgaria's wars, Jews came to be depicted in state-approved media as an alien threat. They enjoyed legal status as full citizens and most were fluent in Bulgarian, but cultural factors placed them in a separate niche. They did not worship in the official Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and unlike ethnic Bulgarians, their unbaptized children did not bear saints' names. Instead, Jewish surnames and given names conveyed a vibrant Sephardic heritage. Jews often spoke Judeo-Spanish, which again promoted difference and fostered suspicion. They maintained ties to co-religionists in Salonika and other cities across the Greek, Turkish, and Yugoslav borders, and Zionist ideals attracted many with the dream of a British-sponsored homeland in Palestine. Yet their political sentiments spanned a wide spectrum. The political Left appealed to significant numbers of young Jews, but the membership of the Bulgarian Communist Party was not primarily Jewish.

Bulgaria's Jews were virtually all urban, with approximately 25,000 residing in Sofia. Some had attained middle-class status as businessmen, teachers, doctors, pharmacists, and lawyers. Talented Jews participated in the nation's arts, music, and literature. Before the discriminatory statute of early 1941, modest affluence enabled a few to move outside traditionally Jewish neighborhoods.

Boris's affiliation with the Third Reich brought ruin to the Jewish community. The extirpation of Jews from the national body politic was accomplished largely through an indigenous camp and ghetto system. The camp system was first initiated as an instrument of dictatorial control, with left-leaning political dissidents the main targets. But a constellation of camps and ghettos was soon vastly extended as the tsar's government followed the German lead in targeting Jews. Four distinct administrative entities eventually became involved in running camps and/or ghettos: the State Security section of the Police Directorate (*Direktsia na politsiata*, *otdel dŭrzhavna sigurnost*, DPODS) under the Interior Ministry; the army; the Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP), which was part of the Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi*, *pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB); and the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV), a semi-autonomous body formally within the Interior Ministry.

Adolf Hitler greets King Boris III of Bulgaria, April 1941.
USHMM WS #75985, COURTESY OF PERQUIMANS COUNTY LIBRARY.

DPODS CAMPS

Beginning in the late 1930s, people deemed politically dangerous to the regime were subject to temporary internment (*vŭdvoren*) without trial in rural villages or small towns. They were placed under movement restrictions and obliged to report daily to the local police as ordered by DPODS. Within this framework the euphemistically dubbed "state security settlements" (*selishta na dŭrzhavna sigurnost*) developed as antecedents to some of the full-fledged Bulgarian concentration camps during World War II.

Political internments began at the end of January 1938 with a roundup of approximately 40 anti-regime subversives in and around the cities of Plovdiv, Asenovgrad, and Karlovo. Until mid-1940, detention sites were selected on an ad hoc basis, when sites such as monastic compounds or resort camps dur-

ing off-season lulls became available. With the routine internment of potential opponents arose the need for a suitable, DPODS-run camp. The camp was ideally an installation guarded around the clock in which prisoners were cut off from local inhabitants. The first such concentration camp was Ribaritsa in the Teteven district. After an inmate strike, the prisoners were dispatched to the Beklemeto Pass (or Troyanski Pass), a camp which operated for only a short time. The opening of the Gonda Voda concentration camp on January 21, 1941, coincided with the government's decision to join the Tripartite Pact (the Axis) and the parliamentary enactment of the antisemitic Law for the Defense of the Nation. Although Gonda Voda was intended primarily to hold leftist political opponents, not Jews per se, a small fraction of those incarcerated there were Jews whose resistance to persecution was manifested via communist-affiliated groups such as the Workers Youth League (*rabotnicheskia mladezhki sŭioz*). Ethnic Bulgarian adherents of the radical Agrarian Party were also detained at Gonda Voda and related camps.

The mass arrests that followed the German invasion of the Soviet Union prompted Gonda Voda's great expansion, as well as the creation of a women's camp, Sveti Nikola, in Gonda Voda's vicinity. As of November 27, 1941, Sveti Nikola held 45 women considered state security risks.[1] To handle the increased volume of detainees, two new concentration camps for men were set up on the Black Sea coast. One was called Galata, an island just off the port of Burgas. Formerly a monastery, Sveta Anastasia was a prison island in the early 1920s until its closure in the wake of a mass escape.

During the winter of 1941 both Galata and Sveta Anastasia ceased operation. Gonda Voda also closed in December 1941 for winter, but reopened in the spring of 1942 with 50 inmates. The need for an incarceration center to hold security internees was met by the larger, newly constructed Krŭstopole (Enikioi) camp located in Bulgarian-occupied northern Greece.[2] Krŭstopole and Sveti Nikola kept inmates confined through the winter, the only internment camps to do so in 1941. In the spring of 1942 Krŭstopole held 1,494 internees, whereas Sveti Nikola retained 54. In the spring Sveti Nikola again received prisoners, which boosted its inmate total to 81 women. At that time DPODS held 1,625 state security prisoners.

On January 12, 1942, the Council of Ministers decided that six months was the standard period of detention without trial. If deemed necessary, family members of the principal detainees were to be held as well.[3] Under these guidelines, on March 4 the police arrested 480 people for six months' confinement. Despite the program's shaky start, the Bulgarian authorities considered internment a useful tool and continued to expand and develop the practice during 1943 in response to increased anti-regime activity. On February 18, 1943, the commandant of Krŭstopole, Milcho Milchev, was ordered to expand the camp's capacity by another 900 prisoners.[4] The next day the Council of Ministers authorized the detention of 941 suspected communists and other regime opponents. Krŭstopole, Gonda Voda, and Sveti Nikola remained the principal holding pens. As of July 1, 1943, Krŭstopole's inmate population totaled 1,481. In addition to young radicals and confirmed communists, a fair number of educated professionals were interned there, including writers, artists, doctors, and lawyers. A two-tier class-based incarceration system thereby emerged.

The following month yet another two camps were established to hold some of the detainees transferred from Krŭstopole. One facility was Sveti Kirik, a monastery in the village of Todorovtsi. Some 125 individuals identified as intellectuals began arriving at Sveti Kirik in the middle of August 1943. About 300 other prisoners made do with rougher accommodations nearby at what was called the Todorovtsi concentration camp. They were set to work building a road. There was also a short-lived concentration camp for artists and intellectuals at Sveti Vrach (today: Sandanski), which operated in the autumn of 1943. During the autumn of 1943 and the following winter the authorities freed the inmates from Sveti Nikola, Sveti Kirik, Todorovtsi, and Gonda Voda. Of the 1,652 held at Krŭstopole, all but 35 were released as well.

Krŭstopole began receiving prisoners again in the spring of 1944, the total reaching some 200. In March 1944 Sveti Kirik was reopened, although this time to receive female inmates because a communist-led partisan unit was menacing the area around Sveti Nikola. Sveti Kirik held up to 92 internees in June, but the number dropped when DPODS allowed the women to go free by the end of July. In August 1944 the Sveti Kirik site was used to intern 129 Soviet citizens living in Bulgaria, as well as a few Soviet prisoners of war (POWs; from 1943 on, Allied POWs, all fliers, were held in an army-run camp in Shumen). The Soviets were freed when Bulgaria switched to the Allied side in early September 1944, and the communist-dominated Fatherland Front (*Otechestven Front*, OF) government took power.

DPODS also held regime opponents at the following smaller concentration camps in 1944: Gigen, Belene, Demir-Hisar, Levunovo, Divdyadovo, and Atia. Gigen, also known as the Gigintsi monastery, was uninhabited and available to house dissidents. Belene is an island on the Danube. Demir-Hisar (Valovishta, Sidirokastro) was used as a hard labor camp for prisoners who committed infractions or were identified as disciplinary cases at other facilities. They were assigned to work crews called "black companies" (*cherni roti*). Levunovo is located on a railroad line paralleling the Struma River. Divdyadovo was a village on the southern outskirts of the city of Shumen; it has since been subsumed into Shumen municipality. Atia is on the Black Sea coast, midway between the ports of Burgas and Sozopol.

Detention in DPODS camps disrupted people's lives, exposed them to hardship, and imposed major burdens on their families. However, the conditions were relatively benign compared to the Nazi camps. The Bulgarian guards lacked the arbitrary power of life or death over inmates.[5] Because the camps' main purpose in Bulgaria was to remove regime opponents temporarily from political action in the cities, work details were an afterthought. Arbitrary brutality in DPODS camps did not generally approach the levels inflicted on Jews at forced labor assignments in Bulgaria under a separate camp

administration. Jewish survivors recalled that conditions in DPODS camps were better than in the Jewish forced labor battalions.[6] Viewed in the broader context, however, the DPODS camps set an emboldening precedent for the forcible dislocation and imprisonment of Jews.

These camps also incurred some negative costs for the regime. The periods of confinement fostered camaraderie among dissidents and thus catalyzed the opposition. Krŭstopole and the smaller camps brought together communists, agrarians, and a range of other people labeled suspect by the regime. The shared experience of persecution facilitated communication among different groups, thus inadvertently laying the groundwork for their wartime alliance against Boris's government and the postwar OF regime. Moderates, aggrieved by their internment, became radicalized. And it was under conditions of close quarters, privation, and forced labor that prisoners got to know each other well, with friendships, enmities, informal hierarchies, and cliques emerging during the course of the ordeal.

JEWISH FORCED LABOR IN 1941

The first Bulgarian camps established under the antisemitic laws exclusively for Jews were compulsory labor bivouacs set up during the spring of 1941. On May 1 the conscripts reported for five months' duty after which most of the men mustered out on or about October 1.[7] A few were retained into November.[8]

Conditions during that period were easier compared to the following three years, with several factors accounting for the relatively benign start. One was the already well-established Bulgarian practice of labor service as patriotic obligation, for the purpose of infrastructural modernization. Male citizens had been subject to such call-ups since reforms were enacted in the early 1920s under the populist prime minister Aleksandŭr Stamboliiski. Another historical factor was the Bulgarian Army's well-established arrangement for using the labor of several minorities, namely ethnic Turks, Roma, and Slavic-speaking Muslim Pomaks. Although not entrusted to bear arms, these men wore uniforms and served in segregated units as engineering auxiliaries. They were de facto second-class citizens, but their draft obligation did not equate to penal servitude. It was instead a normal requirement for Muslim (Turks and Roma in Bulgaria were also Muslim) young men who held military status. This policy provided a precedent for how to deal with the Jews when they were legislatively demoted to a pariah caste.

Yet Jews were subjected to more disadvantages than other minorities, including a much expanded age liability for compulsory labor. In 1941 Jewish conscripts, many of whom were called up in their mid-forties, were considerably older than their Muslim counterparts because it was the express intent of the law to impose a punitive burden. Furthermore, a term limit was not stated for the Jews' obligation; that is, the men served annually during the warmer months until becoming overage or disabled. Jewry as a collective was explicitly identified by law in January 1941 as a suspect subversive element. As of January 27 under an order signed by the chief of the general staff, all Jewish officers and troops were formally dismissed from the army. Yet during 1941, the army retained lower level Jewish officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) under "reserve" status, a fiction to get around the legislative prohibition.

Paradoxically, however, it was the army that undertook the tasks of organizing Jewish men into regimented work units and resolving all the attendant practical problems. Because the country was not actively at war, these men were employed in infrastructural improvement projects, much as Stamboliiski's work brigades had been. Toward that end the army's tested procedures with regard to Muslim personnel offered a ready paradigm for accommodating the newly imposed special onus on Jews.

So despite their formal dismissal from the military, Jewish labor conscripts in 1941 were organized and treated as labor troops (*trudovi voiski*) of the Bulgarian Army. In effect the army ignored the national legislature on that point during the first year of official persecution. Many of the Jewish draftees were veterans in good standing. As of 1941 the lower level personnel were issued army boots and fatigues, but not insignia. Rank and military courtesy were nevertheless observed even if Jewish officers lacked de jure commissions. Jewish junior officers and NCOs wore the uniforms appropriate to those grades and exercised direct charge over the rank and file, which at least temporarily buffered the latter from petty abuse by bigots among the Bulgarian overseers. Men sick or injured on deployment were treated in army medical facilities. And in 1941 all the Jews in service received nominal pay, albeit at a lower rate than their Bulgarian counterparts.[9]

The basic administrative unit for construction troops was the battalion (*druzhina*). A battalion comprised a flexible number of smaller operational field units, each known by the standard army term as a construction company (*stroitelna rota*). The nature of the assigned task dictated how many companies a battalion controlled. Jews served as heavy labor in construction companies, but usually not in the attached service bodies. Thus cooks, orderlies, and medics, as well as clerical and signal personnel, were in theory all ethnic Bulgarians; Jewish names only rarely appear on these unit rolls.

Jewish conscripts during 1941 were deployed for road building at Lakatnik, Gara Bov, Rebrovo, Tserovo, Gara Chepino, Nedelino, Ardino, and Byal Izvor.

The 1st Labor Battalion operated at Lakatnik, Gara Bov, Tserovo, and Rebrovo to improve motorway access from Sofia to the economically productive plain between the Danube and the Balkan range. In this region the Iskŭr River cuts a narrow gorge through hilly terrain, which posed engineering challenges for road building. The lower level officers and NCOs were Jewish. Gara Bov served as field headquarters. (Wherever possible in the entries that follow, the name of the known field headquarters, not the battalion number, serves as the title.)

The 5th Labor Battalion was based in Veliko Tŭrnovo in the north central part of the country. But in 1941 the unit set up a field headquarters in Gara Chepino, where it fielded four

Bulgarian Jews dig a road in a forced labor brigade, 1941.
USHMM WS #42245, COURTESY OF ALBERT FARHI.

ad hoc construction companies made up of Jewish officers and rank and file engaged in road building.[10]

On October 28, 1941, a memorandum from the labor troop command in Sofia forbade conscripts to take photographs of a "military character."[11] This directive indicated suspicion among those at high levels regarding the loyalty of the Jewish conscripts; the initially benign period of forced labor had thus ended. Official measures were already underway to downgrade drastically the Jews' status. The shift followed a visit to Bulgaria in the summer of 1941 by the chief of the Reich Labor Service (*Reichsarbeitsdienst*, RAD), Konstantin Hierl. Yet the treatment of Jewish conscripts in 1942 developed in such brutal contrast to the preceding year that these changes cannot be dismissed as mere gestures to placate a foreign critic. One factor motivating those changes was the ineffectiveness, in 1941, of the Jewish officers and NCOs in deterring desertions, at least from units operating in proximity to cities. Domestic antisemitism grew more robust and attracted a wider constituency, legitimized by radio and print propaganda and amplified by stunning Wehrmacht victories. It appeared likely that Germany would win the war. The fascist-style "Defenders" (*Brannitsi*) and the "Insurgents" (*Chetnitsi*) youth groups, which was patterned after the Hitler Youth, perpetrated random street violence against Jews. A steady stream of invective identified Jewry as a malignant body to be quarantined, expelled from Bulgaria, or murdered en masse. The forced laborers at bivouac sites bore the brunt of ill treatment at first, to be followed later in 1942 by new measures against their families at home.

JEWISH FORCED LABOR IN 1942

Paramount among the changes was a decisive abrogation of military status for the Jewish conscripts. They were deleted from the army's table of organization, with the "reserve" Jewish officer and NCO slots eliminated. Instead, all the draftees including former officers came under an agency within the civilian OSPB, appropriately named the Bureau of Temporary Labor (OVTP). Other groups were also attached to the OVTP's battalions including units of ethnic Turks, Serbs, and "unemployed" (Roma). But the "temporary" status for Jews ironically portended plans to deport them to German custody. Their very life-spans were deemed short term as rumors circulated of Nazi genocide. In the meantime the Jews' labor was more frankly construed as collective punishment. The twin goals of somehow motivating the Jews to achieve results on construction projects, while simultaneously humiliating, robbing, beating, and undernourishing them, constituted a dilemma. A purely civilian entity lacked the means for resolving it.

Thus the reemphasized civilian and punitive status did not end the army's active role in managing the labor battalions.

Involuntary service necessitated security measures, and it was the army alone that possessed the experience, assets, and personnel to exercise such functions on short notice. Thus the army continued to administer the Jewish units on behalf of the OVTP, albeit with some changes. Construction companies were henceforth known by the less overtly military term "work groups" (*trudovi grupi*). They were smaller than the previous year's companies, with up to about 300 instead of 400 men, but the battalions fielded more groups and more men overall than before. Each group in turn consisted of 30- to 40-man sections (*yadro*, plural *yadrovi*) about the size of a platoon. The term for battalion (*druzhina*) was generally retained, but sometimes in official paperwork the word "detachment" (*otryad*) appeared instead.

Still, the Jews faced harsh treatment. Uniforms were no longer issued to conscripts, who toiled in their civilian clothes marked with the yellow star. This was a hardship because rough field conditions exacted wear and tear on clothing at a time when the antisemitic economic measures were already reducing many Jewish families to poverty. The withdrawal of sturdy, waterproofed work boots moreover deprived most conscripts of footwear adequate for terrain ranging from stony hillsides to muddy swamps. Obtaining adequate footwear then became an issue.

Also withdrawn from service was the Jews' effective protector in 1941, General-Major Anton Stefanov Ganev, who was replaced by Polkovnik Nikola Halachev as head of the OVTP. Halachev proved more amenable to enforcing the tandem yet contradictory government policies of making Jewish conscripts suffer while still trying to derive practical benefits from their toil. The OVTP's inspectorate adjusted its priorities to achieving measurable results. Under Halachev two army officers served as inspectors, Polkovnik Ivan Ivanov and Podpolkovnik Todor Boichev Atanasov.[12] The latter did not disguise his antisemitic zeal.

Halachev was hardly less zealous regarding the Jews. Overall, the conscripts' work fell below standard and lagged behind schedule as field units continued to be plagued by high absenteeism. Many of the men carried on the rolls were not present or, if present, were not working. On July 14, 1942, Halachev addressed a memorandum to all battalion commanders and constituent group commanders, in which he noted that many men ignored their draft orders, never showing up at all. Others, he alleged, faked illness or disability to avoid service. The commander requested lists of those who had not reported for duty, and to rectify matters he proposed a set of harsh correctives.

One step was the creation of a special disciplinary unit that had to continue working despite winter conditions to upgrade the railway from southwestern Bulgaria to Demir-Hisar in Bulgarian-annexed northern Greece. This project had particular priority for the government because it would tie the "New Territories" economically and militarily to metropolitan Bulgaria. Thus the form of punishment was tailored in a way to enable fulfillment of the construction tasks entrusted to the OVTP. Halachev's job hung in the balance. During 1943 the rail line to Demir-Hisar was used to carry Greek Jews across Bulgaria to their deaths at Nazi hands.

Halachev also decreed a sliding scale of lesser penalties to be administered by individual units. For various infractions conscripts could be deprived of letters and packages, visitation, and leave for up to three months; denied warm meals for up to 10 days; deprived of bedding for an unspecified duration; forced to sleep on a hard surface for up to 20 days; and/or fed only bread and water for up to 10 days. Up to three of the recommended punishments could be administered simultaneously. Whereas brig confinement diminished the labor force, the intent here was to inflict deprivation while still keeping recalcitrants at work. Halachev claimed that a 1936 precedent governing citizens' labor service authorized these disciplinary measures. In addition, the Jews were specially targeted by Paragraph No. 30 of the Law for the Defense of the Nation and in decisions by OSPB and the Council of Ministers, respectively on March 27 and April 12, 1942. Keen on enforcement, Halachev required that unit commanders sign a receipt of the memorandum and duly warn the Jewish laborers of the crackdown.

On July 22, 1942, another Halachev memorandum described various forms of lax discipline in the Jewish units. He alleged that the Jews stole from each other, which necessitated appointing watchmen to remain at the bivouacs while the crews worked. Malingering was said to be rampant at sick call: conscripts excused for illness or infirmity allegedly hung about camps reading, playing cards, or napping. Some who were authorized to seek medical care at military clinics used the opportunity to desert. Halachev also expressly forbade Jews from straying off the work sites into nearby villages, where he feared they might use local post offices to send mail or receive packages. He instructed unit commanders to draw up lists of violators.

Still, the infractions continued. On September 15, Halachev followed with more guidelines. There was little attempt to conceal the personal animosity prompting this memorandum. Jewish conscripts were not to be permitted to have conjugal visits on bivouac premises or to meet visitors at hotels in the camp's vicinity. Food parcels they received had to be shared. Halachev dispatched his field inspectors to enforce compliance. Threats and intimidation were used to boost productivity.

Between the top men at the OVTP and the exploited draftees was an intermediate level of Bulgarian personnel, many of whom saw opportunities to profit from the Jews' plight. The dismissal of Jewish junior officers and NCOs only further worsened the conscripts' low morale. Those Jews who formerly served as supervisors resented their demotion, whereas the rank and file now came directly under Bulgarian overseers without a buffer.

Cultural clash was inevitable. A marked social gap was apparent from the battalion personnel rosters that listed the hometowns of conscripts and foremen. The Jews were overwhelmingly urban, fully half living in the capital and nearly all the rest in cities of substantial size. The Bulgarian personnel, by contrast, came mostly from villages or small provin-

cial towns. Between captives and wardens such disparities only spelled mutual loathing. Even poor Jews were on the whole better educated than their overseers, with more years spent in schools staffed by more learned teachers, in an environment with more varied stimuli. The Jews had read more books, had seen more films and plays, and were more exposed to international trends. Language distanced them still further. Speaking Judeo-Spanish, the Jews communicated secretly with each other in the very presence of non-Jewish officers and NCOs. That too was a form of resistance, as well as an implicit taunt to authority. Reviled as enemies of the nation they had little left to lose and little hope of any future in Bulgaria. In turn the Bulgarian oppressors withheld privileges; stole rations; and insulted, beat, and extorted the Jews while upholding themselves as patriots.

The pattern of deployments in 1942 indicates that work groups were likely stationed at some distance from battalion headquarters and far from the other work groups in the same battalion. The battalion thus functioned mainly as an administrative body. The 1st Labor Battalion, headquartered in Sofia, deployed groups as far as Trŭnska Klisura on the Bulgarian frontier with Serbia. One element was posted somewhere in Surdulica, a district of southeastern Serbia occupied by the Bulgarian Army.[13] From its administrative headquarters in Veliko Turnovo, the 5th Labor Battalion administered 12 far-flung groups at field deployments in north central Bulgaria.[14]

The torment inflicted on Jewish labor conscripts by Halachev and his subordinates fit into a general context of harsh official antisemitism. A special tax confiscating most of the Jews' liquid assets and the wearing of an identifying badge were both imposed during the summer of 1942. The KEV also came into being in August. Headed by Aleksandŭr Belev, it emerged as the principal governmental body mandated to confiscate what remained of the victims' wealth and to prepare for their deportation to German hands.

In October Belev ordered all Jews in Sofia to relocate to an area of the city centered on the mostly Jewish working-class neighborhood, Iuch Bunar. Windfall real estate bargains resulted as upper middle class Jews were forced to vacate their addresses in more fashionable districts and crowd into Iuch Bunar. The KEV also proceeded to register all Jews in the country, including those in lands acquired and annexed from Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece. The Jewish census provided the basis for concentrating the victims pursuant to expulsion into German hands. To reach that ultimate goal, the KEV required assistance from security organs including the police and elements of the army.

Meanwhile, the OVTP maintained entirely separate plans for exploiting the Jews under its control. Several ambitious projects were mapped out in the expectation that a conscript workforce, including the Jews, would remain available. To control the Jews in 1943, the OVTP tried an alternative to Halachev's approach followed in the previous year. It is evident from these plans that, as of late 1942, the KEV had not yet advised the OVTP of its near-term intention of ridding the country completely of Jews, including those in the forced labor units. The two agencies' efforts were thus not only uncoordinated but were also working at cross-purposes.

JEWISH FORCED LABOR IN 1943

In 1943 almost all of Bulgaria's Jewish population was involuntarily confined to labor camps, transit camps, prisons, or ghettos. The order for conscripts to report to service came earlier in 1943 than in previous years, on January 29 for some men.[15] It was a trying year for them, although a shakeup at the OVTP did work somewhat in their favor. Replacing Halachev as commander was Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, who had earned professional respect when he led labor troops during the Bulgarian acquisition of southern Dobrudzha in 1940. Mumdzhiev's two OVTP inspectors were Podpolkovnik Cholakov and the recently promoted Podpolkovnik Rogozarov. The latter had treated Jewish conscripts humanely while commanding the 1st Jewish Labor Battalion in 1941.[16]

Mumdzhiev's memoranda revealed his understanding of how dignity and morale affected unit performance. As a commander he pursued a strict but relatively fair policy calculated to complete the assigned engineering tasks. He expected maximum effort from all. That necessarily entailed the difficult problem of trying to regain the Jews' confidence. Notwithstanding their formal severance from the army, Mumdzhiev proceeded to treat them to the extent possible as if they were still members of the military establishment.

He began the work season with an attempt to crack down on extortion and the bullying of Jewish conscripts by junior officers. As early as February 16, 1943, Mumdzhiev singled out one particularly egregious offender, Poruchik Paraskev Iordanov, for having linked leave approval to bribe payments. Iordanov incurred a 45-day suspension from duty.[17] Although this punitive measure did not completely deter other officers from committing the same abuse, it did reflect Mumdzhiev's intention to achieve an equitable furlough policy free from corruption.

As in 1942, battalions continued as administrative bodies over numerous work groups. It appeared evident that whereas Mumdzhiev commanded the labor units overall, it was not he who decided on the projects on which they worked. Project planning took place at a higher level, with the details of implementation left to mid-level officers. The largest deployment, involving most of the work groups from two battalions, was on a road connecting Sofia and Plovdiv. Jews constituted most of the conscripted labor force in both the 1st and 2nd Labor Battalions.

The 1st Jewish Labor Battalion maintained its Sofia home office, but operated a field headquarters at Ihtiman on the Sofia-Plovdiv highway project, where engineer Ivan Gasharov exercised de facto command.[18] The battalion also fielded a small detachment in Zlatusha village (27 kilometers or 15 miles northwest of Sofia).[19]

The 2nd Jewish Labor Battalion worked on a section of the Sofia-Plovdiv highway project farther east from the 1st Battalion.[20] Viktor Baruh, a leader of the communist youth wing in the Iuch Bunar ghetto of Sofia, was part of a group deployed at Kurtovo Konare with the 2nd Jewish Labor Battalion. As a leading writer in Bulgaria he later published a novel on the Holocaust years titled *Otrecheni ot zakona* (*Beyond the Law*). He recalled demeaning treatment of Jews by the officer in charge, but also an act of kindness by a local Bulgarian resident. The man filled the hood of Viktor's jacket with tomatoes to take with him and refused payment when Viktor absconded from the unit.[21]

In southwestern Bulgaria a Jewish unit called Detachment Sveti Vrach (a city almost 126 kilometers or more than 78 miles south of Sofia) was subsequently designated the 12th Labor Battalion.[22] Its deployments along the railway line to the Bulgarian-occupied part of Greece were at Gara Pirin, Gara Belitsa, Sveti Vrach, Marikostino, Poruchik Minkov, General Todorov, Chuchulgovo, Kulata, and Gara Rupel.[23] In addition to 1,523 Jews, approximately 5,000 ethnic Turks also worked on this rail line between Krupnik (almost 96 kilometers or almost 60 miles southwest of Sofia) and Valovishte (Demir-Hisar) in Greece. They were scheduled to continue until December 15. However, on October 8 a memorandum by Mumdzhiev observed that the ill-clad Jews were exhausted and urged their release as of November 15.[24]

The 6th Labor Battalion maintained its home base in Pleven, but established a field command office in Lovech from which Poruchik Kolevski directed nine Jewish work groups. Personnel rosters show that a medical commission inspected the units from time to time and recommended release for certain Jewish conscripts. The battalion mustered out at the end of the first week of December 1943. In addition to the Jews, the 6th Battalion fielded other groups ordered to work on a Sofia-Varna road segment between Kilometer 140 and Kilometer 190 of the projected thoroughfare; deployments of an indeterminate size included Serbian men, called *Moravtsi* by the Bulgarian government and drawn from the Bulgarian-occupied portion of Yugoslav Macedonia; Roma; and ethnic Turks.[25]

From battalion roster documents, it appears that Jewish conscripts deserted far more often than their Turkish or other non-Jewish counterparts. Some punishments on returning to the unit were recorded in the roster as 10 days' confinement to the brig or 3 days' deprivation of warm rations. The reason for desertion was stated as visits to families evicted from their homes and sent to provincial towns, where they were confined in ad hoc ghettos while awaiting deportation from Bulgaria. Often on these visits the escaped conscripts obtained sums of cash from their families who feared they would soon be expelled into German hands.

Among smaller deployments, a March 12, 1943, memorandum of the Council of Ministers ordered 150 Jews to level the grounds for a sanatorium in Trŭvna. The high-level interest suggested that this was a pet project of a highly placed official. Another memorandum, this one from the army general staff dated March 30, 1943, requested the allocation of Jewish personnel to the 12 army divisional districts. Some of the Jews in this category were qualified pharmacists and medical doctors whose services the army did not want to lose.[26]

As in the two preceding years these deployments were mostly for infrastructural projects having an economic or military rationale. By no means did they constitute make-work. Labor, engineering, supervisory, and material inputs were allocated in the anticipation of a tangible return. Moreover, the OVTP predicated the year's planning on the assumption that the Jewish workforce would not abruptly disappear, leaving the assigned tasks only partially done. The OVTP also implicitly assumed that Jewish conscripts would retain enough incentive to work despite their drastically disadvantaged position in Bulgarian society. Jewish business enterprises had not yet been confiscated, and the men still had families to whom they expected to return at the end of the work season. But the expulsion of their families to destinations unknown only demoralized thousands of press-ganged Jews in the OVTP's labor units.

The KEV nevertheless ignored the construction project particulars and the civil engineering timetable of the OVTP. Driving its agenda instead was the Nazi-inspired goal of ridding the country of Jews during 1943, as well as the lure of profit from the victims' property. The KEV agenda did not exempt Jewish forced laborers from deportation. On the contrary, in a memorandum to the Council of Ministers, February 4, 1943, Belev recommended, "In the first place, it is necessary to take swift measures in the labor groups to place men between the ages of 18 and 48 under strict control so as to prevent their escape."[27]

It is unclear when or even whether this request was relayed to the OVTP, but such security precautions would have conflicted with normal work procedures, and there are no indications that the suggested measures were ever implemented by labor units in the field. On the other hand, the eligible Jewish labor conscripts in Macedonia were not called to duty in time to keep them out of the KEV's hands. Those men remained at home even as other Jews from Greece and the cities of Bulgaria proper had already reported to the OVTP's units.

KEV TRANSIT CAMPS, MARCH 1943

Belev also advised the cabinet that it was necessary to deport the Jews living within the old (1940) frontiers of the country, along with those from the Bulgarian-annexed portions of Greece and Yugoslavia. Otherwise, he cautioned, the remaining Jews would likely cause trouble. Not long afterward in February Belev signed a secret interim agreement with SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker, a Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA) official detailed to Sofia as a liaison on details of the "Final Solution" in Bulgaria. Under this accord the first 20,000 victims were to consist of the approximately 12,000 Jews from the Bulgarian-occupied parts of Greece and Yugoslavia, in addition to another 8,000 mainly from Sofia.[28] To complete the operation

Theodor Dannecker.
USHMM WS #79543, COURTESY OF BUNDESARCHIV.

Belev envisioned a large transit camp with a capacity of some 20,000 inmates, to continue operating until all Jews in Bulgaria were deported. He planned on that basis despite hints that the government might consent to expelling only those Jews from the Greek and Yugoslav lands acquired in 1941.[29]

Roundups in the Bulgarian-annexed portion of Yugoslav Macedonia commenced on March 11, before the eligible Jewish labor conscripts there had reported to battalion units for duty. Most of the men were thus caught along with their families as security forces cordoned off the towns. Before being deported, almost the entire Macedonian Jewish community spent two weeks confined to a makeshift transit camp set up on short notice in the Monopol tobacco warehouse in Skopie.

In arranging the transit camps in Macedonia, Greece, and Bulgaria proper, Belev endeavored to keep control in KEV hands while keeping the rest of the Interior Ministry at bay. As noted, by 1943 DPODS had amassed considerable know-how in the management of concentration camps. Through trial and error, much had been learned about geographic placement, supply logistics, and camp security, albeit on a smaller scale than the KEV required. Nevertheless Belev eschewed that source of practical experience. He may have wished to minimize the circle of officials knowing what was in store for the Jews or to monopolize the loot expected to derive from the seizure of Jewish property. Thus DPODS did not directly participate in the establishment and functioning of the KEV camps for Jews. Belev delegated these responsibilities instead to amateurs inexperienced in managing incarceration, who were expected to enlist the cooperation of municipal governments and to employ local police and army units for security.

The logistics of removing the Jews from Bulgarian-annexed northern Greece were more complex. Belev appointed Yaroslav Kalitsin, head of the KEV administrative section, to devise a scheme for the deportation of what Bulgaria dubbed the "Aegean" (*Belomorie*) Jewish population. Along with the Macedonian action Belev regarded this as a pilot project for expelling all Jews in Bulgarian lands. Kalitsin undertook active planning on February 16, suggesting the sites of Radomir and Gorna Dzhumaya for transit camps to be set up in existing municipal structures or, as at Radomir, in the still-empty barracks of a labor battalion. Two additional sites, Simitli and Demir-Hisar, were to have tent camps. Except for Demir-Hisar, these places were located on a railway line in western Bulgaria within the 1940 frontiers.[30]

But as the date for the action approached in early March, Kalitsin had to simplify the plan, following an inspection trip of potential sites with Belev. They looked at tobacco warehouses in Dupnitsa, although at first the commissar deemed them to be either too small, insufficiently isolated, or too crammed with machinery to accommodate large numbers of deportees. Relative isolation from commercial districts or residential neighborhoods was desirable because KEV sought to maintain a low profile until the action was completed. Belev finally decided to set up transit camps only in the cities of Dupnitsa (51 kilometers or almost 32 miles southwest of Sofia) and Gorna Dzhumaya (today: Blagoevgrad; 78 kilometers or more than 48 miles southwest of Sofia), where he felt assured of local cooperation.[31]

The plan to deport 8,000 Jews from Sofia and other cities of "Old Bulgaria" was meanwhile suspended following a sit-in by some prominent citizens from Kiostendil in the office of the Interior Minister, Petŭr Gabrovski. But the government treated this opposition as only a temporary setback, quickly suppressing a National Assembly protest against deportation led by its vice chairman Dimitŭr Peshev.

Undeterred by Peshev's abortive gesture, Belev drew up a new blueprint to deport all Jews from Bulgaria by the end of September 1943. This plan exerted the KEV's mandate over the country's railways, police, and civil administration to accomplish the task. Belev recognized that Sofia, with half the country's remaining Jews, represented the biggest challenge: the means were lacking to round up and ship out its Jews all at once. For logistical reasons, the plan stipulated the establishment of short-lived ghettos in provincial towns, to house the Jews between the initial stage of eviction and the final step of deportation. Accommodations consisted of vacant schoolrooms and Jewish residences, into which deportees were imposed as uninvited guests. The plan partly relieved the KEV

from setting up mass feeding, housing, and sanitary arrangements. In addition to these ghettos there would be a camp in Somovit on the Danube. Belev emphasized the transient nature of this in-country phase. Family groups were to be expelled together, except for men on forced labor service who would be handed over later to the Nazis after the extermination of their kin. Belev did not seem to have anticipated the effect that uprooting the families would have on their sons, brothers, and fathers in forced labor.

Implementation of the KEV plan immediately followed a Jewish protest march in Sofia on May 24. The police dispatched hundreds of arrested demonstrators to Somovit. Expulsions from Sofia and from the city of Kazanlŭk ensued within days. Six chartered river steamships rested at anchor on the Danube, ready to receive their unwilling passengers.[32] But although the deportations were suspended yet again in early June, massive evictions continued through the next two months in Sofia and other towns. KEV operatives seized and inventoried the belongings of the Jewish families forced from their homes and then sold the goods at auction. Belev continued to operate on the premise that the deportations would be resumed after their June suspension and continued implementing measures to force that outcome. Removal of the victims from their residences, livelihoods, and assets proceeded apace so as to make it difficult if not impossible to reabsorb the Jews into the populace at large.

It was during this uncertain phase in late May and early June 1943 that the policy disparity between the KEV and the OVTP widened to affect the outcome of events. Since February the OVTP's military chief, Mumdzhiev, had sought to stamp out the rampant practice of bribery for leave privileges, and thus to regularize the granting of family visitation furloughs. Then in early June leave permits became a pressing issue as soon as news of the KEV evictions and of looming deportations reached the labor battalions. Regardless of permission, the conscripts generally wished to be with their families at this crucial juncture. This situation presented a challenge for Mumdzhiev, whose response stood in contrast to that of his predecessor Halachev. As an experienced career officer Mumdzhiev opted to implement the standard military personnel policy. The army and its engineering auxiliary force had long followed the humane procedure of granting compassionate leave to troops during family emergencies. The imminent departure of Jewish families to an unknown destination, with their murder a now widely suspected outcome, constituted such an emergency. Faced with the prospect of mass desertions or mutiny if furloughs were not approved, Mumdzhiev responded to the crisis with a liberal leave policy. He appeared to have acted on his own initiative, although the decision bore consequences beyond the labor battalions. Hundreds of Jewish conscripts then departed their units with or without formal authorization papers. Yet even the deserters remained under the OVTP's legal authority, which granted them at least temporary immunity from deportation. This added a potentially serious security problem to the already vexing issues surrounding the expulsion plan. Had the Jewish families been deported, little incentive would have remained for their men to return to the labor units, and joining the communist-led partisan units operating in countryside districts represented an alternative option. But if deportations were suspended and the men did return to their units, the conscripts and their families would in effect remain hostages for each other's good behavior. And this is what occurred, albeit seemingly not by design. It was more a result by default: Mumdzhiev's motives were apparently those of a commander protective of his rank and file in an OVTP bureaucratic contest with an upstart rival agency hostile to his men's interests. There is no explicit indication that Mumdzhiev pursued the wider aim of thwarting the deportation schedule at this stage, although in subsequent actions he exercised his authority more overtly to safeguard Jewish conscripts from the KEV.

TEMPORARY GHETTOS OF THE KEV, 1943–1944

In June 1943 Belev's superiors refrained from approving the ultimate step. Instead of boarding the Danube barges for deportation, a steady influx of homeless, destitute Jews was funneled into the Somovit camp and to provincial towns with significant Jewish populations. There they stayed. The resulting temporary ghettos took on an extended life unintended by the KEV, as Belev's plan resulted only in the half-measure of internal displacement under severe hardship. This short-circuited implementation of the KEV's plan stemmed from the hesitancy of Tsar Boris III to send the Jews to their deaths amid the swiftly changing calculus of war. The strategic picture had shifted. By mid-1943 it became clear that, despite occasional Wehrmacht tactical successes, an Axis victory was beyond grasp. Allied warnings against complicity in Nazi genocide sharpened, and Germany's other affiliated states were already backing away from deporting what remained of their Jews to the Nazis. It remains uncertain whether the Bulgarian monarch ever intended to deport the Jews of "Old Bulgaria" and, if so, whether he considered removal to the provinces as a lesser option to allay Nazi pressure. But by entrusting the management of that removal to the KEV, Boris very nearly created an irreversible fait accompli whereby they had to be deported anyway. When the process was halted, the Jews remained in limbo—demoted to an untouchable subcaste status, penniless, uprooted, and removed from the body politic, yet not expelled beyond the country's borders. Although the customary Nazi euphemism "resettlement" still appeared in KEV documents, the actual outcome by no means constituted a viable program of provincial resettlement because the KEV prohibited the displaced Jews from remunerative work. In the KEV view, their forcible departure was merely put on hold. Significantly, the words for "internees" (*internirani* or *vŭdvoreni*) were not used in KEV documents, which continued referring to the victims as outward-bound "resettlers" (*izselnitsi*) in keeping with the Nazi vocabulary. Semantics aside, the situation nonetheless

amounted to default internment with Jews accommodated in quarters that Belev had conceived as transitory, but that turned into semi-permanent ghettos.

By far the largest uprooted Jewish community was that of Sofia. Most of the city's approximately 24,000 Jews were dispersed by families to provincial cities during the weeks following May 24. The KEV had earlier undertaken a survey of available space in Jewish-occupied apartments around the country. Those residences were requisitioned regardless of spatial adequacy, compelling the occupants to accept incoming guests for the relatively short time expected before wholesale deportation. Although a few Sofia expellees were permitted to double up in the homes of provincial relatives, most wound up staying with strangers. Curfews and movement restrictions kept the Jews confined to these homes much of the time. The resulting situation resembled open (not fenced) ghetto arrangements that arose elsewhere in occupied Europe when certain structures were designated as Jewish residences. Such ghettos were not necessarily contiguous, but could consist of buildings housing Jewish occupants situated among structures reserved for non-Jews.

In Bulgarian cities, the traditional clustering of Jewish residences on streets adjacent to the local synagogue often produced neighborhoods that were largely Jewish, a pattern that traced back to Ottoman times. Then in mid-1943 with the forced influx of Jews under Belev's deportation plan, these neighborhoods took on more of a ghetto-like character, at least for Jews. Local authorities acquiesced in the imposition and cooperated with the KEV, given the perceived possibility of gain. Although many Jews lacked wealth they often occupied desirable locations. Their expected imminent disappearance thus represented a potential real estate windfall for KEV officials and their collaborators in municipal administrations, as well as in society at large. In some cities, members of the Brannik youth group assisted with the surveillance and petty harassment of Jews, adding insult and injury to the difficulties already faced by this fleeced, disenfranchised, and outcast segment of the population even after the possibility of deportation receded.

Under Belev's plan, Jews expelled from Sofia and other cities arrived at their new places of residence in household groups usually via regular passenger rail service, traveling on one-way, second-class tickets. Only in rare cases were goods wagons used.[33] But by and large sympathy-arousing scenes of brutality as seen during the deportations from Yugoslav Macedonia and Aegean Greece did not take place. In this way the public profile of displacement was minimized.

The following cities received Jews evicted from their homes in Sofia and certain other places during the late spring and summer months of 1943: Berkovitsa, Burgas, Byala Slatina, Dupnitsa, Ferdinand (today: Montana), Gorna Dzhumaya, Haskovo, Karnobat, Kyustendil, Lukovit, Pleven, Razgrad, Ruse, Samokov, Shumen, Stara Zagora, Troyan, Varna, Vidin, and Vratsa. Jews sent to Stara Zagora were forced to leave again after only one month, by order of the army, which maintained a headquarters in that city.[34] They were then dispersed to other cities. Otherwise the KEV managed to obtain overall compliance from local authorities, with the significant exception of the important city of Plovdiv. Most Jews there were not evicted from their residences, and Plovdiv did not receive forcibly displaced Jews from elsewhere. But some Jews, seeking to evade deportation, sought refuge in Plovdiv. Although certain ghetto restrictions went into effect there, the protests of the city's leading Bulgarian Orthodox Church cleric, Archbishop Kiril, may account for the partially obstructed KEV agenda.

The KEV held theoretical control over the country's Jews with the exceptions of those mobilized in units of the OVTP, those in prisons under the Interior Ministry, and those actively resisting in armed partisan bands or in hiding. The ghetto restrictions affected not only Jews evicted from their homes but also those remaining on site. Details varied, but in general these restrictions included the following: limiting daily movement outside a dwelling to a few daylight hours; wearing the yellow badge; circumscribing movement within town limits when a curfew allowed the Jews outside their dwellings; placing most public facilities off-limits to Jews; forbidding all commercial activity; marking residences with the sign "Jewish residence" (*Evreisko zhilishte*); and forbidding Jews and non-Jews to live in the same domicile. The mobility of Jews had already been seriously curtailed by the confiscation of their automobiles, motorcycles, and bicycles.

The KEV aimed to keep the Jews firmly in place, so they could be assembled quickly at such time when the deportations would resume. For each municipality the KEV kept lists of the dislocated Jews, noting those present and also their family members on forced labor deployment. Because Belev had intended the eviction of Jews and their removal to other cities to be a short-term interim step, the KEV did not enunciate an encompassing protocol for governing permanent provincial ghettos apart from the restrictions already noted. Procedural details were necessarily left to the discretion of local authorities. These personnel consisted of the KEV "delegate" for each city, the municipal apparatus, and the police. Some control systems also made Jews responsible for each other's compliance with the rules. In Shumen, for example, accountable headmen were appointed over groups of several households domiciled together.[35]

Maintaining social segregation presented a problem because the KEV as an interloping agency lacked the authority to vacate non-Jews from largely Jewish zones or to erect physical barriers demarcating those spaces within a city. No doubt such disruptive moves would have been stoutly opposed by ordinary residents and their elected political representatives. The Jewish-occupied residences in which the KEV housed incoming Jews were typically clustered in the ethnically mixed older parts of towns. With the non-Jewish neighbors remaining on site, some interaction was inevitable. This geographic pattern is evident in every KEV deportation list that shows the Jewish-occupied addresses where uprooted Jews were accommodated, such as in the Danube port city of Lom.[36] Such neighborhoods normally consisted of shabby tenements. In Haskovo, the police

defined a restricted area beyond which Jews were forbidden to go. Elsewhere as in Vratsa the newcomers received temporary lodgings in school buildings that were vacant for the summer recess.[37] In Pleven, the influx of Jews was so great that tent camps were improvised on the city outskirts. In all these places the warmer months brought Jews out of their overcrowded quarters onto the streets when permitted. Some mingling with non-Jews was therefore unavoidable. In response the KEV insisted on the mandatory display of the yellow star to promote social shunning of Jews by the majority population.

In July 1943 the antisemitic ideologue Belev was replaced as head of the KEV. This move amounted to a substantive step by which deportation was indefinitely but tacitly shelved. However, a clearly articulated plan was lacking. Boris III died of a heart attack on August 28, but the succeeding regency government left policy toward the Jews in an unresolved state. Tension remained high, with informal threats to deport used by lower level officials as a means to intimidate. Under these conditions the regent continued to emphasize the decrees that restricted Jews to ghetto conditions. Local authorities made efforts to enforce the rules, although the need to reiterate segregation ordinances implied that noncompliance and backsliding had occurred.

The experiences of Jews varied widely in different places and according to individual circumstances. On innumerable occasions Bulgarians defied KEV rules to assist Jews by providing food, shelter, or surreptitious employment. Bulgarian friends and neighbors sometimes protected Jewish property, returning it after the antisemitic laws were nullified. Help of this sort attenuated the harsh ghetto conditions. Such acts have endured brightly in the collective memory to boost Bulgaria's reputation as a nation that rescued Jews; however, counterbalancing these acts of decency were routine instances of theft, harassment, and physical assault.

The harsh conditions persisted until September 1944, although news of the Red Army's steady approach through Romania toward the Danube softened antisemitic attitudes among some Bulgarians. After the country abandoned the Axis and nullified the Law for the Defense of the Nation, many Jews remained homeless. Not all were able to regain their confiscated assets and former apartments in Sofia and other cities. With Bulgaria then on the Allied side, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC) operated soup kitchens among other forms of assistance for displaced Jews in the former KEV ghettos.[38]

FORCED LABOR DEPLOYMENTS IN 1944

On their discharge from forced labor at the end of the 1943 work season, Jewish conscripts returned in many cases not to their homes but to their displaced families in the KEV-imposed ghettos. Some had no place to go at all. That was the plight of the Greek Jews who survived the labor battalions when their families were deported in March. Mumdzhiev took action on their behalf. He was approached by Jews from his home town of Plovdiv, asking him to provide protection to those Greek Jews. The commander's response was to issue these men papers granting indefinite furloughs instead of seasonal discharge. Several dozen Greek Jews were safeguarded in this manner. Legally they remained under the OVTP's aegis, beyond the KEV's control in case deportations were resumed.[39]

As a practical matter, although the deportation danger had passed, that circumstance was not yet widely understood, and Mumdzhiev's action indicated an intent to rescue. On the professional side he still had a job to do as commander of labor troops when the 1944 construction season began. At some sites his efforts to ameliorate harsh conditions and discourage mistreatment of the Jews were partially successful, but abuses still continued in other places. Much depended on the disposition of the battalion or work group leaders. Overt antisemites still commanded several units. Increased partisan activity also heightened tensions. Then, toward the end of August and in early September, the Red Army's approach encouraged many Jews to flee the work sites.

The deployments during this final year of Jewish forced labor were as follows. Again the 1st Battalion maintained a home base in Sofia, although its field deployments as in 1943 remained on the highway-building project near Ihtiman.[40] Along with the sites occupied in 1943, Vakarel (36 kilometers or 22 miles southeast of Sofia) and Verinsko (42 kilometers or 26 miles southeast of Sofia) were later recalled by veterans as bivouacs on the Ihtiman project in 1944.[41]

As in the previous year, the 6th Battalion maintained its main office in Pleven with a field headquarters at Lovech, but under a different commander, Ivan Iotov Simitchiev. In addition to the Jews who worked building roads in the Lovech area, units of ethnic Bulgarian, Turkish, Serb (*Moravtsi*), and Greek conscripts served in the battalion.[42]

A small unit called the 14th group of the 2nd Detachment worked at Kurtovo Konare (117 kilometers or 73 miles southeast of Sofia). It was overseen by a mere sergeant (*feldfebel*) named Simeonov who coped with rampant desertion as political developments rapidly unfolded. On September 5, 1944, Simeonov plaintively requested that the Plovdiv police arrest 28 members of the work group, residents of Plovdiv who had absconded and presumably returned to that city. His importunings failed. Four days later only 25 men were still present, 129 having left of their own volition.[43]

The Holocaust in Bulgaria had ended. Jews gradually drifted back to Sofia from the labor battalions and makeshift ghettos. In March 1945, Sofia People's Court Panel VII tried 64 Bulgarian defendants accused of antisemitic persecution. Among those in the dock was Mumdzhiev. But his actions on behalf of Jewish conscripts were favorably recalled in a series of petitions to the court signed by labor battalion veterans.[44] Mumdzhiev was acquitted. By the end of the 1940s a full-scale exodus of Jews brought most of the community to the newly created state of Israel.

SOURCES Secondary sources examining Bulgaria's royal dictatorship, the Holocaust in Bulgaria, and Bulgaria's camps and ghettos include Frederick B. Chary, *The Bulgarian Jews and the*

Final Solution (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972); Tsvetan Todorov, *La fragilité du bien: Le sauvetage des juifs bulgares* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999); Lea Cohen, *You Believe: Eight Views on the Holocaust in the Balkans* (Sofia: Holocaust Fund of the Jews from Macedonia, 2013); Vŭrban Todorov and Nikolai Poppetrov, *VII Sŭstav na narodniya sŭd* (Sofia: Iztok Zapad, 2013); Holy Synod, Bulgarian Orthodox Church, *The Power of Civil Society in a Time of Genocide: Proceedings of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church on the Rescue of the Jews in Bulgaria,1940–1944* (Sofia: Sofia University Press, 2005); and David Koen, *Evreite v Bŭlgariya, 1878–1949* (Sofia: Izd-vo "Fakel-Leonidovi" SD, 2008). Since 1966, the Organization of Jews in Bulgaria "Shalom" has published an annual, *Godishnik*, which concerns the history of the Bulgarian Jewish community and its wartime persecution. Two articles that document the DPODS camps are Angel Krŭstev, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya," *Vekove* 6 (1986): 22–31 and Ivan Grigorov, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya: Pŭrva chast: Predi 9 Septemvri 1944 g.," *Pro-Anti* 15: 12 (March 2006): 24–30. Useful geographical information for Bulgarian sites can be found in Elko Hazan et al., *Evreiskite obshtnosti v Bŭlgariya i tehnite sinagogi* (Sofia: Kameya, 2012).

Primary sources documenting the camps and ghettos of Bulgaria can be found in various collections of TsDA. At USHMMA, some of this documentation is available in microform as RG-46.058M (HC VII), RG-46.049M (KEV), and RG-46.058M (GVA). Additional documentation can be found in the archival collections of TsVA, TDia, and Tva. Some information on Stambuliiski's model of labor service can be found in the report by Kenneth Holland, *Youth in European Labor Camps: A Report to the American Youth Commission* (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1939). A collection of published documents and testimonies is David Koen, ed., *Otselyavaneto: Sbornik ot dokumenti, 1940–1944* (Sofia: Izdatelski tsentŭr "Shalom," 1995). Some interviews by survivors of Bulgaria's temporary ghettos can be found in partial English translation at www.centropa.org. Published testimonies of the Bulgarian camps and labor battalions include Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960); Daniel Tsion, *Pet godini pod fashistki gnet* (Sofia: N.P., 1945); and Anzhel Wagenstein, *Predi kraia na sveta* (Sofia: Colibri, 2011). A published testimony in novel form is Viktor Baruh, *Beyond the Law*, trans. Elena Mladenova (Sofia: Foreign Languages Press, 1965).

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NOTES

1. Krŭstev, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya," p. 28.
2. Aron Mois Koen and Nastya Isakova testimonies, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.
3. TDia, fond 284, opis 1, a.e. 7887, p. 31.
4. TDia, fond 370, opis 1, a.e 1352, pp. 2–12.
5. Only one inmate death is reported in DPODS facilities, that of a man who succumbed to peritonitis following an appendectomy.
6. Author's interview with Viktor Baruh in Sofia, March 12, 2013.
7. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 116.
8. Records for the 5th Labor Battalion in 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.
9. Order No. 71 of the 3rd Labor Battalion (August 27, 1941) is a paymaster's list of disbursements to unit personnel, whose ethnic identity may be inferred from their names; TsVA, fond 2004, opis 1, a.e. 42.
10. Records of the 5th Labor Battalion for 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.
11. USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.
12. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 124.
13. TsVA, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 29, is a mustering-out roster of the battalion, Order No. 105, December 14, 1942, but the document does not identify the precise deployments of each work group.
14. According to Battalion Order No. 16, July 11, 1942, the following groups operated under the 5th Battalion. The 1st Group had not yet been formed. The 2nd Group, consisting of Jews, was deployed at Trevna (Trŭvna; Tryavna; almost 179 kilometers or 111 miles northeast of Sofia). The 3rd Group, made up of "unemployed" (Roma), was deployed at Stokit village (Stokite; more than 144 kilometers or just over 89 miles northeast of Sofia) in the Sevlievsko district. The 4th Group, also "unemployed," was deployed at Dve-Mogili (more than 229 kilometers or approximately 143 miles northeast of Sofia). The 5th Group, also "unemployed," was deployed at Dragomirovo village (181 kilometers or more than 112 miles northeast of Sofia), in the Svishtovsko district. The 6th Group, also "unemployed," was close to the 5th group in Oresh village (almost 184 kilometers or 114 miles northeast of Sofia) in the Svishtovsko district. The 7th Group, consisting of 307 Jews, was deployed at Dolna and Gorna Oryahovovitsa (more than 199 kilometers or 124 miles northeast of Sofia). The 8th Group with "unemployed" was deployed at Teteven (approximately 81 kilometers or just over 50 miles northeast of Sofia). The 9th Group with "unemployed" (Roma) was deployed at Vidima village in the Troyansko district (approximately 150 kilometers or 93 miles northeast of Sofia). The 10th Group had not yet formed as of the order's date. The 11th Group enrolling Jews was deployed at Zhelezartsi (almost 229 kilometers or 142 miles northeast of Sofia) along the Zhelŭzartsi-Kesarev road, near Gorna Oryahovitsa. The 12th Group enrolling Jews was deployed at Mikre village (104 kilometers or approximately 65 miles northeast of Sofia). Apart from these battalion deployments, in 1942 a Jewish detachment served in Rudnik (just over 340 kilometers or more than 211 miles east of Sofia, near Burgas on the Black Sea coast). Other deployments of Jews were in Kostinbrod (16 kilometers or 10 miles northwest of Sofia) and Voluyak (approximately 10 kilometers or 6 miles northwest of Sofia). Sources on 5th Labor Battalion deployments: 5th Battalion Order No. 22, August 23 1942, TsVA, fond 2062, opis 1, a.e. 15; on the Rudnik deployment, see the deposition by Sami Haim Alsheh, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, p. 61.
15. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 138.
16. Ibid., p. 137.
17. Ibid., p. 137.
18. TsVA, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 39.
19. TsVA, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.
20. TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 4. Constituent groups of the 2nd Battalion were deployed as follows: the 1st Jewish Group at Zvŭnichevo (95 kilometers or 59 miles southeast from Sofia and 7 kilometers or almost 4.5 miles west of the city of Pazardzhik); the 2nd Jewish Group at Sestrimo (over 72 kilometers or 45 miles southeast of Sofia); the 3rd Jewish Group at Malko Bŭlovo (Malko Belovo; over 80 kilometers or 50 miles southeast of Sofia) with a presence of Jewish forced laborers at nearby

Saran'ovo (today: Septemvri; more than 83 kilometers or nearly 52 miles southeast of Sofia); and the 4th Jewish Group at Kula, Vŭtren village (more than 76 kilometers or almost 48 miles southeast of Sofia and about halfway between Pazardzhik and Ihtiman). A separate group worked at Kurtovo Konare, more than 117 kilometers or nearly 73 miles southeast of Sofia, between Pazardzhik and Plovdiv.

21. Reminiscence read by Viktor Baruh in Sofia on the occasion of Holocaust Commemoration Day, January 27, 2013; also interview with Baruh, March 12, 2013.

22. Tva, fond 2069, opis 1, a.e. 3.

23. Poruchik Minkov and General Todorov were the proper names of railway stations along this route.

24. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

25. 6th Battalion Order no. 20, May 28, 1943, TsVA, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.

26. Both memoranda are on USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

27. TsDA, fond 2123, opis 1, t II, a.e. 4096, pp. 188–192.

28. TsDA, fond 190K, opis 1, a.e. 8518, pp. 1–3.

29. Kalitsin deposition, HC VII, TsDA, fond 1568, opis 1, a.e. 138.

30. TsDA, fond 1568K, opis 1, a.e. 137, pp. 53–55; and "General Instructions for Implementing the Action of Deporting the Jews," TsDA, fond 2123, opis 1, m. II, a.e. 4096, pp. 167–172.

31. Yaroslav Kalitsin testimony and deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; also TsDA, fond 656K, opis 1, a.e. 3, pp. 1–4.

32. Report by SS-Sturmbannführer Adolf Hoffmann, police attache in Sofia, reproduced in Koen, ed., *Otselyavaneto*, Doc. No. 122, pp. 256–257.

33. Rosa Anzhel interview at www.centropa.org.

34. Eshua Almalech interview at www.centropa.org.

35. USHMMA, RG-46.049M (KEV), reel 305.

36. Typical is the list of Jewish homes in Lom, with street addresses, in TsDA, fond 1568K, opis 1, a.e. 103.

37. Roza Anzhel interview at www.centropa.org.

38. Bulgarian National Archive, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 272, p. 48.

39. Mumdzhiev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; and Mumdzhiev dossier, in the same collection, reel 7.

40. TsVA, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 29.

41. Jewish Claims Conference survivors' compensation data forms.

42. Other deployments in 1944 were at Smedovo and Veselinovo, Svishtov, and Gorno and Dolno Oryahovo. Veterans of the labor battalions also recalled being posted in 1944 in Saran'ovo (Septemvri; 19 kilometers or 12 miles west of Pazardzhik); Katunitsa (143 kilometers or almost 89 miles southeast of Sofia), and Kaspichan (321 kilometers or more than 199 miles northeast of Sofia); information extrapolated from Jewish Claims Conference survivors' compensation data forms.

43. Dossier of defendant Hristo Dimitrov Iovchev, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

44. Verdicts, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

Camps and Ghettos in Bulgaria
Romania
Serbia
Albania
Greece
Turkey
Turkey
Greece
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
Bulgaria
CALAFAT
Somovit
Svishtov
RAZGRAD
SHUMEN
VARNA
Ferdinand
MONTANA
Vratsa
LOVECH
Dolna Oryahovitsa
Gorna Oryahovitsa
Zhelŭzartsi
Smedovo
Gara Bov
Trŭnska Klisura
SOFIA
Ribaritsa
Gara Chepino
Ihtiman
BURGAS
Dupnitsa
Zvŭnichevo
Pazardzhik
PLOVDIV
KARDZHALI
Gonda Voda
Haskovo
Gorna Dzhumaya
SKOPIE
Struma Valley
Nedelino
Krŭstopole
CITY
CITY & CAMP/GHETTO
Camp/Ghetto
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0 25 50 75 100 kilometers
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
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DUPNITSA

The Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) established a transit camp and a temporary ghetto in Dupnitsa (Dupnitza), Sofiya oblast, some 51 kilometers (almost 32 miles) southwest of Sofia. Both sites were closely associated with the Bulgarian regime's preparation for the deportation of Jews in 1943.

KEV official Ivan Paitashev ran the transit camp, a small tobacco warehouse of limited capacity hastily adapted to incarcerate inmates. The inmates were "Aegean" Jews dispatched from Bulgarian-occupied portions of Greece. The roundups began on March 4, 1943. Jews from the northern Greek towns of Komotini (Giumiurdzhina) and Xanthi were sent to the camp.

Adequate provisions intended for the Jews at Dupnitsa were waylaid by the Bulgarian guard staff, according to a Jewish doctor who was confined there but was later released.[1] The inmates' duration at this camp lasted from 11 to 12 days, after which a series of trains took the deportees to the Danube barge port of Lom. From there they boarded riverboats bound for Vienna and then trains to the final destination of Treblinka. All were murdered on arrival.

In early June 1943, as part of the KEV's plans for deporting Bulgaria's Jews, Dupnitsa was the site of a temporary ghetto for Jews from Sofia. According to a list prepared by the KEV and arranged by head of household, there were 1,624 Jews assigned to the Dupnitsa ghetto. This list included Jewish men then on deployment in forced labor camps. The KEV began assigning Jews to Sofia as early as May 30, 1943, and continued until at least June 7, with 113 people assigned on the first day, and then a progression from 223 to 255 Jews per day between June 3 and June 6, 1943.[2] The ghetto continued to exist until September 1944.

Victoria Behar, who stayed in her grandparents' house in Dupnitsa after her family's expulsion from Sofia, recalled experiencing torment at the hands of Bulgarian youths belonging to the fascist Brannik group and of police:

> We were forbidden to pass along the main street in Dupnitza after 4 P.M. and we were absolutely banned to go out on the street after 8 P.M. But one day I had to send a letter to my father, who was in Sofia that week. I only had to cross the main street; this was all that we were allowed to do. It was around 5 or 6 P.M. and on my return, in the Jewish neighborhood, a Jewish boy, who was a friend of ours, took me quickly to their place, because the Branniks, along with the police, were organizing a manhunt against the Jews. I spent some time at their place, but I was afraid that my family would be worried about me. In the end, the Jewish family let me go, so that I wouldn't be out after 8 P.M., and the situation outside also seemed calmer.
>
> But, suddenly, as I was walking, two Branniks jumped out on the street next to the river where we lived and where we had the right to walk. Policemen came and took me to the police station; there were also other Jews there who had been taken from the streets without them violating the curfew and with no other reason whatsoever. They left us there the whole night, and we had no idea what would happen to us. We waited and we asked, but they only told us, "You'll stay here!" At around 3 or 4 A.M. they told us to leave our ID cards and they let us go. An uncle of mine was also among the arrested and we went home together. Later the police told my mother that she had to pay 200 levs to get my ID card back. This was unimaginable terror.[3]

SOURCES A published source that includes testimony from the Dupnitsa transit camp is Natan Grinberg, *Dokumenti* (Sofia, 1945).

Primary sources documenting the Dupnitsa ghetto can be found in TsDA, KEV documentation, available at USHMMA as RG-46.049M. Testimonies by Victoria Behar (under Viktoriia Bekhar) can be found at VHA, June 3, 1998 (#46835), and an English summary is at www.centropa.org.

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NOTES

1. Dr. Marko Avram Perets testimony, Grinberg, *Dokumenti*, pp. 106–107.
2. The list is in USHMMA, RG-46.049M (TsDA, KEV), reel 309.
3. Behar interview, September 2002, available at www.centropa.org/biography/victoria-behar.

FERDINAND

Ferdinand (today: Montana), then in the Vrachan oblast, is a city approximately 80 kilometers (50 miles) north of Sofia. In the spring and summer of 1943, Ferdinand was the site of a temporary ghetto, set up as part of the KEV's anti-Jewish policy of deportation. A description of the situation in this ghetto comes from survivor Mazal (née Eshkenazi) Asael, who as a young woman hid in Ferdinand after the deportations from Sofia. Her parents were dispatched to the Dupnitsa ghetto, but she was subsequently reunited with them when they were sent to Ferdinand. According to Asael,

> I tried to work while I was in Ferdinand to help my family. I sewed for the neighbors so that we could buy some food. I was not a professional dressmaker but I mended clothes. In Ferdinand I also looked after children, made bricks, dug in the vineyards. All that was illegal and I did it without the knowledge of the police as we had the right to go out of our homes for only three hours a day. I worked as an assistant in the shop of some friends of my parents. I used to hide my badge while I was at work, and when the police found out that I was a stranger in town, and that I was working illegally, they didn't know about my Jewish

origins. So I managed to leave town before they discovered my identity. I used to hide my badge all the time and the police didn't know that I was a Jew.[1]

SOURCES Survivor's accounts by Mazal Asael documenting the Ferdinand ghetto can be found at VHA, February 23, 1998 (#41214), and an English summary is online at www.centropa.org.

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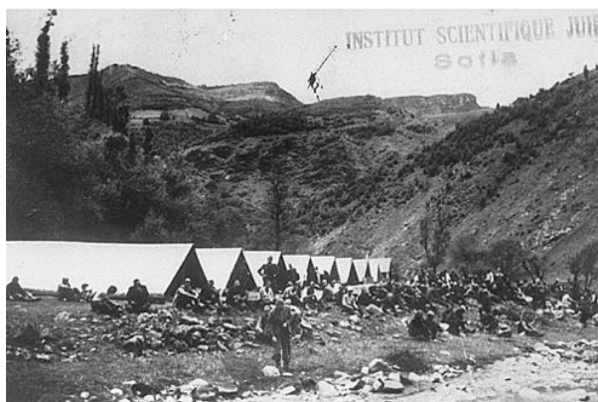
NOTE

1. Asael interview, June 2002, available at www.centropa.org/biography/mazal-asael.

GARA BOV

In 1941, as the Bulgarian authorities imposed antisemitic regulations regarding the forced labor of Jews, the objective of the 1st Labor Battalion was to improve motorway access from Sofia to the economically productive plain between the Danube and the Balkan range. It operated in four locations—Lakatnik, Gara Bov, Tserovo, and Rebrovo—that lay along the course of the Iskŭr River. In this region the Iskŭr cuts a narrow gorge through hilly terrain, which posed engineering challenges for road building. Gara Bov, then in the Sofiya oblast, is located 36 kilometers (22 miles) north of Sofia.

Located approximately in the middle of the battalion's four bivouacs, Gara Bov was the headquarters site from which a Major Rogozarov commanded the battalion. Unit records list four large Jewish labor companies, each enrolling some 400 workers.[1] Most of the battalion's Jewish personnel were residents of Sofia, so for them these postings were not too far from home. The battalion's first year is well documented in privately taken photographs, because cameras belonging to Jews had not yet been confiscated.[2] Some photographs appear to have been taken by family members on a visit to the bivouac. The posed snapshots typically show the men smiling as they practice their new construction tasks or relax on breaks. But the unit rosters



Jews at a forced labor camp near the village of Bov, 1941.
USHMM WS #90948, COURTESY OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

also reveal substantial numbers on sick call as the weeks progressed and the temperature soared. Work proceeded under strong sunlight with scant shade.[3] In addition to those who fell ill, many simply deserted.

Part of the work at Rebrovo entailed the installation of a reinforced concrete bridge. Ordinarily such an assignment would be entrusted to a seasoned crew, rather than to the Jews at this site, who were novices hurriedly learning an unsought trade on the job. Neither here nor at other projects did the results garner technical praise from on high. There were inspections. A photograph taken in August 1941 shows General-Major Anton Stefanov Ganev at Rebrovo reviewing the forced laborers who stand at attention wearing army work boots, baggy regulation shorts, and uniform summer fatigue hats. It is a disciplined, military style stand-to for the commander's visit, but not a dress parade. On a hot day, the rank-and-file laborers are shirtless, revealing torsos that show no overt signs of inadequate nutrition. An officer or NCO of the unit in full uniform is saluting the general as he strides past.[4] In another photograph taken about a month later at Rebrovo, Rabbi Asher Hananel and a cantor from Sofia's main synagogue are shown conducting religious services for the High Holidays.[5] Ganev's permission would certainly have been required for these observances to have taken place.

A veteran of the bivouac at Tserovo, Leon Lazarov described the work there as extremely difficult despite what he called the "humane" attitude of Major Rogozarov. Lazarov, a musician, was one of the lucky battalion members whom Rogozarov excused from road construction to form a unit band. They rehearsed at the school gym in Tserovo village. The band performed at the battalion work sites and also gave concerts in towns around western Bulgaria. Such arrangements for Jewish forced laborers were possible only during 1941.[6]

Yet, occasional musical accompaniment at work was unable to boost either efficiency or morale. By background and physique many of the Jewish conscripts proved unsuited to the demands of satisfactorily completing a roadbed while bivouacking in rough conditions away from their urban home environment. The 1st Battalion records indicate that, by midsummer, unauthorized leave became a significant problem. From Rebrovo, Tserovo, Gara Bov, and Lakatnik the capital was not too distant and was reachable along a well-traveled route, making it relatively easy for conscripts to decamp and spend some time with their families. Disciplinary measures on return to the unit included short-term confinement to a brig, as well as deprivation of pay and privileges.[7]

As the persecution of Jewish forced laborers from 1942 to 1944 demonstrates, the conditions in the Gara Bov camp—namely the existence of low-ranking Jewish officers and the protection of private property—were short-lived.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the 1st Labor Battalion, headquartered in Gara Bov, can be found in TsVA. A published memoir is Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960). A survivor's interview is available at www.centropa.org/biography/leon-lazarov.

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NOTES

1. The 4th Group at Lakatnik carried 416 men on its roster. 1st Battalion Order No. 110, October 16, 1941, TsVA fond 2002, opis 1, a.e. 46, does not specify the deployment as Lakatnik, but it includes the names of the 4th Group's Jewish officers. These same men are then all identified in a photograph of Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 121; its caption states that the 4th Group worked at Lakatnik.
2. See, for example, "Group portrait of Bulgarian Jews in a forced labor brigade in Bov," USHMMPA, WS #55602 (USHMM, Courtesy of Jon Varsano).
3. TsVA, fond 2002, opis 1, a.e. 46.
4. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, pp. 118, 120.
5. Ibid., p. 181.
6. Interview with Leon Lazarov at www.centropa.org/biography/leon-lazarov.
7. TsVA, fond 2002, opis 1, a.e. 45.

GARA CHEPINO

In 1941 the 5th Labor Battalion, based in Veliko Turnovo, set up a field headquarters in Gara Chepino, Sofiya oblast (45 kilometers or 28 miles west of Sofia), where it deployed four ad hoc construction companies made up of Jewish officers and rank and file.[1] Although a railway already served this area the conscripts had to build an entirely new road to the site. Their task required intense labor to clear vegetation and rocks in dense forest and to level the ground for the roadbed.[2]

Ten to 12 Jewish officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) led each of the battalion's four construction companies. The attached engineering and technical units initially comprised ethnic Bulgarians, except for the bridge-building unit, which included men with Muslim names. However, a small Jewish-staffed technical company also appeared on the books as the season progressed, indicating some flexibility in the use of human resources at lower unit levels.[3] After October 1 the battalion's 1st Construction Company changed over to Bulgarian personnel, but the other three companies remained Jewish. These men were mustered out by mid-November when the battalion core cadre returned to its Veliko Turnovo base.[4]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the 5th Labor Battalion, headquartered in 1941 in Gara Chepino, can be found in TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53. A published memoir is Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960).

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NOTES

1. Records of the 5th Labor Battalion for 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.
2. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 119.
3. Records of the 5th Labor Battalion for 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.
4. 5th Labor Battalion Orders No. 54, 61, 62, 63, 68, 71, 72, 80, and 82 for 1941, TsVA, fond 2006, opis 1, a.e. 53.

GONDA VODA

On January 21, 1941, the Bulgarian security police established one of its "state security settlements" (*selishta na dŭrzhavna sigurnost*) in Gonda Voda, Plovdiv oblast, 153 kilometers (95 miles) southeast of Sofia. The director of the Plovdiv police, Hristo Dragolov; the Plovdiv district director, B. Mihailov; and the Asenovgrad police chief Ivan Dimitrov agreed to locate the security camp on the grounds of what had been a summer camp for children. Construction proceeded during the autumn of 1940 under the direction of the Asenovgrad city architect Matei Mateev, with funds channeled through the Asenovgrad municipal government.

The first five Gonda Voda inmates arrived on February 23, 1941, followed in the next few days by another four dozen; by the end of March the number grew to 54. A pause then ensued. Some persons classed as "anglophiles" were released during the following three months until by early June the camp population was down to 25 inmates. For a short interlude, there seemed to be a decline in the Bulgarian authorities' use of internment as a means of intimidation and control.

The inmate population abruptly jumped to 162 in the weeks after June 22, 1941, the date of Nazi Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. From that time on, in response to calls from Moscow, Bulgarian communist resistance to the pro-Axis regime in Sofia stepped up to include sabotage of economic and military installations. The Bulgarian security organs reacted to this activity by imposing preventive detention on communist party activists and the communist youth auxiliary. Also taken into custody were presumed pro-communist veterans of the International Brigade (Interbrigade) in the Spanish Civil War, collectively deemed at this point to pose a potential security threat.[1]

Two waves of mass arrests marked this phase of what would gradually expand into a low-intensity civil war. The first wave came on July 3, followed by a second on September 2, 1941.

Gonda Voda inmates were deployed in building a road to the camp and at tasks in the surrounding hilly terrain. But such labor details created security vulnerabilities. On August 15 and again on August 31, 1941, armed resistance fighters attacked Gonda Voda and succeeded in freeing several dozen prisoners. The liberated internees joined the partisans. More escapes followed in September. Undaunted, the authorities continued to send internees to Gonda Voda, including those transferred from the Galata security camp in Varna some 379 kilometers (236 miles) east of Sofia.

Gonda Voda closed in December 1941 for the winter season, but reopened in the spring of 1942 with 50 inmates. It continued to operate, with seasonal closures, into 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Gonda Voda camp are Angel Krŭstev, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya," *Vekove* 6 (1986): 28 and Ivan Grigorov, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya. Pŭrva chast: Predi 9 Septemvri 1944 g.," *Pro-Anti*, 15: 12 (March 24–30, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Gonda Voda camp can be found in TDia.

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NOTE

1. TDia, fond 370, opis 1, a.e 788, pp. 20–22.

GORNA DZHUMAYA

Gorna Dzhumaya (today: Blagoevgrad), then in the Sofiya oblast, some 78 kilometers (more than 48 miles) southwest of Sofia, was the site of a transit camp for Jews established by the Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) in March 1943. Under the direction of KEV official Ivan Tepavski, the improvised camp consisted of a large tobacco warehouse and two school buildings. The KEV used the transit camp and a smaller one in Dupnitsa to incarcerate the deported "Aegean" Jews from Bulgarian-occupied Greece. Jews from Pirot in the Bulgarian-annexed part of Serbia were also quartered there. Tepavski fed the inmates a skimpy ration of bread and a bean soup once a day.[1] The inmates stayed at these camps from 11 to 12 days, after which a series of trains took them to the Danube barge port of Lom. From there they boarded riverboats bound for Vienna and then trains to the final destination of Treblinka. All were murdered on arrival.

As part of its plans for deporting Bulgaria's Jews, KEV subsequently established a temporary ghetto for Jews in Gorna Dzhumaya.

SOURCES A published source that reproduces documentation from the Gorna Dzhumaya transit camp is Natan Grinberg, *Dokumenti* (Sofia: N.P., 1945).

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NOTE

1. Tepavski in Grinberg, *Dokumenti*, pp. 108–109.

GORNA ORYAHOVITSA AND DOLNA ORYAHOVITSA

Dolna ("Lower") and Gorna ("Upper") Oryahovitsa were related camps in north central Bulgaria, in the Pleven oblast, located on the north and south banks of the Yantra River, respectively. Unpaid Jewish conscripts performed forced labor there during the warmer months of 1942 and 1943. The work in 1942 entailed digging to rechannel the local course of the Yantra.[1] That year the 7th Group of the 5th (Jewish) Labor Battalion was deployed both at Dolna Oryahovitsa, which is 203 kilometers (125 miles) east of Sofia, and at Gorna Oryahovitsa, which is 200 kilometers (124 miles) east of Sofia. A unit roster dated August 23, 1942, lists 307 Jews in the 7th Group. The group commander was a kapitan Sirmayov.[2] Poruchik Nikofor Mladenov Pavlov subsequently joined the unit after the work season had been underway for some time.[3] The 5th Battalion's 11th Group enrolled another 285 men, who bivouacked at the nearby village of Zhelŭzartsi. Both groups included Jews drafted from metropolitan Bulgaria; the Bulgarian-annexed Greek towns of Xanthi, Seres, and Kavala; and German-occupied Thessaloniki.[4] The battalion also had groups working elsewhere in the region; however, there is more detailed information about Gorna Oryahovitsa and Dolna Oryahovitsa because Poruchik Pavlov, who was the superintendent for the labor groups at these facilities, stood trial in March 1945 charged with persecuting the Jews.

During 1942 the 5th Battalion was commanded by a podpolkovnik Atanasov, headquartered in the city of Veliko Tŭrnovo. He inspected the Yantra River work sites toward the end of August 1942,[5] decreeing an impossible work quota for each man: to dig 12 cubic meters (424 cubic feet) of earth daily, three times higher than the previous norm.[6] Atanasov made an insulting speech to intimidate the Jews toward attaining that goal. Ten thousand men were dying each day on the (Russian) front, he said, but the 40,000 Jews in Bulgaria could all be killed in one night. However, the effective work norm under Pavlov remained 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet) despite Atanasov's order.

Yet, additional pressure on the Jews at Gorna Oryahovitsa came from Poruchik Pavlov. He lengthened shifts beyond the eight to nine hours stipulated by the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) of the Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB) and extorted money from the Jews. One man suffering a high fever from malaria was still required to perform heavy work, despite a medical recommendation of light duty.[7] Pavlov also beat the men severely. It was during the 1942 work season that the work group learned that the tide of war had shifted in Russia when the Red Army halted the Germans at Stalingrad. That news resulted in a threat from Pavlov that none of the Jews would survive if the British and Soviet forces were victorious. "When the Russians come to Bulgaria, I'll mow you down with a machine gun," he said.[8]

The 1942 work season ended with a mustering-out order of the 5th Battalion on November 20, 1942.[9]

In 1943 the 1st Group of the 5th Jewish Labor Battalion was deployed at Dolna Oryahovitsa, although some of its men were quartered at the village of Pisarevo, some 5 kilometers (3 miles) east. The battalion's 2nd Group bivouacked at Gorna Oryahovitsa. Overseeing these groups at the outset was a podporuchik Skachkov, who was subsequently replaced by a kapitan Mihailov and then by Podporuchik Todor Hristov Toshkov.[10] The men worked at various tasks along the banks of the Yantra, on the grounds of a sugar factory, and also at the nearby Babinets quarry.[11] The overall unit strength was some 380 conscripts.[12]

According to postwar testimony by unit veterans, Skachkov wielded control via the "golden key" (his own quoted words) of extortion. He appointed one of the Jews, Buko Menahemov, as an agent to collect money from the others as bribes for the granting of leave time to make short family visits. The price

for such furloughs was exorbitant, some 1,500 leva for three days. This was at a time when an active threat of deportation still hung over the Jews so that the labor conscripts suspected they might never see their families again.

Skachkov oversaw the men for only about a week, although that short time sufficed to earn him a lasting impression as an antisemite.[13] On assuming command, he announced, "I don't acknowledge greetings from a Jew." He declared that the life of one German was worth a thousand Jews and that the roads should be paved with the bones of Jews.[14] Skachkov tried to intimidate the conscripts by asking, "How much soil should be dug for a grave?" Although they were segregated from the general populace at the work sites, he insisted that the men wear the identifying yellow star required of Jews.[15]

Toshkov took charge on June 20, 1943, and held command for 50 days. During his trial in March 1945, he described the conditions at Gorna Oryahovitsa as "wretched," with inadequate barrack facilities. Frequent rain, mud, and high winds made the work difficult.[16] Between the periods of rain were episodes of scorching sunshine under which the men toiled. A large tree was available to provide some relief at the quarry worksite, although a veteran testified that Toshkov restricted access to its shade during work breaks, forcing the men to endure the sun.[17]

Maier Mandil, formerly a junior officer before Jews were expelled from the army, described Toshkov's command style to the People's Court Panel VII in March 1945. Mandil had been assigned to work in the quarry. He testified that Toshkov addressed the Jews as "filth" and without warning would suddenly hit a man from behind.[18] Like Skachkov before him, Toshkov threatened arbitrarily to shoot the Jews under his command, despite lacking the authority to do so. However, it was rumored that Toshkov had earlier shot a Pomak conscript, which lent credibility to the threat. Mandil quoted Toshkov as saying, "There will be a second Katyn forest here. It makes no difference to me if ten, fifteen, or twenty Jews die. I'll kill you all here."[19] By Katyn he referred to the massacre of Polish army officer prisoners of war (POWs) in the Soviet Union.

According to Mandil and other veterans, the extortion system continued under Toshkov. His agent among conscripts in the unit was Albert Shaulov.[20] Intimidation and misery were increased to induce the men to request leave time and then to force them to pay for the privilege. That pressure in turn led to desertions. On returning to the unit, those who had taken unauthorized leave faced further extortion to avoid beatings.[21] Others were beaten for having been absent.[22] After a large number of men were granted furloughs in exchange for bribes, word of such abuses reached higher authorities in the militarized labor system. Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, the labor troop commander, and the inspector of labor troops with the rank of major then visited the 5th Battalion in the field, Toshkov was subsequently transferred to duties in the nearby town of Pavlikeni, but was not disciplined and retained authority over labor conscripts.[23]

Testifying in his own defense at his 1945 trial, Toshkov attempted to justify his brutality by emphasizing the high desertion rate of the unit.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the forced labor camps in Gorna Oryahovitsa and Dolna Oryahovitsa can be found in GVA (available at USHMMA under RG-46.058M) and Tva, fond 2062.

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NOTES

1. Mois Aron Franko testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 2.
2. Naftali Bohor Eshkenazi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
3. Mois Aron Franko testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
4. Tva, fond 2062, opis 1, a.e. 15
5. Marko Yakov Mordehai and Naftali Bohor Eshkenazi testimonies, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
6. The norms were one, two, and four cubic meters, according to the testimony of Mois Aron Franko, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
7. Dr. Marko Bohor Soref testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
8. David Bohor Madzhar, Isak Kalderon, Eliezer Isak Alkalai, and Mois Aron Franko testimonies, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
9. Tva, fond 2062, opis 1, a.e. 15.
10. Zhak David Albelda testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
11. Avram Haim Farhi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
12. Todor Hristov Toshkov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.
13. Herzel Eshua Levi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
14. Leon David Ruben testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
15. Zhak David Albelda testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
16. Toshkov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.
17. Maier Mandil testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
18. Avram Moshe Elazar was also struck in this manner during August 1943, corroborating Maier Mandil's testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
19. Two other veterans, Merkado David Koen and Avram Moshe Elazar, corroborated Toshkov's reference to Katyn in their courtroom testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
20. Identified as such in testimony by Avram Haim Farhi, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
21. Herzel Eshua Levi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
22. Avram Moshe Elazar testimony, naming David Haskia and Marko Koen as victims, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
23. Herzel Eshua Levi and Leon David Ruben testimonies, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.

HASKOVO

The city of Haskovo in the Staro Zagora oblast, contained one of the smaller temporary ghettos established by the Bulgarian

Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV). Haskovo is 202 kilometers (126 miles) southeast of Sofia. The open ghetto existed along strictly delimited streets and housed Jews expelled from Sofia during the lead-up to KEV's planned deportation of Jews to the German authorities. According to a handwritten list dated June 30, 1943, there were 1,450 people assigned to the Haskovo ghetto. The list included Jewish men then on deployment in forced labor camps, so the actual number of inmates in the ghetto was smaller.[1] The ghetto continued to exist until September 1944.

The following notice, quoted in full, appeared six months after the Jews' arrival. It gives a sense of the restrictions placed on Jews in Bulgaria in the smaller ghettos set up by KEV:

Haskovo Police Authority
Regulations
No. 9
Haskovo City, December 10, 1943

On the basis of Paragraphs 19 and 21 of the decree of the Council of Ministers on 26 August 1942, as published in the Government Gazette, issue 192, 1942 and signed by the Commissar for Jewish Affairs as (orders) 126 and 258 of January 4, 1943,

WE ORDER

That as of today it is FORBIDDEN for Jews wearing the Jewish badge:

1. To circulate on these streets: "Sofia," "Otets Paisi," "Rakovska," part of Tŭrgovska, "Tsar Boris Square," and "Tsar Liberator"; or to leave their assigned area as bordered by these streets: "Shipka," "Ep. Sifroni," (sic: properly spelled "Sofroni"), "Musala," "Kŭrdzhali" as far as the police station, "Krŭsna," "Kardam," and "Struma" up to "Tsar Simeon," "Knyaz Svetoslav," and "Vasil Levski Boulevard" as far as "Shipka."
2. To visit the movie theaters "Balkan" and "Odeon."
3. To stay at the hotels "Tsar Boris III," "Central," "Maritsa," "Victoria," and "Tsar Simeon." At other hotels they are permitted to stay only up to ten days in a six-month period.
4. To visit eateries, pastry shops, barber shops, and other establishments which are located on the streets in Point 1, or furthermore, the following drinking establishments: "Dimitŭr Kalinov," "Doicho Peev," "Stoicho Stamatov," "Dobri Kalinov," "Todor Vŭlkov," "Grudio K. Ivanov," Grudi Stamov, Atanas Kunchev, and Ivan Shishkov, or to visit the cafés of Yanto Adato, Ardash N. Semerdzhiyan, Stoicho Grudev, or Mihail Ivanov.
5. To visit bazaars or stores earlier than 8 o'clock, or to go to the bazaar earlier than 9 o'clock on weekends.
6. To go to the municipal bath on any day other than Monday.

Violators are subject to fines of 100,000 leva under the Law for the Defense of the Nation.

Enforcement of these orders will be carried out by the police organs, and they shall be given widest publicity via the press and over loudspeakers.

POLICE COMMANDANT (signed) St. Ovcharov
Witnessed by the Haskovo police
command secretary (signed)[2]

The streets decreed off-limits at all times were broader thoroughfares than the ones in this notice. According to the listed street names it is evident that the Jews were spatially interspersed among non-Jews, although the decree aimed to restrict their movement to smaller byways such as those around the synagogue (on Kozlodui Street according to a map from that era.) But the interspersing of Jews and non-Jews and the lack of a clearly defined boundary such as a wall or physical barrier made such rules difficult to enforce; hence, this announcement was reiterated a half-year after the imposition of ghetto strictures. In addition to the fines announced in the notice, violators could also be punished by being sent to the Somovit concentration camp or its successor camps in Kailŭka and Tabakova Cheshma. It is also significant that the Haskovo police notice did *not* repeat the KEV ban on Jewish employment. The omission may have been an oversight, but it deviated from KEV policy.

Photographic evidence documents the misery of the Jewish deportees. One image shows a family of Jews expelled from Sofia to Haskovo and sleeping on the sidewalk.[3]

SOURCES A map helpful in indicating the streets of the Haskovo temporary ghetto can be found in Elko Hazan et al., *Evreiskite obshtnosti v Bŭlgariya i tehnite sinagogi* (Sofia: Kameya, 2012).

Primary sources documenting the temporary ghetto at Haskovo can be found in HC VII, available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M, and TsDA, KEV documentation, available at USHMMA as RG-46.049M. Photographic documentation of the Haskovo ghetto is available at USHMMPA (Courtesy of OJB).

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NOTES

1. The list is in USHMMA, RG-46.049M (TsDA, KEV), reel 311.
2. USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 5, p. 310; 100,000 leva is approximately $750 in 1940 U.S. dollars.
3. "Bulgarian Jewish refugees, expelled from Sofia, camp outside a building in Khaskovo," USHMMPA, WS #16252 (Courtesy of OJB).

IHTIMAN

Ihtiman was a forced labor camp located near the town of Ihtiman, Sofiya oblast, in a valley in the Sredna Gora Mountains, 40 kilometers (almost 25 miles) southeast of Sofia and 96 kilometers (60 miles) west of Plovdiv. During the warmer

Jewish families crowd into temporary living quarters in the balcony of the synagogue in Haskovo, July 1943.
USHMM WS #93678, COURTESY OF RENI YULZARI.

months of 1943 and again in 1944, the Bulgarian Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB) oversaw a highway construction project linking Sofia and Plovdiv, employing, among others, Jewish forced laborers. Prince Kiril of Bulgaria was especially interested in this effort to extend Bulgaria's international Highway 2. An engineering plan drawn up in March 1943 designated a 15-kilometer (more than 9-mile) stretch from Vakarel village to Ihtiman as Section VIII of this project. It also showed a smaller highway of 13 kilometers (more than 8 miles) to be built. The tightly budgeted plan was to be completed by September 15, 1943.[1]

In 1943, the 1st Labor Battalion, comprised of 1,400 unpaid Jewish conscripts in five unevenly sized work groups, was ordered to finish a 10-kilometer (more than 6-mile) segment.[2] (The unit was supposed to be 1,550 men strong, but Ivan Stoyan Gasharov, director of the Section VIII project, stated that only 1,400 reported for duty.) The nearby 1st Detachment deployed an additional 1,000 Jews, while the non-Jewish 13th Battalion worked on a 5-kilometer (3-mile) adjacent stretch. Ethnic Turkish and Serb (*Moravtsi*) conscripts and paid Bulgarian civilians served in separate units. Various bivouacs along the route—at Vakarel, Belovo, and Soludervent—functioned as Ihtiman subcamps. Living conditions for the forced laborers were spartan. Some men occupied wooden barracks, others tents. But OSPB had not installed plank beds for all Jewish draftees when work began in April, so they slept on bare ground for about two months until crude bunks were improvised.

Section VIII's efforts remained labor intensive. Each conscript was required to move each day at least 1.5 cubic meters (53 cubic feet) of earth by hand for a roadbed.[3] This quota physically challenged the older men and those who had formerly worked in sedentary professions.

Other factors hurt the Jewish laborers' morale and performance. The 1943 work season coincided with a revised plan by the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) to deport all of Bulgaria's Jews into German hands. This plan went into effect shortly after the labor conscripts reported for duty: many of their families were evicted and then confined under ghetto conditions in provincial cities awaiting deportation, with all their property confiscated. These actions fell with particular harshness on the Sofia Jewish community, which had supplied most of the men in the 1st Battalion and 1st Detachment.[4]

The KEV plan stipulated that deportation, including those men enrolled in work units, be completed by the end of September 1943. In preparation the Jewish groups assigned to Sec-

tion VIII were to be dissolved on a phased basis in July and August 1943.[5] A diametric conflict of interests was thereby manifest: the OSPB operated with a mandate to exploit Jewish labor, whereas the KEV aimed to rid Bulgaria of Jews in the near term. Yet the Section VIII seasonal work plan did not anticipate that the Jewish workers would react other than passively to their impending destruction.

Gasharov, a 33-year-old civil engineer, exerted dominance over the military personnel and exercised full control of the project. He aimed to complete Section VIII on time, progressing eastward from Vakarel toward Ihtiman. But the KEV evictions of Jews in May, June, and July disrupted the schedule, generating urgent leave requests by conscripts anxious about their families. Gasharov duly sought special permission to utilize Jewish forced laborers from OSPB. In this he coordinated with Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, the commander of conscripted laborers. Gasharov approved furloughs for some men, but many others simply absented themselves. Escape attempts were made during water-hauling details. Police posts were set up to intercept escapees, but many Jews still managed to evade detection and abscond at least temporarily. Desertions and sickness reduced the labor force even after the deportations were suspended. This attrition resulted in work shortfalls and placed greater burdens on those still present.[6]

Gasharov nevertheless pressed to finish the project by October, sometimes beating the men in an effort to increase their productivity. He boosted work quotas and lengthened the shifts beyond OSPB's daily summer maximum of 10 hours: some shifts lasted 15 to 18 hours. Veterans later stated that in 1943 Gasharov threatened to deport the laborers' families to Poland if the pace slackened.[7]

Many of the men contracted malaria. Yet the mortality rate remained relatively low, with just two Jewish fatalities in 1943 along the Vakarel-Ihtiman road. Even so, veterans recalled that rations were chronically inadequate. Certain foodstuffs never reached their intended recipients. Some men of the 1st Battalion's 5th Group believed that Gasharov removed refined flour from storage, leaving only coarse flour for the men's bread. The protein staple was beans, cooked without oil. Bulgarian Army officers in the guard force eventually recommended a regular dietary supplement of meat, but this supply was also partly diverted. Punishment for returnees from unauthorized leave also exacerbated tensions. But in recounting that period while on trial in 1945, Gasharov denied harboring antisemitic sentiments. He claimed he had extended mail privileges to Jewish conscripts and provided transportation on approved furlough in the unit's trucks.[8]

Despite Gasharov's efforts, a shortage of cement combined with the KEV disruptions to keep Section VIII unfinished in 1943. The Jewish units were disbanded on November 20, and most men rejoined their families, then displaced under ghetto restrictions in provincial towns. A skeleton force of 10 Jews including an engineer stayed on voluntarily at Ihtiman as wage laborers. Gasharov retained them in that status when mobilization resumed the following spring. Also employed through the winter of 1943 was a group of Moravtsi internees who were unguarded.[9]

A full-scale effort to complete Section VIII resumed in mid-June 1944 under Gasharov's micromanagement, with about 1,200 Jews assigned to the project. But the looming presence of partisan units complicated matters. A communist cell among wage-earning Bulgarian workers siphoned rations and other supplies to the partisans. On occasion Section VIII trucks also transported partisans around the country. Gasharov acquiesced, despite the police having taken notice of this unauthorized use.[10]

Meanwhile Gasharov continued demanding that the Jewish laborers advance Section VIII, tolerating neither slackness nor "sabotage." He increased the daily earth-moving quota per laborer to 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet). When heavy rains damaged the roadway at Soludervent, Gasharov pressed emergency repair crews to repair the road without food or rest. Ancillary tasks included building a gasoline storage tank some 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Ihtiman, as well as an access branch road to the tank. Only two 15-minute breaks per day were permitted. Inspecting the site on one occasion, Gasharov indulged in beatings (not for the first time).[11]

The Jewish units dispersed again in September 1944, this time permanently with the nullification of antisemitic laws and the assumption of state power by the Fatherland Front (*Otechestven Front*, OF). A communist-dominated committee of the Fatherland Front took over Section VIII, retaining Gasharov as engineer. His daily labor quota requirements continued in effect. But shortly thereafter he was indicted for torment, mistreatment, and antisemitic acts at the urging of Jewish veterans on the Vakarel-Ihtiman road.[12] The court received depositions from both accusers and supporters of Gasharov. The former, mostly Jews, described him as malicious, arrogant, and a fascist sympathizer who had run a "concentration camp."[13] But an organized campaign on Gasharov's behalf included testimonials from the Fatherland Front's steering committee for Section VIII, the local front organization in Ihtiman, and the Council of Ministers in Sofia.[14]

Opinion on Gasharov split largely, but not entirely, along ethnic lines. However, two Bulgarian Army lieutenants from forced labor units denounced Gasharov, whereas a few Jews joined in his defense, perhaps under pressure.[15] The court acquitted Gasharov.

SOURCES The sources for Ihtiman consist primarily of documentary evidence and testimony found in HC VII, March 1945, in which Ivan Gasharov stood accused of antisemitic persecution (available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M).

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NOTES

1. Ivan Stoyan Gasharov testimony, March 7, 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1; in the same collection, reel 7, Gasharov case file, protocol, paragraph 3, and affidavit, January 22, 1945; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov case file, Construction Prospectus, evidently drawn up by Gasharov; also report of Israel David Semah.

2. Gasharov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; in the same collection, reel 7, Israel David Semah statement, January 15, 1945; in the same collection, reel 7, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee, p. 1, paragraph 1; also Iosif Yako Aladzhem statement.

3. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee.

4. Unit rosters, Tva, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 36, April 28, 1943; and fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 38, October 1, 1943.

5. Gasharov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.

6. Ibid., March 7, 1945, frame 120; in the same collection, reel 7, Gasharov, response to indictment, March 11, 1945; also Leon Zhak Olivenbaum, Protocol, and accompanying report of Isak Natan Primo; Gasharov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1, confirmed by testimony of Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, report by Vitali David Koen; also unit rosters, Tva, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 36; and fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 38; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee.

7. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, OSPB letter to Gasharov, July 29, 1943, signed by Engineer Voinov, and report by Izrael David Semah; Lea Koen interview, May 15, 2013; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Order No. 5674, May 7, 1943; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Complaint, signed by nine including two non-Jews.

8. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, deposition by 1st Battalion veterans, pp. 3, 5; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, letter by Mihael Iosif Arie, veteran of the 5th Group, 1st Battalion; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee, paragraph 9; also letter by Nisim Rafael Aron to OF Committee of Section VIII, January 18, 1945.

9. Gasharov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; in the same collection, reel 7, Gasharov file, Protocol, Section VIII, OF committee, p. 2.

10. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, Gasharov file, written statement by Iosif Yako Aladzhem, January 20, 1945; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, declaration by Ivan Vŭrbanov Neshkov; also reel 1, Gasharov testimony.

11. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Order No. 5508, July 27, 1944; also Leon Zhak Olivenbaum, Protocol; USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, written statement by Iosif Yako Aladzhem, January 20, 1945; Leon Zhak Olivenbaum testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2; reel 7, Gasharov file, statements by Iosif Yako Aladzhem and Dr. Yomtov Shimon Kovo.

12. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, certificate, March 27, 1945; in the same collection and reel, Gasharov file, Complaint, January 20, 1945.

13. Leon Zhak Olivenbaum testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2; also reel 7, Olivenbaum, Protocol, and Isak Natan Primo, report.

14. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, letter on Gasharov's behalf by Dimitur Pandezov and others; statements of Dagan Nachev Palashev and Velkoi Angelov Borshukov; Protocol, Section VIII, OF Committee.

15. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7, Gasharov file, letter by Viktor Yako Elias, February 26, 1945. The trial accounts of Gasharov personally beating Jews were corroborated in an interview in Washington, DC, on May 15, 2013, with Lea Cohen (former Bulgarian diplomat, novelist, and historian). Her father, Iosif Koen, was one of the Jews assigned to the Ihtiman project. Ambassador Cohen stated that Gasharov struck her father so hard that he suffered long-lasting hearing impairment.

KRŬSTOPOLE

Krŭstopole was a labor detention camp run by the Bulgarian Interior Ministry from mid-1941 to September 1944. It was situated in the Plovdiv oblast near a rail terminus in the Rhodope Mountains, some 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) northwest from the northern Greek town of Xanthi.

Nazi Germany awarded the adjacent territory of Thrace to Bulgaria after the Nazis subdued Greece and Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941. The border adjustment satisfied longstanding Bulgarian territorial ambitions, but bound the Sofia regime closer to Germany. As a junior Axis partner, Bulgaria thereupon accepted enhanced German tutelage over internal security matters. After the German attack against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Krŭstopole camp was set up to hold Bulgarian communists, Soviet sympathizers, and foreign émigrés of suspect loyalty.[1]

The Nazi SS took a keen interest in Krŭstopole. SS-Untersturmführer Helmuth Landau, a civil engineer, accompanied a party of Bulgarian security officers on an inspection trip of Krŭstopole on September 25, 1941.[2] Landau represented Office II, SS-Main Office of Budget and Buildings (Amt II, SS-Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten, HHB), the agency then responsible in part for building and overseeing Nazi concentration camps. Krŭstopole previously housed a Greek Army barracks. In Landau's view it was adequate for conversion into a heavily guarded forced labor camp provided certain modifications were undertaken. He submitted a sketch and a detailed set of proposals aimed at expanding capacity from the 420 inmates already held there to at least 800.[3]

The circumstances seemed acceptable for a concentration camp, Landau advised, although he expressed some concern that engineering improvements might be needed to channel a larger volume of fresh water to the facility. It was later shown that the water supply was a chronic problem during the three years of the camp's operation. As for economic viability, Landau noted how German camps were processing materials like cement for the burgeoning SS construction industry, but added that Krŭstopole was more suited to agriculture and raising stock. He envisioned a captive community engaged in cultivating tobacco and cotton and in herding sheep. Along with incarcerating dissidents and potential saboteurs, Krŭstopole would thereby contribute to the Bulgarian (and Axis) wartime economy. The SS officer counseled the Bulgarians that an economic plan should accompany the spatial layout for an expanded Krŭstopole camp.

Landau stressed the need for an infirmary because large numbers of inmates could be expected to fall ill as workloads

increased. He added that a morgue and a crematorium would also be required. He also recommended an electrified wire fence to keep inmates from escaping and the construction of adequate quarters for the guard force.

A subsequent Bulgarian plan set the camp capacity at 1,440. This capacity was eventually exceeded: one late report gives the numbers of inmates as 1,578. The proposed crematorium is absent from the Bulgarian drawings. Although the Krŭstopole work regime was arduous and living conditions spartan, Bulgarian authorities did not avowedly operate the camp to bring about the physical destruction of inmates en masse. However, the Interior Ministry expected prison settlements such as this one to produce useful items for the police. Krŭstopole turned out tunics, trousers, boots, harnesses, holsters for firearms, and also shoes for the inmates themselves. Some Krŭstopole prisoners worked on construction and quarrying details, and many more worked in the camp vegetable gardens, which aimed to supplement the meager rations the inmates were provided.

The prisoners' diet was supposed to include adequate amounts of rice, flour, beans, margarine, cheese, sugar, and some pork or lamb, but actual allotments fell short. The inmates managed to get word out complaining of their plight. A crudely scrawled anonymous note from a prisoner, smuggled from the camp, somehow reached the Interior Ministry in June 1943.[4] The ministry responded with a memorandum warning the camp administration to ensure that prisoners were adequately fed. Apparently the source of the problem was profiteering by security personnel, who diverted ration allotments to the black market.

Although the heavy mortality implied by Landau's report did not materialize at Krŭstopole, there were health problems. Malaria appears to have been the principal challenge according to situation reports from 1943, the best-documented year in the life of the camp.

Bulgarian archival sources do not mention any overt acts of resistance at Krŭstopole. The inmates there were mainly ethnic Bulgarians who were deemed subversive and remanded to administrative custody by the police in Sofia. Krŭstopole's guard force also consisted of ethnic Bulgarians. Although beatings of prisoners are known to have occurred, brutality there did not approach the systematic levels of sadism inflicted by the SS and their henchmen against Jews or inmates of other victim nationalities in other Nazi concentration camps.

Krŭstopole was disbanded after Bulgaria relinquished the territories of Thrace and Macedonia on the arrival of Soviet forces in the Balkans in September 1944.

SOURCES There is no specialized study on Krŭstopole. Archival holdings that document the camp may be found in GVA and MVR and copied to USHMMA as RG-46.009M, reel 8. This unpaginated collection, including the Landau memorandum, offers an uneven record. For several months in 1943 there is a set of detailed work output reports on the camp as an economic unit, but the years 1942 and 1944 are not recorded in this documentary source.

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NOTES

1. DPODS Memorandum, MVR, regarding the establishment of a detention center at Krŭstopole, July 29, 1941, USHMMA, RG-46.009M, reel 8.
2. BA-B, Landau SSO, Stammkarte, n.d.
3. Landau, "Gutachten," September 27, 1941, RG-46.009M, reel 8.
4. Doklat na zapiska ot Krŭstopoliat lager, June 15, 1943, RG-46.009M, reel 8.

LOVECH

During the spring and summer of 1943 and 1944 the 6th Labor Battalion maintained a field headquarters in the town of Lovech, in the Pleven oblast, some 123 kilometers (77 miles) northeast of Sofia, although its home base was in Pleven around 33 kilometers (20 miles) north of Lovech. The unit's tasks for both years included building the regional portions of a motorway planned to stretch from Sofia to Varna on the Black Sea. In 1943 elements of the 6th Battalion were to construct a road section of about 23 kilometers (more than 14 miles) from Mikre, which is almost 104 kilometers (more than 64 miles) northeast of Sofia, northeastward toward Lovech. Two Bulgarian army captains rotated as battalion commander: Ivan M. Vladimirov and Angel Kalinov. In 1943, the 6th Battalion consisted of 20 work groups; each was the size of an army engineering company, numbering two to three hundred men equipped primarily with hand tools.[1] Eleven such groups, consisting of paid ethnic Serbs (*Moravtsi*), paid ethnic Turks, and "unemployed" men, possibly Roma, were stationed in other districts away from the Lovech area.

The remaining nine groups, consecutively numbered 1 through 9, were made up of unpaid male Jews performing forced labor near Lovech. Poruchik Raicho Boichev Kolevski supervised day-to-day operations at the work sites between Lovech and Mikre. Morale was poor because at this time the government was confiscating all Jewish property in the process of evicting many of the men's families, who were then awaiting deportation to Poland. The Jewish laborers' status remained ambiguous: it was unclear whether they were prisoners about to be deported or draftees mobilized for national service, though they were denied military uniforms.[2] Strict rules applied because the Jewish conscripts were expected to attempt desertion. A censorship measure further stipulated that their incoming and outgoing mail had to be written in Bulgarian. Items in other languages (such as Judeo-Spanish) would not be delivered.

Of the battalion's Jews, Group 1 with 300 men was quartered in Lovech. According to a preliminary order, the remaining eight Jewish groups were positioned as follows:

Group 2 with 300 men, bivouacked at kilometer 166 (i.e., the distance calculated from Sofia along the projected motorway);
Group 3 with 200 men, bivouacked at kilometer 164;

Group 4 with 200 men, bivouacked at Izvorche on kilometer 162.4;
Group 5 with 300 men, bivouacked at kilometer 159;
Groups 6 and 7, altogether 300 men, bivouacked at Sokolovo on kilometer 155.4, but working on separate adjoining road segments;
Group 8 with 300 men at Kirkova, kilometer 152;
Group 9 with 300 men, bivouacked at kilometer 147.3, close to Mikre.

The bivouac accommodation consisted of tents.[3] The cooks, bakers, and armed guards all were ethnic Bulgarian soldiers. The Jews were ordered to appear in Lovech by rail on May 10 and then proceed on foot to the work sites, because the use of motor vehicles was expressly forbidden to them. The denial of motor transport for the Jews throughout the work season was rationalized on economic grounds owing to wartime shortages of fuel and rubber.

Despite his modest rank Poruchik Kolevski oversaw some 2,000 or more Jewish slave laborers when the groups stood at full strength. He would move between the work sites in order to maintain his command. The geographic term "Lovech" was loosely applied to the whole of this project, such as at People's Court Panel VII in March 1945 when Kolevski stood trial for persecuting the Jewish crews.[4] But in later years some veterans denoted their encampments more precisely, such as Mikre, Sokolovo, and Izvorche.[5]

According to Kolevski, regulations forbade the assignment of Jews to clerical, kitchen, medical, or other light tasks. Each man was expected to excavate 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet) of earth per day and transport it 200 to 250 meters (656 to 820 feet). The daily work shift was officially set at 8 to 10 hours, but Kolevski demanded 12 hours of work each day.[6] Bread rations were chronically inadequate, and although an allocation for meat does appear on a unit ration invoice, in practice meat was not issued to the Jews.[7] A veteran of the 7th Group, Isak Avram Melamed, testified that Kolevski's treatment of Jews was harsh in general, but he also tended to single out and bully particular individuals. One man was beaten for having strayed into a village near the construction site.[8] Kolevski also bluffed with threats to have Jews and their families deported to Poland. A Jew in the 6th Group stated that Kolevski struck terror in him like no other.[9] But on trial, Kolevski attributed any antisemitic brutality to Bulgarian underlings.[10] Despite such intimidation some conscripts escaped and stayed away from the unit for varying periods of time, occasionally getting back to Sofia.[11] One Jew, the older ex-army officer Salvator Rafailov Seliko of the 2nd Group, fell ill and deserted for 46 days. On his return he was punished by reassignment to an ethnic Turkish work group. As to Kolevski's personal culpability, Seliko dismissed the poruchik as "the right hand of Kalinov," the battalion commander.[12] According to another Jew, Seliko's disappearance marked a watershed episode after which Kolevski cracked down harder on those still remaining.[13] The battalion's Jewish groups mustered out in early December 1943, with the men returning to their families in what had become makeshift provincial ghettos.

In 1944 a reconstituted 6th Battalion again relocated its headquarters from Pleven to Lovech. A new commander, Ivan Iotov Simitchiev, issued a 10-page statement of guidelines formulated to implement standards set for the labor battalions as a whole by the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) at the Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB). These guidelines emphasized discipline, sanitation, safety measures, work schedules, and regular record keeping. Although the Jewish laborers had been formally removed more than two years earlier from the War Ministry's direct control, these guidelines reiterated in 1944 that they were to be governed according to military discipline.

In this document Simitchiev noted the need to deter desertion from the work groups, but he did not specify any means for doing so. Conscripts were to be provided with adequate bread rations and tools for their jobs, and the necessity for proper washing facilities was emphasized. Simitchiev also recognized the need for anti-malarial preventive measures. He stated the OVTP policy that set the daily work shift at between 8 and 10 hours, six days per week with Sundays off. However, he added that, if inclement weather imposed an unscheduled rest day, operations could continue on a Sunday. To facilitate control, field telephones were to connect the work sites to the commanders. And to secure life and limb, if the use of explosives was required to remove boulders during road construction, then proper procedures would include warnings and postings at a sufficient distance from the blast.

Simitchiev's guidelines indicate a desire to meet projected construction goals while minimizing friction, absenteeism, sickness, and injuries. However, the written principles were met with varying compliance when confronted by realities in the field. Those circumstances included the impending Axis defeat and the continuing alienation of persecuted Jewish conscripts. When three work groups of the battalion were detached to an emergency defense task at Svishtov, the junior officer in charge of at least one group there largely ignored the battalion's formal guidelines.[14]

The modern Sofia-Varna highway (E 772) in use today bypasses Lovech, although the spur built by Jewish slave laborers serves as a feeder route that provides access to that town.

SOURCES Although there is no secondary literature on the Lovech camp, the Sofia-Varna road, now a tertiary route called Route 401, can be followed on *Administrativen atlas republika Bŭlgariya* (Sofia: Global Agro, 2007), pp. 28–29.

Primary sources documenting the Lovech camp can be found in GVA (available at USHMMA under RG-46.058M) and Tva.

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NOTES

1. 6th Battalion Order No. 14, April 30, 1943, Tsa, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14; also battalion rosters in fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.

2. Raicho Boicher Kolevski testimony, USHMMA (GVA), RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1.

3. Salvator Rafailov Seliko testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

4. Kolevski testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1.

5. Claims Conference questionnaire files for Bulgarian compensation claimants.

6. Kolevski testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1.

7. Aron Iosif Kalish testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2; and the handwritten 7th Group ration invoice for May 1943, reel 9.

8. Isak Avram Melamed testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

9. Asher Nisim Farhi testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

10. Kolevski testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 1.

11. Aron Iosif Kalish testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

12. Salvator Rafailov Seliko testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

13. Leon Isakov Shapchiiski testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

14. 6th Battalion Order No. 17a, April 2, 1944, Tsa, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 12.

NEDELINO

In 1941, the 3rd Labor Battalion was deployed at and near the remote location of Nedelino (Nedŭlino), in the Plovdiv oblast, 201 kilometers (125 miles) southeast of Sofia in the Rhodope Mountains near the border with Greece.[1] The battalion also had some bivouacs at Ardino (194 kilometers or approximately 121 miles southeast of Sofia) and Byal Izvor (193 kilometers or 120 miles southeast of Sofia).

Like its sister battalions, the 3rd Battalion consisted of four construction companies staffed by Jewish conscripts. Each company enrolled approximately 400 men. In 1941, they were led by Jewish officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) on "reserve" status. In addition to the four construction companies, the 3rd Battalion also included a small number of Jews in the attached bridge-building unit and in the administrative company. Thus a few Jewish conscripts either possessed the requisite construction skills or were motivated to learn them while in service.

An order of the battalion commander set the daily schedule for the period from June 15 to October 1. Wake-up was at 5:00 A.M., followed by washing, roll call, and calisthenics. Breakfast lasted from 6:15 to 6:45, after which came the first work shift from 7:00 to 11:00 A.M. The 15 intervening minutes indicate that the bivouac and the work site were located fairly close to each other. Lunch and rest lasted from 11:45 A.M. to 2:45 P.M. followed by a work shift, from 3:00 to 7:00. A dinner hour was set from 8:00 to 9:00 P.M., but there was an hour's extra work on the longer summer days. Wednesdays were scheduled for only a morning work shift, from 7:00 A.M. to 12:00 P.M. However, the schedule does not indicate any such reduced work on Saturdays or Sundays. There was no official provision for observing the Jewish Sabbath.[2]

Despite the day-in, day-out routine, personnel rosters for the 3rd Battalion show a markedly lower desertion rate than its sister battalions. The disparity was partly attributable to location. Nedelino, Ardino, and Byal Izvor lay deep in an economically underdeveloped rural area populated mainly by ethnic Turks, who grew tobacco and tended their gardens on patches of arable land in mostly hilly terrain. A wayward Bulgarian-speaking urban Jew would find himself isolated in such an environment. Transportation was also a problem. Much less civilian traffic plied the mountain road to and from Nedelino and its satellite camps than traversed the thoroughfare leading from Sofia to the northern part of the country, presenting fewer chances for hitching a ride back to the distant capital or the other principal cities that were home to nearly all of the Jews. Conscripts in the 3rd Battalion thus had little choice but to stay put and work. In a rare case of desertion, one man listed as absent without official leave on August 17, 1941, appeared again on the battalion rolls as of September 3.[3] This situation contrasted with the considerable numbers of men slipping away for longer periods from battalions closer to Sofia or in north central Bulgaria. The 3rd Battalion roster also shows that sick or injured Jewish conscripts were treated in a civilian hospital at Haskovo or at the hospital of the army's 10th Divisional District.

Most of the men enrolled in the battalion were released on October 1 when their 150 days' obligation was up. A few others stayed until they had completed the requisite time in service. At the close of the 1941 work season the 3rd Battalion command and administrative cadre returned to the unit's home base at the city of Sliven.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Nedelino camp can be found in TsVA.

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NOTES

1. Records of the 3rd Labor Battalion for 1941 from TsVA, fond 2004, opis 1, a.e. 42.

2. Order No. 21, from TsVA, fond 2004, opis 1, a.e. 42.

3. TsVA, fond 2004, opis 1, a.e. 42.

PAZARDZHIK

Pazardzhik is located approximately 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Sofia. In the spring and summer of 1943, the Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) established a temporary ghetto in Pazardzhik in the Plovdiv oblast in preparation for the deportation of Bulgaria's Jews. The ghetto continued to exist until September 1944.

Survivor Sofi Danon remembered cramped quarters and near starvation in Pazardzhik:

> The interned citizens of Sofia came to Pazardzhik. We had to accommodate them in our houses. Some of them slept in the school on bunks. There were some ill people among them. My mother, father, and brother slept in one room. I and one of the daughters of Mois Farhi, one of the interned families, slept in another room. The third room we gave to the mother, father, and her brother. The living room, through which all of us passed, was used by another family also from Sofia: a man, his wife, and two children. I can't remember their names. We also gave out the room in the attic. I still can't believe that all we had gathered through the years—rice, flour, sugar—was what we had to share with those people from Sofia.[1]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the temporary ghetto at Pazardzhik can be found at VHA, which holds 48 interviews with survivors or residents of the town. An eyewitness account in English that documents the ghetto can be found at www.centropa.org.

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NOTE

1. Sofi Eshua Danon-Moshe interview, September 2006, www.centropa.org/biography/sofi-eshua-danon-moshe.

PLOVDIV

Plovdiv, in the Plovdiv oblast, served as the site of a ghetto and as headquarters for the 2nd Labor Battalion.[1] The city is 132 kilometers (82 miles) southeast of Sofia. As had been a customary residential pattern dating back to Ottoman times, Plovdiv's Jews mostly lived on streets a short distance from the south bank of the Maritsa River.[2] There were about 5,500 Jews living in the city as of the early 1940s, largely clustered around part of Ferdinand Street (now renamed Hristo G. Danov Street) and part of Ruski Boulevard. This existing concentration facilitated the practical enforcement of ghetto controls.

Both the creation of the ghetto in 1942 and the increased incorporation of Jews into the 2nd Labor Battalion (which previously included Turks, Pomaks, gypsies, and other persons considered unsuitable to bear arms) marked a critical moment in the development of the Bulgarian regime's antisemitic policies.

Ghetto restrictions were decreed for the Jews of Plovdiv on September 29, 1942, by the Plovdiv city police chief, who acted on behalf of the then newly formed Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV). The decree required Jews to wear identifying badges, and to mark their homes and businesses. It also defined the hours during which Jews could be present in shops and bazaars.[3]

These restrictions remained in force while the KEV sought to transfer all of Bulgaria's Jews into Nazi German custody in early 1943. Although a March 1943 protest by Metropolitan Kiril of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church in Plovdiv dampened the KEV's plans for evicting the city's Jews, the cleric's remonstrations failed to dissuade the KEV from further deportation measures across the country. As of late May 1943, the authorities expelled Jews from Sofia and other cities, some of them to Plovdiv to await forcible exile. When the deportation plans were effectively suspended in June that year, however, the Jews in Plovdiv—residents and expellees—stayed there under ghetto conditions until September 1944.

Extant KEV financial records attest to the ghetto conditions in Plovdiv. The community was under curfew and could not make a lawful living. The KEV doled out meager sums from the "Jewish Community Fund," which consisted of blocked Jewish bank accounts and other seized assets. Those funds were unavailable to their former owners; instead, the KEV payments provided a barely adequate upkeep for the community. Jews were forbidden to travel without special permission from the KEV; they were banned from riding the railways without a prior permit from the KEV; and they also had to give up any automobiles, motorcycles, or bicycles they owned, further limiting their mobility.

Malnutrition became chronic among Plovdiv's Jews, especially during 1943 and 1944. Communal kitchens were organized in response to the need, financed by the Jewish Community Fund. The local KEV coordinator ("delegate") to Plovdiv was P. Rashev, serving as chief of the Plovdiv ghetto with peremptory authority over its civilian residents, who had no right to appeal. Rashev punished violators of ghetto restrictions by recommending that they be sent to the concentration camp at Somovit on the Danube, or after early 1944 to the Tabakova Cheshma or Kailŭka camp sites near Pleven.

An invoice dated November 7, 1944, from the Plovdiv Jewish Community Fund to the KEV mentions 56 Sofia families who had been "re-settled" to Plovdiv and were presumably still there.[4] However, the antisemitic measures had been out of effect for two months by the time that report appeared, so it omitted those persons who had already returned to the capital to reclaim their former residences. Moreover, as of November 7, there were still 23 Jews from northern Greece staying in Plovdiv, as the invoice mentioned. These consisted of men who had been serving in Bulgaria's Jewish forced labor battalions at the time when their families were rounded up and deported in March 1943. The men were then under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Works and the Army, outside the clutches of the KEV. The labor battalions' overall Bulgarian commander Tsvetan Mumdzhiev had facilitated the men's stay at Plovdiv on leave status during the winter months.

Starting in the spring of 1942, several Jewish groups of the 2nd Labor Battalion worked to widen what was then the Sofia-Pazardzhik-Plovdiv trunk road. The battalion's 1st Jewish Group worked at Momina Klisura, 75 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Sofia, and at Sestrimo, 72 kilometers (45 miles) southeast of Sofia.[5] The 2nd Jewish Group was quartered in Gabrovitsa some 69 kilometers (almost 43 miles) southeast of Sofia on the Sofia-Plovdiv road, along a stretch of motorway that parallels the course of the Maritsa River.[6]

The 2nd Battalion's 3rd Jewish Group was deployed along a section of roadway from Toplit Izvori ("Hot Springs") to the

Convalescing Jewish forced laborers stand on the balcony of a hospital in Plovdiv, 1943.
USHMM WS #21154, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

village of Lozen almost 91 kilometers (nearly 57 miles) southeast of Sofia.[7] Eli Baruh, who later prosecuted accused perpetrators, served in this group. Baruh referred to the encampment as "Belovo," the name of the town 15 kilometers (more than 9 miles) away, although that usage is not reflected in the archived documentation of the battalions subordinate to the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP).[8] Housing was in tents set up in an open field. Two Bulgarian Army officers—Svilen Bonev and Ivan Genov Cholakov—commanded: both were described as brutal antisemites. Typical of such group leaders, Bonev was a reserve captain of peasant stock from a village in the Radomir district. The daily routine began at 5:00 A.M., with reveille including beatings with a heavy army belt. Baruh reported that Cholakov punished conscripts for infractions by forcing them to stand under armed guard holding a wheelbarrow beneath the scorching sun for an hour.[9] Some victims were beaten senseless. Despite being convicted for these cruelties after the war, Bonev and Cholakov received only light prison sentences.

The 4th Jewish Group was deployed at Simeonovets about 89 kilometers (55 miles) southeast of Sofia and the 5th Jewish Group at Lozen village, adjacent to the 3rd Group mentioned earlier. Both units also worked on the Sofia-Plovdiv road.

Meanwhile in a separate project the 6th and 7th Jewish Groups of the 2nd Labor Battalion worked on portions of a road between Peshtera and Dospat in the Rhodope Mountains of south central Bulgaria. The 6th Jewish Group was stationed at the Shiroka Polyana reservoir nearly 125 kilometers (more than 77 miles) southeast of Sofia, between Batak and Dospat.[10] The 7th Jewish Group worked just to the north at Tash Boaz (Turkish: Rock Pass; today: Dospatski Prokhod) nearly 122 kilometers (more than 75 miles) southeast of Sofia.[11]

The 8th Group and Detachment 10/26, both Jewish, worked on the Sofia-Plovdiv highway in Sestrimo more than 72 kilometers (45 miles) southeast of Sofia.[12]

Eight "unemployed groups" were also part of the 2nd Battalion.[13] In the archival records, such an appellation is believed to be a reference to the Roma. The first such group was formed on June 29, 1942, and was deployed on a road segment between the villages of Babek, almost 146 kilometers (nearly 91 miles) southeast of Sofia, and Svezhen, more than 140 kilometers (87 miles) southeast of Sofia. A special disciplinary group for Jews was also formed, to which some men were sent for taking unapproved leave on their return to the 2nd Battalion or for other infractions. This group was deployed on the Sofia-Plovdiv highway.

From mid-November to the first week of December 1942, the 2nd Battalion mustered out by group. The groups nearer to Pazardzhik mustered out in November; the groups at Momina Klisura and Sestrimo were released in December.[14]

SOURCES A published testimony describing forced labor in the Plovdiv/2nd Labor Battalion, headquartered in Plovdiv, is Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960).

A partial archival record of the Plovdiv ghetto including the police order is included in TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 272, USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 320, consisting mainly of financial documents along with some administrative paperwork. Primary sources documenting the Plovdiv/2nd Labor Battalion can be found in TsVA and TDia.

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NOTES

1. The headquarters location is noted in TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 1, which is the battalion's Order No. 18 for the year, July 1, 1942. TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 4, includes rosters of the constituent work groups in the battalion.
2. Elko Hazan et al., *Evreiskite obshtnosti v Bŭlgariya i tehnite sinagogi* (Sofia: Kameya Dizain, 2012), pp. 72-74.
3. TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 272, USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 320.
4. Bulgarian State Archive, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 272.

5. See Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 122; also TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 2, covering the 2nd Battalion's 1st and 2nd Jewish Groups. This Momina Klisura in Pazardzhik oblast should not be confused with another terrain feature of the same name near Blagoevgrad, due south from Sofia.

6. The group's September and October 1942 strength rosters are included in TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 2. This Gabrovitsa should not be confused with another place of the same name in the vicinity of Lovech.

7. Order No. 22, TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 1.

8. Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, pp. 122–126.

9. Ibid., pp. 122–123, including a photograph of a group of conscripts, each holding a small wheelbarrow on his back as punishment.

10. TDia, fond 1568K, opis 3, a.e. 176.

11. TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 2; also Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, p. 123.

12. Order No. 18, TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 1.

13. TsVA, fond 2059, opis 1, a.e. 2.

14. Ibid.

RIBARITSA

At the end of June 1940, the State Security section of the Police Directorate (*Direktsia na politsiata, otdel dŭrzhavna sigurnost*, DPODS) established Bulgaria's first true concentration camp at Ribaritsa in the Pleven oblast, almost 91 kilometers (56 miles) east-northeast of Sofia. (The toponym "Ribaritsa" indicates a fishing site. This Ribaritsa should not be confused with an identically named place in the Etropole oblast.[1]) Like certain other internment sites this camp was set in a scenic resort location. Such a choice of locale might seem incongruous, but it had the advantage of combining remoteness with a ready support infrastructure. The first group of internees consisted of communist youth league members quartered in a newly built structure at the resort. A larger incoming group of dissidents from Sofia was installed in the Hotel Benkovski, which offered a pleasant mountain view; later arrivals had to bunk in sheds, barns, or on the grounds of the City Hall garden. Meanwhile the authorities hastily constructed a more permanent camp nearby at a point where the narrow Kostina River ran close to a road from Teteven to Troyan. Accommodation was in four large tents housing 30 to 40 people each. Three of the tents sheltered interned radicals, whereas locally recruited workers occupied the fourth.

More arrested people kept arriving, numbering 180 by August 7, 1940. That total was increased after the touring Moscow "Spartak" soccer team played in Sofia and was greeted too effusively by admiring leftist fans, some of whom paid for their ardor with a stay at Ribaritsa. By then the earlier internment phase of restriction to the village premises had ended. Enclosed and guarded, Ribaritsa then became Bulgaria's first German-inspired concentration camp. The internees slept on wooden plank beds cushioned only with ferns and foliage taken from the surrounding forests. They toiled to construct a road planned to extend from Ribaritsa to Troyan. But in protest against their privations the inmates shortly declared a strike, refusing to go out to the work site.

The response of DPODS was to uproot the entire establishment and relocate it. This new camp was at the Beklemeto Pass through the Balkan range (also known as the Troyanski Pass) 110 kilometers or (nearly 69 miles) northeast of Sofia. For two months the internees worked alongside an army labor corps unit to build a road linking Troyan and Kŭrnare. The military authorities thereby came to exercise some security functions over interned dissidents until they were freed by a DPODS decision in the second half of October 1940.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Ribaritsa camp are Angel Krŭstev, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya," *Vekove* 6 (1986): 22–31, and Ivan Grigorov, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya: Pŭrva chast: Predi 9 Septemvri 1944 g.," *Pro-Anti* 15:12 (March 24–30, 2006): 24–30.

Primary sources documenting the Ribaritsa camp can be found in TsDA; an unpublished memoir of Gurko Popov is available in the Lovech archives.

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NOTE

1. TsDA, fond 966, opis 1, a.e. 83, as cited in Grigorov, "Kontslagerite v Bŭlgariya"; unpublished memoir of prisoner Gurko Popov, cited in ibid., pp. 24–25.

SHUMEN

Bulgaria's formal state of war with the Western Allied powers remained only theoretical until U.S. air raids against the Ploieşti oil installations in Romania started on August 1, 1943. On the return flight to their bases in North Africa, some of the bombers overflew Bulgaria and were intercepted and shot down by fighter planes of the Bulgarian Air Force. Crew members who safely bailed out were taken captive. Many subsequent bombing missions were launched against targets in Romania and Bulgaria by both the United States Army Air Force (USAAF) and Britain's Royal Air Force (RAF), flying out of bases in Italy as the war progressed in 1943 and 1944. More than 300 downed flyers fell into Bulgarian hands while the country was still an Axis ally. This large group of prisoners of war (POWs) necessitated the creation of a camp, which was located on the outskirts of Shumen, in the Shumen oblast, located 300 kilometers (nearly 186 miles) northeast of Sofia.

Typically on capture the prisoners were held in local jails and then taken to the central prison in Sofia for several days of interrogation before being transferred by train to the Shumen camp.[1] Wounded POWs were treated in Bulgarian hospitals until well enough to be sent to the camp.

Shumen operated for 10 months from November 25, 1943, to September 25, 1944, under the jurisdiction of the local garrison of the Bulgarian Army. The Bulgarian authorities conducted the camp in accordance with protocols of the 1929 Geneva Convention.[2] Security was relatively light, the enclo-

sure being surrounded by several lines of barbed wire. Seven Bulgarian camp commandants, all first or second lieutenants, commanded Shumen during its 10-month existence.[3]

Prisoners had to endure limited rations and only a quart of water per day for drinking and hygiene. Lice were rampant. Some concerns regarding inadequate nutrition at the Shumen camp were resolved by mid-August 1944 following a report by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and U.S. diplomatic pressure.[4]

The Shumen camp eventually held 329 Allied personnel, mainly American but also airmen from Great Britain, Canada, Australia, the Netherlands, Greece, and Yugoslavia. When the Red Army entered Bulgaria in September 1944, the POWs were repatriated into Western Allied hands via Turkey.

One downed American flier was freed by communist partisans from a local jail before he could be sent to Shumen. He then stayed with the partisans. One British intelligence officer, Major William Frank Thompson, was executed by Bulgarian security forces in June 1944 after he was captured in the western part of the country. His mission was to contact Bulgarian partisans. His remains are interred in the Sofia War Cemetery.[5]

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Shumen camp is Rumen Rumenin, *Letyashti kreposti nad Bŭlgariya* (Sofia: Hristo Botev, 1990). On the killing of William Frank Thompson, see his brother's account, E. P. Thompson, *Beyond the Frontier: The Politics of a Failed Mission, Bulgaria 1944* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Merlin/Stanford, 1996).

Primary sources documenting the Shumen camp can be found in NARA, RG-389 (Provost-Martial General's Office). Two published memoirs are John Muirhead, *Those Who Fall* (New York: Random House, 1988) and Robert Henry Johnson, *Gidi Gidi Boom Boom* (Fort Worth, TX: Prairie International, 2006). "Gidi Gidi Boom Boom" was the crew's name for the B-24 bomber in which Robert Johnson served as the top turret gunner.

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NOTES

1. Muirhead, *Those Who Fall*, pp. 211–258; and Johnson, *Gidi Gidi Boom Boom*.
2. Rumenin, *Letyashti kreposti nad Bŭlgariya*, pp. 148–165.
3. Ibid., p. 154.
4. NARA, RG-389, box 2139, including a complete list of the prisoners with their nationalities, ranks, and dates and places of capture; also available in Rumenin, *Letyashti kreposti nad Bŭlgariya*, pp. 183–205.
5. See www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/2224481/THOMPSON,%20WILLIAM%20FRANK.

SKOPIE

In March 1943, a wholesale tobacco warehouse in Skopie called the "Monopol" was renovated by Bulgarian authorities to temporarily hold the Jews of Yugoslav Macedonia. (Today Skopie is the capital of the Republic of Macedonia.) Skopie, then in the Skopie oblast, is 174 kilometers (108 miles) southwest of Sofia. The Jews stayed there for two weeks before being sent to Treblinka. A Jewish minority had resided in Balkan towns for more than four centuries. Although a tightly knit ethnoreligious group, Macedonia's mostly Sephardic Jews had long been integrated into regional economic and cultural life. Yet within the course of a day nearly all were uprooted from their homes in the cities of Skopie, Bitola, and Shtip and taken to the Monopol. Only a very few evaded the police dragnet or were freed before the trains left for German-occupied Poland.

Since the reemergence of a Bulgarian state in the late nineteenth century, one of its priorities had been the acquisition of certain Slavic-speaking adjacent lands. This irredentist goal was partially realized under the Nazi-imposed "New Order" in Europe. With German sponsorship, Bulgaria occupied and administered much of Macedonia following the collapse of Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941. Cooperation with the Third Reich in persecuting the Jews proceeded as an understood quid pro quo for this territorial gain. After depriving the victims of their livelihoods and civil rights, the next step entailed deportation in accordance with the "Final Solution," which was extended to the southern Balkans in early 1943 by the government in Sofia, acting as a sovereign entity.

The governmental body set up to register, arrest, and detain the Jews and then to dispatch them into German hands was the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV), a semi-autonomous unit within the Bulgarian Interior Ministry. Peio Draganov (a.k.a. Peio Draganov Peev) was the KEV official ordered to prepare a transit camp. A lawyer by training, the 46-year-old Draganov was the mayor of his home village of Popovo in eastern Bulgaria until joining the KEV staff in Sofia in late 1942 to advance his career as a public servant. Draganov's prior work for KEV was connected with the relocation of individual Jewish families from Sofia to provincial towns. In that capacity he subsequently alleged that he had disagreed with the head of the KEV, Aleksandŭr Belev, over procedures.[1] Draganov lacked the needed experience to handle the logistical tasks of forcibly incarcerating an entire civilian community. Yet on February 15, 1943, Belev abruptly sent him to Skopie to set up a camp.

On trial two years later, Draganov claimed that he tried to refuse the assignment on grounds of nervous exhaustion, but that Belev had insisted he take it. Draganov also stated that he did not know where the Macedonian Jews were to be "resettled" after being expelled. He chose the Monopol site at the suggestion of Skopie's mayor Spiro Kitinchev, who noted that the tobacco warehouse had sufficient capacity to house up to 8,000 occupants. Furthermore, the Monopol sat conveniently beside the rail line where the detainees were to embark on their last journey.

Draganov thereupon worked on the scene with another KEV functionary, Zahari Velkov (a.k.a. Zahari Velkov Ivanov), on practical details, although the Skopie authorities were not to be shut out from the potentially lucrative process.[2] Asserting a local prerogative, the Skopie district director, a Dr. Raev,

Jews from Macedonia await deportation inside a large warehouse at the Tobacco Monopoly transit camp in Skopie, March 1943.
USHMM WS #79605, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

imposed a division of labor whereby Draganov took charge of accommodations. Makeshift dormitory, cooking, and sanitary facilities were installed, given that the Monopol had been designed to hold tobacco and not to shelter human beings. Most of the interior space was taken up by multiple-tiered bunk beds. Families remained together, but there were no provisions for privacy.[3]

When Draganov stated he would need from 20 to 30 assistants from the KEV to run the place, Raev told him to hire local personnel instead. Meanwhile Polkovnik Asen Georgiev Bogdanov of the Skopie police was appointed to oversee the arrest of the victims, and Ivan Zahariev of the Skopie municipal administration was placed in charge of confiscating the Jews' property.[4] In addition to the KEV personnel and Skopie officials, Interior Minister Petŭr Gabrovski also dispatched an inspector, Todor Lulchev, to observe and report.[5]

The KEV had earlier compiled a census of the Jews throughout metropolitan Bulgaria and the annexed parts of Macedonia.[6] In Macedonian towns, the roundup of victims began as scheduled during the early morning hours of March 11, 1943. Bitola was blockaded by police to prevent escapes, and most Jews were caught despite rumors of an impending action. Told they would be resettled within the borders of metropolitan Bulgaria, they were granted only 10 minutes to gather baggage weighing up to 40 kilograms (88 pounds) for adults and 20 kilograms (44 pounds) for children. By that afternoon 3,351 people from 793 households had been arrested, fleeced of cash and valuables, and placed onto two trains headed for the Monopol in Skopie.[7] At Shtip, Bulgarian soldiers likewise undertook the tasks of arresting and sending 551 people from some 150 Jewish households to the Monopol.[8] About another 3,350 Jews from Skopie itself were incarcerated there after being rousted out of their homes by police. (A few Jewish families residing in the cities of Kumanovo, Veles, Presheno, Gevgeli, Kriva Palanka, Boyanovo, and Gara Udovo were also arrested and deported.[9]) The roundup in Skopie was described as "cruel" by a non-Jewish onlooker, himself an official, who observed the doomed families being crowded into the Monopol with their bundles, quilts, and mattresses.[10] A report on March 15 by the Skopie municipal authorities to the Bulgarian government claimed that the Macedonian population strongly supported the action against the Jews.[11]

Although KEV planning stipulated that the Jews were to receive three meals per day under detention, the preparations proved inadequate. There was no distribution of food in the morning, and only a serving of soup with beans was given later each day. The detainees spent their days idly, deprived of daylight and exercise. While being held incommunicado in the

Monopol they sought ways to hide such money as they had managed to hold onto, despite intrusive baggage searches by their jailers.[12] To maintain internal order the Jews were subdivided into groups under appointed leaders.[13] Outside the guards were armed with machine guns.[14]

During the following two weeks approximately 60 Jewish physicians and pharmacists were released from the Monopol along with their families, due to the need in Macedonia for medical personnel. A few people were also excused on grounds of illness because the KEV hoped to avoid spreading any epidemics within the transit camp or on handing the victims over to the Germans. Just before the deportation, some Jews with foreign citizenship, including those holding Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian papers, were released.[15]

All of the bureaucratic agencies and security forces directly involved in the Skopie action were Bulgarian. Draganov oversaw the transliteration of a list of deportees from Cyrillic characters into a German version for the convenience of the Nazi authorities who were to receive the victims. After completing the name list Draganov was fired by Raev on March 16, to be replaced by Asen Vladimirov Paitashev.[16] Interior Minister Gabrovski's representative Todor Lulchev assigned the Jews to particular departure trains.[17] On March 17 Commissar Belev and his assistant Maria Pavlova arrived in Skopie to uphold their supervisory prerogatives. Trains then left on March 22, 25, and 29, taking the deportees to Treblinka where all were murdered on arrival.[18] Draganov was subsequently arrested for dereliction of duty and spent three months in jail from October 1943 to January 1944.[19]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Skopie (Monopol) camp can be found in TsDA, fonds 190, 264, 1568, and 2123; TsDA, KEV collection, available at USHMMA as RG-46.049M; and HC VII, available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M. A photograph of the camp is available at CZA (USHMMPA WS #79605). An early account of published testimonies is Natan Grinberg, *Dokumenti* (Sofia: N.P., 1945).

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NOTES

1. Peio Draganov Peev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.
2. Zahari Velkov Ivanov deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 4; Peio Draganov Peev deposition titled "Inquest" (*Doznanie*), USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 6.
3. "Jews from Macedonia await deportation inside a large warehouse at the Tobacco Monopoly transit camp in Skopje," USHMMPA, WS #79605 (Courtesy of CZA).
4. Peio Draganov Peev deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 6.
5. Todor Lulchev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
6. USHMMA, RG-46.049M (KEV), reel 123.
7. Report by KEV officials Georgi Dzhambazov and Kiril Stoimenov, March 12, 1943, TsDA, fond 2123, opis 1, a.e. 4096, pp. 91-93.
8. TsDA, fond 190, opis 1, a.e. 403, p. 1; also TsDA, fond 1568, opis 1, a.e. 70, pp. 2–3.
9. USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 123; also an accounting of KEV expenditures and receipts from March 1943 (*Akt na predavane i preemane*), USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 6.
10. Hristo Slavov Hristov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
11. TsDA, fond 264, opis 7, a.e. 836, p. 6.
12. Albert Sarfati testimony in Grinberg, *Dokumenti*, p. 160.
13. TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 88, p. 2
14. Sarfati testimony in Grinberg, *Dokumenti*, p. 160.
15. TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 171, pp. 1-2; TsDA, fond 190, opis 3, a.e. 171, p. 7r/v.
16. Asen Vladimirov Paitashev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.
17. Todor Lulchev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
18. TsDA, fond 190-K, opis 3, a.e. 88, p. 2.
19. Peio Draganov Peev deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 6.

SMEDOVO

On June 17, 1944, a detachment of approximately 2,000 men consisting of nine Jewish work groups was detailed to improve a roadway in northeastern Bulgaria between the town of Smedovo (today: Smyadovo), Shumen oblast, some 304 kilometers (190 miles) east of Sofia, and the village of Veselinovo, which is more than 9 kilometers (almost 6 miles) south of Smedovo. The route parallels a small stream called the Brestova. This endeavor constituted one segment of a larger project aimed at improving motorized travel between Smedovo and Karnobat, which is about 299 kilometers (186 miles) east of Sofia. Part of the detachment's work entailed the local quarrying of materials for the upgraded roadway. In some places, a new right of way was also to be set in place, close to the already existing Smedovo-Veslelinovo road. The unpaid conscripted laborers ranged from 20 to 46 years of age. They belonged to the 4th Labor Battalion, controlled by the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) of the Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB).[1]

The Bulgarian command staff for the project set up in a Smedovo school building during the summer of 1944 when classes were not in session. The name of the town was thus applied to the Smedovo-Veselinovo project as a whole, both in contemporary OVTP memoranda and by Jewish veterans during subsequent years.[2]

Major Genchev, the OVTP's inspector of operations, turned in a favorable report on conditions at this deployment. His evaluation, dated August 3, 1944, focused on the facilities to house, feed, and care for the forced laborers. Point by point, the aspects he considered were each the subject of numerous complaints by Jewish conscripts in labor units at other places in the country. Their grievances were later echoed in courtroom testimony against officers of those forced labor units.

Genchev stated that the Jews' barracks were all erected conveniently nearby the work sites. Elsewhere the conscripts

were often obliged to march some considerable distance from their bivouacs to the project sites, which expended physical energy, but did not count as part of the work shifts. The shelters at the Smedovo bivouacs were constructed of sturdy materials including canvas and were equipped with adequate furnishings, also in contrast to the makeshift arrangements at many encampments. Sanitary facilities were also gradually being provided, although Genchev noted that they had not yet been installed in all locations. His report did not elaborate on the interim arrangements before these facilities were completed.

According to Genchev, cookhouses at the bivouacs were well built and were maintained in a clean and neat condition. The field kitchens served sufficient rations of good quality. Furthermore, ovens at Smedovo and Veselinovo provided fresh bread that was transported by truck to the bivouac sites. Meat was provided two or three times per day. This situation contrasted with what Jewish conscripts endured at other sites, where a monotonous diet typically consisted of bean soup with poor quality bread or none at all, and no meat.

A 25-bed clinic for the 4th Battalion workers was set up in Smedovo. It was staffed by two Jewish doctors and a dentist. Due to a shortage of trained Bulgarian personnel at battalion and lower levels, clerical support for the battalion and its work groups was drawn from among the ranks of the Jewish conscripts. Again, this situation departed from the practice in other units during 1942 and 1943, when Jews were at times expressly forbidden from practicing medicine or from being assigned to light duty such as maintaining unit records.

The only seriously negative note in this report was a criticism of the technical aspects of the roadway improvement. Genchev stated that a Bulgarian section engineer (unnamed) was to be faulted for inadequate arrangements, resulting in his transfer to another assignment.

In regard to conditions for the Jewish conscripts, the Genchev report reflects the characteristics of a document prepared for the files to serve as reference material in case of contingency. It was drafted during the Red Army's rapid advance through Romania toward the Danube, and that overwhelming force could reasonably be expected to cross the river and penetrate Bulgarian territory. German forces were hastily departing from the region in defeat, and it was anticipated that Bulgaria's antisemitic laws and its system of Jewish forced labor would end shortly. In such a case, the Genchev report's description of the bivouacs along the Smedovo-Veselinovo project would document how significant measures were undertaken by certain officers to better the Jewish conscripts' lives.

The 4th Battalion ceased its Smedovo operations in early September 1944 when the Red Army entered Bulgaria, a pro-Allied government took control at Sofia, and all antisemitic laws were nullified. Most of the Jewish personnel abandoned the road-building project by the official liberation day of September 9, despite the relatively better accommodations described by Genchev. A few remained until the middle of September before leaving or being formally discharged.[3] The fact that veterans of the 4th Battalion in 1944 were not among those testifying against their former Bulgarian overseers at People's Court Panel VII when it convened in March 1945 provides some oblique confirmation of the improved facilities.

Major Genchev's one-page report was approved by Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, commander of the forced labor units under the OSPB, and bears Mumdzhiev's signature. Mumdzhiev had long sought to upgrade the treatment of Jewish conscripts and to restore their status to something that resembled the situation prevailing in 1941. Smedovo represents a step in that direction, albeit belated. People's Court Panel VII did not indict Genchev, and although Mumdzhiev stood trial, he was acquitted.

SOURCES The documentation on the Smedovo camp derives from Genchev's one-page report. It can be found in HC VII, March 1945 (available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M). Additional documentation about the Smedovo camp can be found in ITS, 0.1 (CNI).

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NOTES

1. Report drafted by Major Genchev at Radomir, August 3, 1944, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.
2. ITS, 0.1 (CNI), records for Jaakov Kalaora, Awram Chaim Jeschaya, Mosche Jossifov, Isak Kemalov, Mosche Geron, Schlomo Benjamin Kohen, Nissim Hananel, Mordechai Natan, Schlomo Avram Maschiach, Armand Segal, Sami Moschkovitsch, Jaakov Menachem (German spellings), and Yakov Kapon; also Jewish Claims Conference questionnaire files for Bulgarian compensation claimants.
3. ITS, 0.1, Schlomo Avram Maschiach (German spelling) and Armand Segal.

SOFIA

Restrictions on Jewish residence in Sofia (Sofiya), the capital of Bulgaria, in the Sofiya oblast, began in January 1941 when the Bulgarian Parliament enacted the avowedly antisemitic Law for the Defense of the Nation. One provision forbade Jews to relocate to Sofia from elsewhere or to change residences at all without police permission. Ghettoization measures followed in late 1942 on the orders of the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV). Unlike occupied Poland where Nazi-imposed ghettos preceded the Final Solution by some two years, in Bulgaria the residential concentration of Jews was planned from the start as a transitional step in the deportation process. The KEV relied on the consistory, the traditional Jewish internal governing body (the equivalent of a Jewish Council), to compile a register of the city's Jews. The KEV called on state security organizations for enforcement as needed so a Jewish police force was not established.

Organized Jewish cultural life did not have time to adapt to confined conditions in the ghettos; nevertheless, certain defining features of the Nazi-era ghetto did apply to Sofia. Jews, except those in mixed marriages, were forbidden to dwell with non-Jews. Their economic activity was banned or tightly limited. A curfew kept Jews from circulating freely. They had to

Jews are forced to deliver their radios to Bulgarian officials for confiscation, Sofia, 1941.
USHMM WS #09064, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

surrender their telephones, radios, automobiles, motorcycles, and bicycles.[1] (KEV records show expropriation of 179 automobiles, 605 bicycles, and 94 motorcycles, which excludes those vehicles Jews sold at lower than normal market prices when ownership was forbidden.) And dwellings were marked by the six-pointed star symbol (*evreiski znak*) on a placard denoting "Jewish residence" (*evreisko zhilishte*).

Sofia presented the principal national challenge to the KEV in achieving Jewish segregation because the city was home to some 25,000 Jews. Many resided in a working-class neighborhood called Iuch Bunar. The central Sephardic synagogue was a notable landmark there, located just west of Sofia's large covered "Hali" market on Maria Luiza Boulevard. Otherwise, Iuch Bunar consisted mainly of small-scale enterprises, shops, and shabby tenements inhabited largely but not exclusively by Jews (the actual percentages of Jewish and other inhabitants cannot be determined from existing data). Although not a fashionable part of town, this area lay within easy reach, on foot or by tram, of Sofia's main commercial and governmental districts.

Ghettoization was imposed in Sofia by a KEV decree on October 20, 1942, restricting Jewish habitation to west of the longitudinal Maria Luiza Boulevard.[2] The KEV pointedly eschewed using the term *geto* at the time, although the word did later appear in the indictment of the March 1945 trial in Sofia of antisemitic perpetrators.[3] The ghetto comprised Iuch Bunar and part of the adjacent Konyovitsa neighborhood. According to KEV the other thoroughfares demarcating this "Jewish quarter" (*evreiski kvartal*) were Tsarina Ioanna Street, Alabin Street, Makedonia Boulevard, St. Stambolov Boulevard, Partenii Nishavskii Street, Vladaiska Ruka Boulevard, Vasil Krikov Street, Rishki Prohod Street, Tutrakan Boulevard, Sveti Kiril i Metod Street, and Slivnitsa Boulevard. However, those streets represented just an outer perimeter. The KEV order added that Jews were not allowed to dwell on Tsarina Ioanna or Alabin Streets or on Makedonia or Maria Luiza Boulevards. So as not to inconvenience non-Jews, and in keeping with the projected temporary nature of the ghetto, non-Jewish households residing within the designated zone were apparently not required to vacate their premises.

Jews who had lived outside the designated ghetto were now obliged to move inside its perimeters. The KEV seized the abandoned apartments of those somewhat more affluent Jews. Yet despite the discomfort of those directly affected, there were few reasons for alarm (i.e., no wall, barbed-wire fences, or formal checkpoints were constructed). Meanwhile the continued presence of non-Jewish neighbors within the designated quarter helped maintain an outward sense of normality. Most able-bodied Jewish male adults were away on service in forced labor units at the time of the KEV decree. When they returned to their families on winter furlough, the ghetto was already an accomplished fact.

Initial deportation plans pursuant to the Final Solution were agreed to on February 22, 1943, by the KEV chief Aleksandŭr Belev and the SS representative in Bulgaria, SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker. The victims were to include selected Jews from Sofia, Kiostendil, Plovdiv, and several other towns, but word of the impending deportation leaked. In March a National Assembly protest against deportation spearheaded by its vice chairman Dimitŭr Peshev led to a postponement of those plans. The KEV then instigated further controls on Jews while Belev reassessed tactics for resuming deportations.

In April 1943 the Sofia police promulgated restrictions affecting Jews at places outside the ghetto boundary. Those restrictions fell into several categories.[4] The first paragraph of the order named specific cafes that were off-limits to Jews wearing the required yellow star. Subsequent paragraphs likewise designated restaurants, theaters, clubs, museums, libraries, gardens, and parks as being out of bounds for Jews. Jews were not admitted to the Aleksandŭr Nevski Cathedral or the National Assembly or allowed on Tsar Aleksandŭr I Boulevard. They were barred from riding the electric tramways between 7 and 9 A.M. and could not occupy the first car of a tram at any time. Shopping for Jews was restricted to 3:30 to 4:30 P.M. daily. This police order also barred Jews from streets outside the ghetto, at railway stations, or in industrial zones unless their presence was required by work. They were banned from congregating in groups of more than three persons, from attending dances and concerts, and from using public baths. The order required public facilities to post signs stipulating Jews as unwelcome. A hefty fine of 2,000 leva (just over $15 in 1940 U.S. dollars) could be imposed on Jews who violated the ordinance.

Deportations resumed following an abortive demonstration by Jews from Iuch Bunar on May 24, 1943. Police halted the march, beat demonstrators, and arrested hundreds, immediately dispatching them to a concentration camp in the Danube port of Somovit. Massive evictions of Jews from Sofia ensued over the next three months in accordance with Belev's expanded national deportation plan. In KEV paperwork the stated purpose was "resettlement" (*izselvane*), the euphemism for shipment into Nazi hands. However, top Bulgarian officials were ultimately dissuaded from approving that step.

This movement of people resulted in the unforeseen formation of ad hoc ghettos in provincial Bulgarian towns even as the Sofia ghetto was emptied out during the summer of 1943. As Jewish families were ejected from their homes, KEV operatives, working house by house, proceeded to inventory and seize their abandoned household possessions. These items were sold at auction to the general public. Proceeds went into a KEV fund for the temporary upkeep of the Jews until their deportation, after which the remaining sum was supposed to be remitted to the state treasury. Meanwhile, shops and businesses confiscated from Jews were consigned to selected trustees having connections to the KEV.

Ghetto restrictions stayed in effect until the end of August 1944 for those few Jews remaining in Sofia during this period who had been exempted from eviction on various grounds.

SOURCES Extensive archival documentation can be found at USHMMA, in two collections from TsDA (KEV, RG-46.04M), and at GVA (RG-46.058M). The latter collection includes trial documentation. A novel by Viktor Baruh, *Beyond the Law*, trans. Elena Mladenova (Sofia: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), gives a sense of life in the ghetto.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-46.04M (TsDA-KEV), reel 299.
2. USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 4.
3. Sofia People's Court Session VII.
4. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 4. The order does not specify an exact date in April.

SOMOVIT, KAILŬKA, AND TABAKOVA CHESHMA

Somovit, Kailŭka (Kaylaka), and Tabakova Cheshma were detention camps for Jews that operated under the authority of the Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) between 1943 and 1944. A memorandum by Commissar Aleksandŭr Belev in the spring of 1943 stipulated the expulsion of all Jews from Bulgaria before the end of September that year. The victims were to be evicted from their homes and sent either to ad hoc provincial ghettos or to transit camps inside the country before being turned over to the German authorities. Belev initially planned to situate the camps in the Danube barge ports of Lom and Somovit.[1] Lom had already served as the embarkation point for Jews deported from Bulgarian-annexed parts of Greece to the Treblinka killing center. The town of Radomir was also briefly considered as a transit camp site.[2]

Although Belev wanted all Jews held in custody by May 30, practical arrangements remained rudimentary at best because the facilities were intended for short-term use. A KEV functionary, Ilia Iliev Dobrevski, was assigned the task of preparing a vacant school building in Somovit for the deportees to occupy. Dobrevski accomplished little in advance and did not make any arrangements regarding food. A more senior KEV official, Yaroslav Kalitsin, took charge as the lack of preparedness for the impending deportation became apparent.

The opening of the Somovit camp (in the Pleven oblast) was pushed forward by an influx of Jews from Sofia, who arrived earlier than expected. An impromptu demonstration had erupted in Sofia's Iuch Bunar ghetto on May 24, 1943, when word of Belev's deportation plan leaked out. Heavily armed police responded almost immediately, halting the protest and beating and arresting hundreds. That night, some 200 Jewish men and boys were taken under guard to the Sofia train station, put aboard rail cars, and transported the next morning to the Danube River port of Somovit 160 kilometers (99 miles) northeast of Sofia. The camp opening can thus be dated to May 25. Somovit municipal authorities were subordinated to the KEV for the handling of administrative details, and a military guard commanded by a second lieutenant provided security.

Cash, overcoats, shoes, luggage, printed material, and valuables such as watches were seized from the captives on arrival. Thirty to forty people were crammed into each room. The head guard greeted them with these words, according to Rabbi Daniel Tsion, who was among the first group of Sofia Jews sent to Somovit: "Listen! As of today you're staying here. You'll carry out every command you receive from now on. Anyone objecting will be tossed into the Danube or get a bullet. Remember, no one here will be held responsible if you die. You understand?"[3]

Food was not distributed at first, although those who brought some provisions shared what they had. The initially strict control regimen forbade prisoners from rising without permission from their assigned places in the schoolrooms. When allowed to walk about they were forbidden to converse or even to peer out of the windows. One bit of torment stipulated that prisoners' trips outside to relieve themselves were limited to only one half-hour per day. Not all were able to comply, resulting in a sanitation problem. Those confined also endured beatings with rifle butts, profanity, and insults from the guards. Rabbi Tsion's objections regarding such gratuitous brutality were met with a drawn pistol and a renewed death threat from the head guard. The inmates were convinced that they would be shipped upriver imminently and then deported to Poland.[4]

After several days the KEV finally authorized a paltry food allotment. Each prisoner at Somovit received 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of coarse bread made from raw bran daily. Seven kilograms (15.4 pounds) of beans per day were to be distributed among all the prisoners, sometimes with onions, but there was no meat. As the head guard stated, "The ration is really small, so you'll suffer." Gradually, the daily bread ration was increased to 200 grams, then 300, and finally 500 grams (7, 10.6, and 17.6 ounces). This increased sustenance coincided with the government decision to suspend deportation. In light of this development, the plan for an additional transit camp at Radomir was

put on hold, while Lom evolved more as an ad hoc ghetto than a camp per se.

By June 2, the original contingent of Somovit prisoners was increased by another 185 Jews sent there from Sofia, in addition to 28 from Ruse and about 100 from Plovdiv.[5] The subsequent arrivals included women. A commandant, Asen Stefanov Tasev, took charge.[6] The KEV's inmate roster differentiated between Jews arrested at the May 24 demonstration in Sofia and those sent specifically to await deportation via river barge. Yet when it became clear in August 1943 that the deportations would not resume, many from both lists were released to the provincial ghettos, although no one was permitted to resume residence in Sofia. Somovit then continued as a punishment camp for Jews accused of violating provincial ghetto restrictions. The number of prisoners fluctuated, but intake and release rosters show that the total never exceeded the low hundreds. Through the winter of 1943 the captives endured relentless cold wind sweeping off the Danube.

In early 1944 the remaining Somovit inmates were relocated southward to two camps, Kailŭka and Tabakova Cheshma, both on the outskirts of the city of Pleven, located 132 kilometers (82 miles) northeast of Sofia. Liuben Petrov Zimriev of the KEV was the Kailŭka superintendent (*domakin*). Jews were remanded to these detention sites from the ad hoc ghettos on KEV orders for committing alleged infractions (e.g., violating curfews or failing to wear the Jewish star). Many had been sent from the Dupnitsa ghetto on suspicion of communist sympathies or black market activity. One offender supposedly cohabited illicitly with an ethnic Bulgarian woman.[7] Another contingent had deserted a work detail. Their terms of incarceration were set at several months to a year. Kailŭka and Tabakova Cheshma each held people of both sexes, including families.

At Kailŭka, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of Pleven, the Jews were confined to crude wooden barracks. One such structure caught fire on the night of July 11, 1944, resulting in the death of 11 Jewish inmates who were unable to get out. Zimriev, a Pleven resident, left the premises when the blaze started. Arson by members of the fascist-style Brannik youth movement was suspected in the Jewish community, but never proven in court; in March 1945, Zimriev stood trial at the Sofia People's Court VII, but testimony regarding the Kailŭka blaze did not reach a conclusive verdict on responsibility.[8] The Kailŭka camp shut down after the arson, but Tabakova Cheshma, located a few kilometers away, held Jews until all Bulgarian antisemitic laws were nullified in late August 1944.

Although inventories were kept of money and possessions seized on arrival at Somovit, some former inmates later claimed that their cash was not returned on their release.[9]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the camps at Somovit, Kailŭka, and Tabakova Cheshma can found in TsDA (KEV documentation is available at USHMMA under RG-46.049M) and GVA (available at USHMMA under RG-46.058M). A published testimony is the memoir by Rabbi Daniel Tsion, *Pet godini pod fashistki gnet* (Sofia: N.P., 1945).

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NOTES

1. Belev memorandum, TsDA, fond 1568-K, opis 1, a.e. 122, pp. 49–51.
2. Testimony by defendant Ilia Iliev Dobrevski, March 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 1.
3. Tsion, *Pet godini pod fashistki gnet*, p. 62.
4. Ibid., pp. 61–64.
5. USHMMA, RG-46.049M (KEV), reel 11 and related references.
6. Tasev signed, as commandant, an invoice of money seized from 42 Somovit inmates, July 31, 1943. It was countersigned by the mayor of Somovit, Ivan Mihailov, USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 11.
7. USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 3.
8. Liuben Petrov Zimriev testimony in USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; also USHMMA, RG-46.049M, reel 123.
9. USHMMA 1997.A.0333, reel 11.

STRUMA VALLEY

The Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor Service (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) deployed Jewish forced laborers and ethnic Turkish labor troops in the Struma Valley in the Sofiya oblast of southwestern Bulgaria in 1943 to maintain the railways. The OVTP administered this project for the Ministry of Public Works (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB). Polkovnik Tsvetan Mumdzhiev, an active-duty army officer, commanded these and other labor units across the country; he exercised considerable latitude as a military man heading a largely autonomous body within a civilian ministry.

The Struma line enhanced access to the Bulgarian-occupied territories of northern Greece. The railway upgrade effort coincided with an ideologically driven scheme by the Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) to deport all of Bulgaria's Jews into German hands, starting with those in occupied lands. The KEV and OSPB thus operated at cross-purposes. Many of the Jewish conscripts deployed on the Struma railway were in fact drawn from erstwhile Greek towns in the Bulgarian-occupied zone. Faced with uncertainty about their fate and that of their families, they endured harsh conditions such as beatings, inadequate rations, and extortion by lower level Bulgarian Army personnel. Malaria debilitated their numbers. Morale consequently remained poor with a negative impact on production. Although similar circumstances prevailed elsewhere in Bulgaria among Jewish labor units, a memo by Mumdzhiev cited "laziness" and high desertion rates specifically along the Struma line.[1]

Labor camps were situated at several towns or stations along the railway: Gara Pirin, Gara Belitsa, Sveti Vrach, Marikostino (or Marikostinovo), Poruchik Minkov, Kulata, and Gara Rupel. Conscripts witnessed the passage of trains carrying Greek Jewish deportees to their fate, which triggered confrontations between Bulgarian authorities and Jewish forced laborers at several sites along the route.

The Gara Pirin camp at Kresna, 108 kilometers (67 miles) south of Sofia, deployed ethnic Turks holding the status of paid, unarmed Bulgarian Army laborers. This point marked the northern end of the railway improvement project in 1943.[2]

Gara Belitsa was a station at Strumyani, 119 kilometers (74 miles) south of Sofia. This site should not be confused with the town of Belitsa located some distance across the mountains to the northeast. Kapitan Tsvetan Donchev was the commander at Gara Belitsa in 1943, but Poruchik Georgi Stoimenov Pinalov exercised immediate authority over the 3rd Jewish Group (*grupa*). This unit combined Jewish forced laborers from Greece with those from metropolitan areas of Bulgaria. Most proved susceptible to Struma's endemic malaria. According to Pinalov, a physician examining 158 men found 128 infected. A veteran of the unit, Isak Deba, alleged that Pinalov regarded malaria as an insufficient excuse for work absence.[3] Pinalov strictly enforced army regulations, despite the fact that Jews were legally classified as civilians.

In March 1945, Pinalov stood trial for brutality and antisemitism, among other charges. While denying he harbored prejudice, he acknowledged having slapped conscripts, but stated that the degree of force fell within customary army parameters. He cited the particularly lax discipline and poor work results at Gara Belitsa as justification for his actions.[4] Among Pinalov's victims were seven Greek Jewish draftees from Drama and Kavala.[5] Their offense was having sung Greek songs at work. The corporal punishment was administered in a particularly brutal manner to these men who were deemed foreigners, not countrymen. In addition to receiving beatings, conscripts could also be held in a lockup in camp. Confinement was at Pinalov's discretion without any formal disciplinary hearing. Pinalov denied an accusation that locked-up detainees were stripped naked, claiming that they were permitted to retain overcoats in the cell.

One Greek Jew, Karl David Gatenio, recounted how, on March 5, 1943, a train carrying their deported relatives passed by conscripts as they were installing reinforced concrete along the railway bed. According to Gatenio, Pinalov told the men that their parents were being taken to work for Germany and to die, as collective punishment to the Jews for having started World War II. Pinalov also threatened his workers with deportation to Poland. A subordinate subsequently granted Gatenio permission to see his father, who was among the deportees held at a temporary transit camp in Gorna Dzhumaya (today: Blagoevgrad), farther north along the Struma line.[6]

Sveti Vrach (today: Sandanski) is a city in the Struma Valley some 126 kilometers (78 miles) south of Sofia and 21 kilometers (13 miles) from the Greek border. During most of 1943 the 12th Labor Battalion was posted there. The battalion's 7th Group assembled at the end of January and worked for 10 months at various sites. Yako Avramov Molho recounted beatings, abusive language, and the extortion of money from the conscripts by the group leader, Podporuchik Nikifor Mladenov Pavlov. A conscript's family in Sofia, fearing deportation, sent him 30,000 leva ($229 in 1940 U.S. dollars) through a messenger. Pavlov then sought to confiscate this sum. A subsequent complaint against Pavlov signed by four former conscripts stated that he "systematically stole" from the Jewish forced laborers and transferred the loot to his family. When conscript Leon Iosif Samuilov attempted to report this corruption to higher authorities, he incurred a particularly severe beating.[7] Shemuil Iosif Moshe noted that Pavlov arbitrarily increased work demands, characterizing him as a sadist.[8]

The 6th Jewish Group of the 12th Battalion was deployed at Marikostino (or Marikostinovo) about 141 kilometers (88 miles) south of Sofia and 6.4 kilometers (4 miles) from the Greek border. One source gives the precise location as the "Poruchik Minkov" station on the railway line.[9] After replacing another officer, Pavlov also led this group during the summer of 1943.[10] On taking command he gave a speech echoing Nazi propaganda that blamed the Jews for starting the war. He frequently beat men and threatened to have them deported to Poland, falsely implying that he had the power to do so and thereby exploiting the threat as leverage.[11]

At the end of February 1945, nearly six months after Bulgaria switched to the Allied side, Pavlov was discharged from service and remanded to People's Court VII.[12] In March 1945, veterans of the 6th Jewish Group testified that during 1943 Pavlov operated a scheme to extort cash from them. Some men had received money from their families at the time of the mass evictions from the Sofia ghetto to provincial towns. For a price a conscript could be reassigned from dangerous or onerous tasks at the job site. Approved furloughs could also be bought for 1,000 leva ($7.60 in 1940 U.S. dollars) per day. A Jewish conscript named Waizberg, the unit secretary and bookkeeper, was identified as Pavlov's intermediary for arranging such transactions.

The 8/9th Jewish Group was deployed at Gara Rupel (just on the Greek side of the prewar frontier) under Poruchik Parashkev Iordanov. When northward-bound trains bearing doomed Greek Jews passed the work site, the men under his command tried to toss their bread ration to the deportees. In response, Iordanov threatened the conscripts with a revolver. Complaints about Iordanov as a "corrupt antisemite" meanwhile reached the higher command level. On April 6, 1943, Mumdzhiev cited him for misconduct. Iordanov was accused of arbitrarily adjusting conscripts' leave schedules and of linking bribes to the issuance of leave permits.[13]

Mumdzhiev henceforth paid close attention to furlough policy. His measures to ensure fairness had broad repercussions some two months later during the 1943 work season, which coincided with the KEV's revived attempt to deport Jews. Mumdzhiev's issuance of valid permits at that time had the effect of temporarily releasing large numbers of Jewish conscripts, thereby obstructing the KEV's plans for sending all Jews out of the country to their destruction.

SOURCES The only published source describing the Struma Valley camps is Eli Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo* (Tel Aviv: N.P., 1960).

Primary sources on the Struma Valley camps can be found in USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA).

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NOTES

1. Mumdzhiev Order No. 165 of May 18, 1943, quoted in Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, pp. 137–138.
2. The disposition is noted in Mumdzhiev's Order No. 290 of the Bureau of Temporary Labor, July 30, 1943, reproduced in Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, pp. 142–143.
3. Isak Deba testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 2.
4. Georgi Stoimenov Pinalov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.
5. Karl David Gatenio testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
6. Ibid.
7. Yako Avramov Molho deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
8. Shemuil Iosif Moshe deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
9. Petko Iotev Dobrev, deposition of a subaltern to People's Court VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
10. David Iosif Davidov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
11. Albert Baruh testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
12. Protocol of February 28, 1943, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
13. Memorandum cited in Baruh, *Iz istoriyata na Bŭlgarskoto Evreistvo*, pp. 138–139.

SVISHTOV

In the summer of 1944, unpaid Jewish labor conscripts were deployed to prepare military defense positions near the Danube River port of Svishtov in the Pleven oblast, 172 kilometers (107 miles) east of Sofia. The workforce was an ad hoc detachment formed from the 6th Labor Battalion and comprising that parent unit's 9th, 10th, and 11th Groups, all placed under the overall command of Poruchik Raicho Dobrev Kolevski of the Bulgarian Army.[1] Other groups of the 6th Battalion remained in the Bulgarian interior around the town of Lovech, where the battalion was headquartered.

The forced laborers in Svishtov were quartered at first in a school, but subsequently in tents. The tactical military construction task to which these three groups were assigned differed from the infrastructure improvement projects to which Jewish compulsory laborers in Bulgaria had been detailed during previous years. The shift in emphasis was prompted by the rapid approach of powerful Soviet ground forces advancing southward across the breadth of Romania. As a neighboring Axis-affiliated state, Bulgaria faced probable invasion by the Red Army. The Danube was the only remaining natural barrier between Bulgaria and the Soviet 3rd Ukrainian Front, an army group amply furnished with tanks, artillery, and pontoon equipment. Its combat engineers had demonstrated aptitude at crossing broad rivers during their campaigns to oust the Germans from the southern USSR. Toward the end of August 1944 they were poised to cross the Danube as well. The Svishtov sector was a prime locale for this crossing because it included the large mid-stream Belene Island around which the river flowed in two narrow channels, easily bridgeable with pontoons. Despite his modest rank, Kolevski therefore bore heavy responsibility should the Bulgarian government dare to resist the inevitable Soviet incursion.

The Bulgarian armed forces, equipped mostly with obsolete hardware, were vastly outgunned by the battle-hardened Red Army and stood little chance along the breachable Danube line. Consequently tensions in Svishtov ran high, and motivation among the Jewish forced laborers was particularly poor. After having endured years of antisemitic oppression, their sympathies lay with the Allies. Yet in addition to being required to dig and construct futile defensive works, these men also faced possible conscription into the Bulgarian Army and exposure to combat. That possibility was evident from the battalion strength rosters that in the summer of 1944 began listing the Jews according to their military draft registration districts.[2] The result was a high desertion rate from Kolevski's detachment. He responded with brutality by personally beating many of the men. In postwar testimony at the Sofia People's Court Panel VII in March 1945, the Jewish labor unit veteran Zhak Solomon Tadzher recounted how he had personally seen Kolevski beat 10 or 15 conscripts, although Tadzher guessed that up to a hundred had endured Kolevski's blows. These punishments were accompanied by verbal abuse echoing bigoted tropes: the Jews "had the blood of the Bulgarian people on their hands," and the Danube defense position would be "built with soil and the bones of Jews." Tadzher believed that Kolevski sought to provoke a mutiny among the Jews to justify his brutality.[3] Kolevski himself threatened to shoot anyone whom he suspected of trying to abscond.

In addition to violence by Kolevski and his military subordinates, would-be Jewish deserters faced a gauntlet of Bulgarian police forces stationed around Svishtov. Many men nevertheless successfully escaped, and the unit strength rosters list dozens missing at various times. Their absence intensified the suspicions of and work demands placed on those who remained, and fear permeated the detachment. However, the intensity of torment varied from one group to another. Jews in the 9th Group under Poruchik Nakov were said to have had a relatively easier time.[4]

Another witness, Sami Moshe Levi, had served in the harsher 11th Group led by Podporuchik Nikola Skachkov. During the previous year this officer had commanded Jewish conscripts of the 5th Battalion at Gorna Oryahovitsa, where he had become known for antisemitism and cruelty. Several Jews in the 11th Group suffered from malaria, but were still forced to report to work by Skachkov, who denied them a posting to light duty. The daily quota per man was to dig 8 cubic meters (282.5 cubic feet), an onerous if not humanly impossible task. The men toiled from dawn to dusk. Levi alleged that Skachkov equated the Jews with Josip Broz Tito's Partisans, a Communist-led enemy force, and subjected them to insults and frequent beatings. Sometimes three or four men were pummeled each day. Skachkov was quoted as having used the

derogatory term *chifuti* (the Bulgarian equivalent of "kikes") in referring to Jews and was also said to have extorted money from them in return for train tickets to escape from the Danube. Levi's testimony was corroborated in various details by that of Perets Haim Perets and Mois Avram Koen, both 11th Group veterans.[5] Koen also told the court in March 1945 that Skachkov had denied the men air-raid shelter protection. Skachkov was quoted as having laughed and told the Jews, "They're your airplanes. If you're killed, the world won't come to an end."

Defending himself on the witness stand, Skachkov attributed his conduct to pressure from Kolevski and to the need to deter the conscripts from deserting. The absentee rate in the 11th Group had reached some 50 percent of its paper complement of 250 men, according to Skachkov. Rosters assembled at battalion level confirm a high level of desertion. Attempting to shift blame, Skachkov also attributed the backbreaking work quotas to an engineer Goranov who had designed the riparian project.[6]

As events developed, the Danube defense line did not experience the test of actual battle. Bulgaria was granted an armistice and switched to the Allied side as the Red Army crossed into the country virtually unopposed. Meanwhile during the first few days of September 1944 Kolevski's command disintegrated. Rosters of the 6th Battalion compiled at Lovech later that month show its other Jewish work groups still reporting for duty, albeit with diminished numbers present, but the 9th, 10th and 11th Groups stationed in Svishtov had effectively ceased to exist.[7]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Svishtov forced labor camp can be found in GVA (available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M) and Tva, fond 2063.

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NOTES

1. Zhak Solomon Tadzher testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 2; and Tva, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.
2. Tva, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.
3. Zhak Solomon Tadzher testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
4. Nikola Skachkov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.
5. Sami Moshe Levi, Mois Avram Koen, and Perets Haim Perets testimonies, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
6. Skachkov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.
7. Tva, fond 2063, opis 1, a.e. 14.

TRŬNSKA KLISURA

For several months during 1942 approximately 300 unpaid Bulgarian Jewish labor conscripts from the 1st Labor Battalion were deployed at Trŭnska Klisura, a mountain gorge in the Sofiya oblast on the border between Bulgaria and Serbia, 59 kilometers (32 miles) west-northwest of Sofia.[1] They worked to improve road access between metropolitan Bulgaria and the part of Serbia that had been awarded to Bulgaria by Nazi Germany after Hitler's subjugation of Yugoslavia in 1941. The road was intended to link Pirot, the principal regional town, and its hinterland to Bulgaria economically and militarily.

Details about working conditions at Trŭnska Klisura were recorded in affidavits and testimony submitted to the Sofia People's Court Panel VII in March 1945, mainly by veterans of the 1st Battalion's 16th Group. The first commander of that unit in 1942 was an officer named Georgi Markov, but as of August 1, 1942, Kapitan Aleksi Ivanchev Shonkin (a.k.a. Aleksi Ivanchev) supervised the Jewish laborers. He was assisted by junior officers Pane Shumanov, Asparuh Gŭlzhbov, and Metodi Minev.[2] These subordinates were sometimes assigned to beat conscripts whose performance displeased Shonkin. As the weather turned colder over the next few months, the captain remained in charge and demanded that the labor draftees complete arduous physical tasks even when snow was falling.[3]

According to the testimony of veterans, Shonkin set a challenging if not impossible daily earth-moving quota of 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet) per man and intimidated the laborers to achieve that goal. At times he extended the work shift as late as 10:00 P.M., in contravention of guidelines set by the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) of the Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB). He told the men of the 16th Group that they would remain alive only if they worked. Otherwise, Shonkin intimated, he would order their deportation to Poland. Although Shonkin lacked the authority to fulfill such a threat, he did have the power to detail men to a disciplinary detachment within the labor battalion system. Sometimes after a day's work Shonkin arbitrarily delayed the serving of the men's evening meal for several hours while he subjected them to insulting harangues.[4] It was said that once he pointed a machine gun at his unit and, echoing a standard Nazi propaganda theme, accused world Jewry of bearing guilt for starting the war. Hostile witnesses subsequently alleged that Shonkin avowed pro-Nazi sympathies and pointedly lamented the huge loss of German lives on the Eastern Front. His period of command ended on November 17, 1942.

The 16th Group was then discharged, and the men returned to their families, before other constituents of the 1st Labor Battalion were released. Because of this early discharge the 16th Group is not listed on an otherwise comprehensive handwritten 1st Battalion mustering-out roster dated December 14, 1942. The battalion's other groups served in various locales, with the 1st Group operating in proximity to the 16th. Some groups were posted in the Sofia vicinity, whereas the several detachments of the 2nd Group were parceled out to serve as labor auxiliaries in military districts around the country.[5] Each group included up to 300 men. Day-to-day functional control was exercised at the group level. From the roster, testimonies, and other eyewitness accounts, it is evident that the battalion functioned merely in an administrative capacity. Thus, an officer like Shonkin enjoyed considerable operational autonomy at an isolated posting such as Trŭnska Klisura where access presented a problem.

A group of Jewish prisoners at a forced labor camp in Trŭnska Klisura, Bulgaria, listen to an accordionist during their lunch break, 1942.
USHMM WS #09058, COURTESY OF COMFORTY MEDIA CONCEPTS.

The Jewish conscripts in that project faced a special hazard posed by unexploded military ordnance left over from past conflicts. Trŭnska Klisura was an oft-contested mountain gateway leading into lands historically coveted by Sofia's rulers as rightfully Bulgarian. In modern times armed actions had taken place during the Serbian-Bulgarian War of 1885, the Second Balkan War of 1913, the Bulgarian campaign against the Serbs in 1915, and, more recently, the 1941 German invasion of eastern Yugoslavia that was launched from Bulgarian territory. Forced laborers excavating on the road improvement project were thus likely to encounter the live munitions that littered the area, yet adequately selected, trained, and equipped expert personnel were not present for the safe removal of war detritus. Instead, the unit relied on Jewish conscripts within its own ranks, who were detailed for that purpose in makeshift ordnance disposal teams. One such squad, composed of Iulius Haim Zilberman, Meshulam Aron Bali, and Itsak David Alkutser, was clearing a minefield on August 1 when an explosion occurred. All three men were seriously injured.[6] Medical help was slow to arrive on the scene, and then more hours passed before the wounded conscripts could be evacuated by truck to a hospital. The incident proved fatal for Alkutser and Zilberman, and Bali lost an eye.[7]

This incident became a focus of contention at the Sofia People's Court Panel VII in March 1945, when Shonkin and 63 other Bulgarians stood trial accused of persecuting Jews. The prosecution attempted to hold him at least indirectly responsible for the casualties among the ordnance disposal men.[8] A Bulgarian officer testified that the incessant pressure to speed up the work led to the careless handling of live land mines, which, in this case, resulted in an explosion.[9] The delay in providing swift emergency care was also examined in detail. But on the witness stand and in a deposition to the court Shonkin denied harboring antisemitic or fascist sympathies, the necessary motive under the legal ground rules to achieve conviction at this trial. Also testifying or submitting affidavits on Shonkin's behalf were a number of active-duty Bulgarian army officers and several Jewish acquaintances. One of the latter stated that Shonkin had held his family's property in safekeeping when it was confiscated and returned the items after the antisemitic laws were nullified.[10]

There are no accounts of Jewish forced labor at Trŭnska Klisura during subsequent war years. By 1944 the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border zone came to be largely dominated by armed Bulgarian communist partisan units operating in conjunction with Marshal Tito's Yugoslav forces.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the forced labor camp at Trŭnska Klisura can be found in GVA (available at USHMMA under RG-46.058M); and Tva, fond 2063.

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NOTES

1. The size of the unit was noted in testimony by Naim Isak Gavrilov, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA), reel 2.
2. Deposition to the Sofia People's Court Panel VII of Lazar Nisim Malki, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7; Naim Isak Gavrilov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M reel 2.
3. Iosif Elia Reitan testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
4. Deposition to the Sofia People's Court Panel VII of Isak Daniel Isakov, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7; also Lazar Nisim Malki deposition, USHMMA, RG-46.058M reel 7.
5. Tva, fond 2058, opis 1, a.e. 29.
6. Meshulam Aron Bali testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; and official report of the incident, August 12, 1942, drafted by an officer Nikolov of the battalion's 1st Group for OSPB, in USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
7. Meshulam Aron Bali testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1; and Isak Daniel Isakov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2; also author's conversation with Solomon Aron Bali, a descendant, in Sofia, October 2012.
8. Isak Daniel Isakov testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2; and Isakov affidavit (RG-46.058M reel 7); also Meshulam Aron Bali and Maer Solomon Kaneti testimonies, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 1.
9. Kapitan Asen Georgiev testimony, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 2.
10. Affidavits of Rafael Buko Koen and defendant Aleksi Ivanchev Shonkin, both in USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.

VRATSA

Vratsa, a town nearly 60 kilometers (37 miles) northeast of Sofia in the Vrachan oblast, was the site of a temporary ghetto for Jews, established in the spring of 1943. Vratsa was one of the sites chosen by the Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs (*Komisarstvo za evreiskite vŭprosi*, KEV) to hold Jews from urban centers in preparation for their deportation. The ghetto continued to exist until September 1944.

At Vratsa, the newcomers received temporary lodgings in school buildings that were vacant for the summer recess.[1] Survivor Roza Anzhel (Rosa Angel) described nutrition in the Vratsa ghetto:

> As for the food, in the school there was a soup kitchen. And during the time in which we were

> allowed to walk outside, we took food from the school and then returned home. We had the right to be outside for two hours a day—between 8 and 10 o'clock. The rest of the time we didn't even have the right to show our faces at the windows because in Vratsa was the headquarters of the gendarmerie and there were blockades all the time, there were gendarmes in the streets. We couldn't go anywhere, even to buy bread.[2]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the temporary ghetto at Vratsa can be found in VHA, Rosa Angel interview, March 4, 1998 (#41439), and an English summary at www.centropa.org.

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NOTES

1. Anzhel interview, January 2006, www.centropa.org/biography/roza-anzhel.
2. Ibid.

ZHELŬZARTSI

Zhelŭzartsi (Zhelezartsi), in the Pleven oblast, is located almost 229 kilometers (142 miles) northeast of Sofia. At this site, the 1st Section, 11th Group, of the 5th Battalion of Jewish forced laborers upgraded the Zhelŭzartsi-Kesarev road between Gorna Oryahovitsa and Shumen in 1942. The commander of the 11th Group (roughly 30 to 40 men) was Georgi Kŭnchev Kasabov. Headquartered at Veliko Turnovo, almost 192 kilometers (119 miles) northeast of Sofia, the 5th Labor Battalion consisted of numerous groups such as this one, widely scattered in north central Bulgaria.

Testimony given at the Sofia People's Court Panel VII in March 1945 gives some idea of the antisemitic invective to which members of the 5th Labor Battalion were subjected during the 1942 labor deployment and later. A Jewish veteran quoted from memory a speech by an inspector, Podpolkovnik Todor Boichev Atanasov of the Bureau of Temporary Labor, to the conscripts at Zhelŭzartsi.

> A whistle blew to summon the men as Atanasov and the group commander drew up in a car. The inspector got out and delivered his remarks: "Dirty Jews, you're finally being brought to account. For 60 years you enslaved the Bulgarian people and never imagined that you would pay any price yourselves. Up to now you abused our women and sisters. Well, now we'll do the same to yours. I've come straight from the Council of Ministers. Your salvation is in work, work, and only work. The norms will be set high. Those who appeal to their group leader will be told, 'There's no leniency for anyone. Everyone works. I don't care whether you're sick or weak. Nobody's got permission to stay back in the barracks or help out in the kitchen.' "[1]

Atanasov continued, emphasizing that the construction jobs had to be completed at whatever cost to the conscripts themselves. As to their fate he concluded, "Not a Jew will be left alive in Europe. We'll push you into the Black Sea and the Danube. We'll take you out and mow you down with machine guns."[2] With that "morale builder" the inspector all but obviated his earlier words linking work to survival. The tone of the speech and the circumstances of its delivery suggest that Atanasov intended his message for all the Jews in forced labor, not just this section at Zhelŭzartsi. There can be little doubt he delivered similar harangues to other units at different sites. In 1942, threats and intimidation were the approved means to boost productivity.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Zhelŭzartsi camp can be found in HC VII (available at USHMMA as RG-46.058M).

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NOTES

1. Boris Davidov Leviev deposition to HC VII, February 15, 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M, reel 7.
2. Ibid.

ZVŬNICHEVO

During the work season beginning in April 1943, men belonging to the 1st Group, 2nd Labor Battalion were encamped in tents in the village of Zvŭnichevo in the Plovdev oblast, some 95 kilometers (59 miles) southeast of Sofia and 7 kilometers (more than 4 miles) west of the city of Pazardzhik.[1] This group consisted of 80 Serbs and 80 unpaid Jews, subsequently to be joined by about 200 ethnic Turks.[2] The policy of the Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (*Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost*, OVTP) of the Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pŭtishtata i blagoustroistvoto*, OSPB) kept members of the different ethnic groups from commingling either in the bivouac or on the job.[3] Working in ethnically segregated sections (*yadrovi*), the entire group's labor conscripts were assigned to build a segment of the Sofia-Plovdiv highway. The road paralleled an existing railroad, both of which roughly followed the course of the Maritsa River. Although geographically separated, this effort near Pazardhik was part of a larger road construction effort by the 1st Labor Battalion then underway at Ihtiman and related sites.

The tasks involved moving earth to create a roadbed and finishing it in reinforced concrete. At the height of the work season each laborer was supposed to excavate 4 cubic meters (141 cubic feet) of earth per day, in a shift lasting 12 hours. The quota requirement met the most stringent work norm as decreed by the OVTP, although the shift length exceeded the officially authorized norm.[4]

Feldfebel Hristo Dimitrov Iovchev held overall command of the 1st Group.[5] Under Iovchev, the noncommissioned officer (NCO) in charge of the Jewish section in Zvŭnichovo was Georgi Ivanov Chalŭmov. The Jews worked on a road sector

located some 200 to 300 meters (656 to 984 feet) from the Zvŭnichevo railway station. Jewish veterans of this deployment agreed that Chalŭmov's derogatory language and brutal behavior manifested an overt antisemitism.

Chalŭmov came from the village of Lozen nearly six kilometers (almost four miles) west of the bivouac and work site. He singled out Jews and accused them of communist sympathies. His beatings of conscripts were commonplace. One beating victim was Marko Pinkas, who called attention to himself by singing an Italian song. Cudgel in hand, Chalŭmov responded, "Jews are not here to sing, but to work. Your nation is finished. This will be your grave."[6]

Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski, the group physician, later testified that even incapacitating illness did not spare a man from beatings by Chalŭmov. Petrikovski cited the case of a malaria sufferer, Nisim Isak Levi, who had to be revived by an injection to the heart after Chalŭmov assaulted him, despite the fact that Levi did not belong to Chalŭmov's section.[7] The doctor also treated Mois Dzherasi, whose hands were beaten with a wooden club. In addition to using that instrument Chalŭmov occasionally hit the laborers with rocks, according to Petrikovski who examined the men's injuries and heard their complaints. It was the belief of Jewish conscripts that such brutalities were limited to their group, sparing the Serbs who worked separately.[8]

Although the bigotry and abuses displayed by Chalŭmov were fairly common among overseers at the time, in this case additional factors worsened the plight of those unlucky enough to be placed under him. During the entire period of service from April to December 1943, the men of this group had to endure particularly bad rations, "not fit for pigs" in the words of one veteran. OVTP was supposed to supply adequate provisions of cooking oil, sugar, rice, and cheese. However, some conscripts suspected group commander Iovchev of systematically taking these items for his benefit with the connivance of the section's Bulgarian cook, Feldfebel Milam Mudev Munin.[9] The Turkish and Serb conscripts also suffered from the embezzlement of the food to which they were entitled.[10]

The men were issued bread, however. On one occasion their attempt to share it with other victims of misfortune led to further conflict. The incident occurred in the autumn of 1943 after Italy switched from the Axis to the Allied side. Much of the Italian Army in the Balkans was then disarmed and taken captive by the Germans, their erstwhile comrades-in-arms. When a German train carrying so-called Italian military internees (*Italienische Militärinternierte*, IMIs) passed along the rail line paralleling the highway construction site at Zvŭnichevo, the Jewish laborers tried to show solidarity by handing bread and cigarettes to the Italians. This gesture prompted Iovchev and Chalŭmov to instigate reprisal beatings.[11] As Chalŭmov told the men, "When the Germans passed by, you remained silent. But when the Italians who are the Germans' enemies passed, you cheered. By that you indicated that you are opponents of Bulgaria." In addition to beatings, the men were penalized with two hours' increased work shift time, and mealtime breaks were shortened to just 15 or 20 minutes.[12] Iovchev also punished the conscripts by withholding leave privileges for family visitation.

Many of the Jews in the work group were originally residents of Sofia. By the middle of the summer of 1943, their families had been evicted from their homes in the Sofia ghetto and sent to ad hoc provincial ghettos to await deportation. Some of those families were staying in Pazardzhik, just east of Zvŭnichevo. When not denying overnight requests for furloughs, the Bulgarian group leaders extorted money from the conscripts for authorization to see their wives and children. The price ranged from 50 to 200 leva. In his testimony at Sofia, Dr. Petrikovski corroborated this chicanery, citing the case of the conscript Albert Moskona.[13]

For his trial defense in March 1945, Iovchev implied that stern measures toward the conscripts were necessary to deter desertion.[14] Dr. Petrikovski alleged that among the Bulgarian overseers there was a 10-man mutual protection cabal called the "Maro Gang" (*Banda Maro*) of which Chalŭmov was a member.[15] Chalŭmov for his part denied fascist sympathies and claimed to have been in contact with the underground apparatus that subsequently took power as the Fatherland Front (*Otechestven Front*, OF) government. A document to the court from the OF executive committee in Chalŭmov's home village of Lozen declared that Chalŭmov had not belonged to any political groupings, but had communicated with the organization.[16]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Zvŭnichevo camp can be found in GVA (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-46.058M).

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NOTES

1. Deposition to Sofia People's Court Panel VII by Nisim Aron Papo of Sofia, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (GVA) (HC VII), reel 7.
2. The ethnic breakdown was recalled by the group physician Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski (himself a Jew) during his testimony to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, March 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.
3. Testimony of Nisim Isak Levi to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, March 1945, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.
4. OSPB Order No. 5378, June 6, 1942.
5. Iovchev's rejoinder (*Vŭzrazhenie*) to the charges of antisemitism at Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.
6. Depositions to Sofia People's Court Panel VII by Nisim Aron Papo and Nisim Isak Nisim, both of Sofia, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7; also Papo's testimony on HC VII, reel 2.
7. Testimonies of Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski and Nisim Isak Levi to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.
8. Testimony of Nisim Isak Levi to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.
9. Deposition to Sofia People's Court Panel VII by Shelomo Iosifov of Sofia, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

10. Testimony of Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

11. Testimony of Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2; the incident of the IMI train was also related in testimony by Nisim Aron Papo to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2, and in a deposition by Shaul Nisim Shaulov, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

12. Chalŭmov's speech on this occasion was recalled by Nisim Aron Papo in his testimony to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

13. Testimonies of Nisim Aron Papo and Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

14. Iovchev's rejoinder to the charges of antisemitism at Sofia People's Court Panel VII is USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

15. Testimony of Dr. Beniamin Yakov Petrikovski to Sofia People's Court Panel VII, USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 2.

16. Reply (*Otgovor*) to Sofia People's Court Panel VII charges, by Georgi Ivanov Chalŭmov, March 13, 1945; and one-page document (*Udostoverenie*) by the Lozen village OF Committee, March 12, 1945, both in USHMMA, RG-46.058M (HC VII), reel 7.

CROATIA

Ustaša guards move among a large group of Serbian villagers who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the Jasenovac concentration camp. Original caption reads, “At Hell’s door: last search at gates of camp Jasenovac.”
USHMM WS #46647, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

CROATIA

Founded after the German-led invasion and partition of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH) operated as a vassal state of the Axis powers from April 1941 until May 1945. It was governed by the fascist Ustaša movement under Ante Pavelić, which pursued the establishment of an ethnically pure Greater Croatia, which included Bosnia-Herzegovina in its borders. The Ustaša unleashed a brutal civil war and genocide targeting political dissidents and ethnic minorities. Between 1941 and 1945, the regime murdered no fewer than 310,000 ethnic Serbs, up to 26,000 Jews, and up to 20,000 Roma in mass atrocities and camps, including the sprawling Jasenovac camp complex not far from Zagreb.

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was nominally an Axis ally after joining the Tripartite Pact on March 25, 1941. However, the agreement, which included permission for German troops to pass through Yugoslav territory on their way to Greece, bitterly divided the Yugoslav government. Two days after its announcement, British-backed Serbian military officers overthrew Prince Paul, the pact's strongest supporter, and denounced the agreement. Although the successor government quickly retracted that statement and pledged allegiance to the Tripartite Pact, Adolf Hitler ordered the invasion of Yugoslavia on March 27, 1941. Supported by murderous airstrikes against Belgrade that violated international law, German, Italian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian troops advanced into Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, quickly defeating the Royal Yugoslav Army and occupying the country. Eleven days later, Yugoslavia formally surrendered and ceased to exist for the duration of World War II as the Axis powers swiftly dismembered its territory. Germany annexed northern Slovenia and established a military occupation administration in Serbia. Italy annexed southwestern Slovenia, part of the Adriatic coastline and most Adriatic islands, occupied the rest of the coastline, and joined Kosovo-Metohija to the Protectorate of Albania. Bulgaria occupied Macedonia, and Hungary annexed the Bačka and Baranja regions, in addition to eastern Slovenia.

Although Hitler initially favored the integration of Croatia's territory into Hungary, he came to support Croatian statehood in part as a check on Italian territorial ambitions. The Axis powers offered the new Croatian government to Vladko Maček, head of the Croatian Peasant Party (*Hrvatska seljačka stranka*, HSS). Maček declined. The Axis then offered the opportunity to form a government to the Ustaša movement, despite the fact that it had fewer than 12,000 members. Its leader was an extremist lawyer by the name of Ante Pavelić. He had close ties with Benito Mussolini that were founded on a shared opposition to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Since 1927, Pavelić had been negotiating a deal with the Italian government that would concede Italy's territorial claims to Dalmatia for its support of Croatian national sovereignty. Slavko Kvaternik, a deputy leader of the Ustaša, proclaimed the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia in a radio broadcast on April 10, 1941. On April 16, 1941, Pavelić then declared a new government, according himself the title of Leader (*Poglavnik*).[1]

Despite the new state's nominal independence, Germany and Italy divided Croatia into zones of influence that each administered; German and Italian troops were also stationed in large parts of rural NDH territory. Per Italian demands, the NDH was founded as a constitutional monarchy under the Italian prince Aimone. He reluctantly assumed the regency under the name Tomislav II, but remained purely a figurehead and never set foot on Croatian soil. This arrangement served mainly to justify the presence of Italian troops on Croatian soil, particularly in the coastal regions. The NDH's establishment had additional strategic purposes for the Axis powers, allowing the Germans to pacify the Croats with only a minimal use of military resources and making it possible to divert most such resources to Operation Barbarossa. Croatia dissolved its ties with the Italians after the ouster of Mussolini and Italy's armistice with the Western allies on September 8, 1943, when Poglavnik Pavelić officially became the NDH head of state.

At the time of its formation, the NDH's borders were unclear. On May 13, 1941, the Croatian government signed a border agreement with the German Reich. Six days later, it signed the Treaty of Rome with Italy, by which Italy annexed large swaths of Croatian territory, including most of Dalmatia and of the Adriatic islands. On October 27, 1941, the two states reached a formal agreement about NDH's border with

Croatian leader Ante Pavelić visits a mosque in Zagreb.
USHMM WS #46634, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

Montenegro, which was an Italian protectorate. As mentioned earlier, these agreements remained in effect until the Italian armistice with the Western powers, after which the NDH seized control of the Dalmatian territories. The NDH government formally demarcated its eastern border with Serbia which was under German occupation on June 7, 1941.

At its peak, the NDH encompassed a territory of 115,133 square kilometers (44,453 square miles), including most of the territory of modern-day Croatia, the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina with its majority non-Croatian populations, and small parts of modern-day Serbia. It bordered the Reich to the northwest, the Kingdom of Hungary to the northeast, German-occupied Serbia to the east, the Italian protectorate of Montenegro to the southeast, and Italy along its coastal area. It was organized into three levels of administration. In 1941, there were 22 great parishes (*Velike župe*), each headed by a *Grand župan*. On the lower administrative tiers, there were 142 districts (*Kotars*) and 1,006 municipalities. Zagreb served as the capital.[2] The country had an ethnically and religiously diverse population of approximately 6.5 million that consisted of 3.3 million Catholic Croats, slightly fewer than 2 million Orthodox Serbs, 800,000 Muslim Bosniaks, 175,000 Germans, 75,000 Hungarians, 45,000 Czechs, 40,000 Jews, 25,000 Ukrainians, 25,000 Roma, 22,000 Slovaks, and 5,000 Italians.[3]

THE USTAŠA REGIME

The Ustaša regime had its ideological origins in the extreme Croatian nationalist currents that had coalesced around opposition to the Serbian-dominated Yugoslav monarchy since the turn of the twentieth century. A centralized Serbian-dominated Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes under King Alexander was proclaimed on December 1, 1918. Croats saw themselves immediately disadvantaged by the regent's pro-Serbian policies, leading to a decade of contentious and violent politics and civil unrest. In January 1929, King Alexander responded by banning all political activity in the now renamed "Kingdom of Yugoslavia."

King Alexander's establishment of a royal dictatorship resulted in a surge of Croatian nationalism. It also led to an increase in popular support for far-right extremists and the formation of the "Ustaša" terrorist organization in 1931 by the radically nationalist lawyer Ante Pavelić. It was created under the name "Ustaša—Croatian Revolutionary Organization" (*Ustaša—Hrvatska revolucionarna organizacija*, UHRO) and in 1933 was renamed "Ustaša—Croatian Revolutionary Movement" (*Ustaša—Hrvatski revolucionarni pokret*). Its official manifesto, published that year as "The Seventeen Principles," revealed an ideology steeped in fascism, racism, and ultraconservatism. Proclaiming the historical uniqueness of the Croatian nation, it sought the establishment of an ethnically purified Greater Croatia reaching all the way to the Dina River and Belgrade outskirts in the east. Non-Croats were to be excluded from political life and political enemies and other ethnic groups were subject to persecution and annihilation. Bosnia Muslims were declared to be ethnic Croats. The Ustaša pursued the establishment of an authoritarian regime that was to promote collective rights and a corporatist economy and, with the aid of the Roman Catholic Church, protect the patriarchal social order.

Beginning with its ascent to power in April 1941, Ustaša rule was contested. In Zagreb and other urban centers, the population tended to be largely supportive of the regime, but many Croatian nationalists objected to the territorial concessions that Pavelić made to Italy and feared that they had merely traded Serbian overlords for German and Italian ones. Further, the Ustaša were unable to create a functioning state and institutions. As soon as 1942, famines broke out that hit the cities particularly hard. As a result, the public support for the Ustaša soon collapsed. For the duration of the war, German and Italian troops remained stationed in the country, leaving the more remote parts of the country to the Ustaša militias or the various other movements. These different factions soon started guerrilla war against each other while they left most of the countryside, where they had previously suppressed continuing unrest and protests by disaffected Croats. Ustaša forces, together with the Army of the Independent State of Croatia (*Domobranstvo*) and gendarmerie (*Oružništvo*), also fought alongside German and Italian troops against the Yugoslav Partisans, who by November 1943 were recognized by the Allies as the military of the Yugoslav state.

More significant in the general destabilization was the civil war caused by the Ustaša's brutal persecution of political opponents and ethnic minorities—predominantly Serbs—that claimed the lives of some 500,000 people. The Croatian army and the Ustaša militia perpetrated mass atrocities across the countryside. Initially, the militia was organized into five regular battalions, two railway security battalions, as well as the elite Black Legion and Poglavnik Bodyguard Battalion. Military-instigated massacres began almost as soon as the Ustaša assumed power. On April 27, 1941, Ustaša soldiers killed Serb peasants in the community of Gudovac in Northwestern Croatia, and atrocities spread quickly.

In May 1941, Ustaša officials including ministers Mile Budak, Mladen Lorković, Mirko Puk, and Milovan Žanić publicly proclaimed the government's goal to establish an ethnically homogeneous Croatia by a variety of measures including the use of force. Croatian military units and Ustaša militia razed entire villages, often torturing the men and raping women in a particularly sadistic fashion. The frenzy of violence escalated after the launch of Operation Barbarossa, when the communist groups in Croatia began to revolt as a result of the withdrawal of the bulk of the German troops. The Croatian authorities also committed mass murder in concentration camps, including the Jasenovac camp complex, where at least 70,0000 victims perished. Estimates of the total number of Serbian victims range widely from 25,000 to 1,000,000, but most experts now place it in the low to mid-300,000s.[4]

THE USTAŠA CAMP SYSTEM

The Ustaša regime established its first camps shortly after the foundation of the NDH, and a network of large and small camps (numbering about 20) soon spanned the entire country. From April 1941 on, their design and purpose were strongly influenced by the Nazi SS model, which Satnik (later Bojnik and Pukovnik) Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, his superior Eugen Dido Kvaternik, and other Ustaša security officers observed during trips to Berlin and the headquarters of the SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (*Inspektion der Konzentrationslager*, IKL) at Oranienburg. The Ustaša authorities incorporated in their own concentration camps German approaches to prisoner arrival, registration, housing, roll calls, and forced labor battalions. Furthermore, the Croats also patterned the color-coded designation and hierarchy of prisoners on the IKL system. Serbs received blue badges, for example, and communists red. Arrests and deportations were managed by the head of the Ustaša police, Božidar Cerovski. The camp personnel consisted largely of long-term Ustaša members who had joined during the organization's exile period and had distinguished themselves by committing violent acts of terrorism and murder. The camp administration also recruited additional police units, army units, auxiliary units, and ethnic German supporters of the regime. Killings were generally carried out by mass shootings in sites near the camps, but a large faction of victims also perished due to terrible and chaotic conditions in the camps.[5]

From April to August 1941, the Internal Affairs Ministry's Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost*, RAVSIGUR) was responsible for the supervision of Ustaša camps. From August 1941 to January 1943, Bureau III of the Ustaša Supervisory Service (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS) under Luburić administered the camps. A member of Pavelić's inner circle, Luburić had commanded the Ustaša units responsible for the first mass atrocities: the massacres at Gudovac, Veljun, and Glina. As the head of Bureau III of UNS, he was the commander-in-chief of all Croatian concentration camps and the founder of Jasenovac. From January 1943 on, supervision of the camps reverted to RAVSIGUR.

The first Ustaša camps were Lepoglava near Varaždin (in the north) and Kerestinec (near Zagreb). Other early camps included Gospić (in the west) and its subcamps at Pag Island and Jadovno; Kruščica near Vitez (in Bosnia); Loborgrad (in Zagorje); Jastrebarsko (not far from Zagreb); and Đakovo (in Slavonia). Over the course of the summer of 1941, tensions over competing territorial claims arose between the Ustaša and Italian regimes. Anticipating an Italian invasion of western Croatia, the Ustaša ordered the liquidation of all camps there, especially the Gospić complex, on August 23, 1941. The order created logistical chaos because camp authorities under Commander Stjepan Rubinić lacked the personnel and transportation needed to manage the transfer of prisoner populations toward the interior of the NDH. The difficult terrain around the Gospić camp complex, such as the Velebit Mountains near Jadovno, and Pag Island's location exacerbated these logistical challenges. In response, camp personnel began to kill prisoners in mass executions in caves and killing fields, leaving behind thousands of dead bodies for Italian occupation forces to dispose of. Another 4,000 prisoners were deported from Gospić into the eastern regions of the country. These numbers threatened to overwhelm the concentration camp system elsewhere, leading the Ustaša authorities to build a new transit camp at Jastrebarsko and to reopen the internment camp at Kruščica. Both sites subsequently held thousands of Jews and Serbs deported from Sarajevo and other cities. From there they were transferred to newly built concentration camps at Jasenovac, Loborgrad, and elsewhere.[6]

Ustaša Colonel Vjekoslav (Maks) Luburić signs a document.
USHMM WS #46721, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

Between August 1941 and February 1942, the Ustaša authorities built the Jasenovac camp complex in the marshlands near the Sava and Una Rivers some 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Zagreb. This complex became the largest concentration and extermination camp operated by the Ustaša regime and one of the largest such camps in wartime Europe. It consisted altogether of five camps, although the first two—Krapje (Jasenovac I) and Bročice (Jasenovac II)—were closed in November 1941. Ciglana (Jasenovac III), Kozara (Jasenovac IV), and Stara Gradiška (Jasenovac V) operated nearly until the end of the war. Jasenovac III and V spawned subcamps,

including the nearby camp farms at Mlaka and Jablanac. Other important Ustaša camps were the children's concentration camps at Jastrebarsko, between Zagreb and Karlovac, and Sisak (the latter also serving as a German-administered transit camp for the deportation of forced laborers to the Reich).

Ustaša camps served a range of purposes that were often not clearly delineated. Many sites were intended to detain political opponents and alleged enemies of the state, particularly Serbs and Jews. Some, such as the camp in Slavonska Požega, served as transit and resettlement camps for the massive ethnic resettlement intended to create an ethnically pure Croatia. The German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) used such sites for the deportation of Slovenes into the NDH, whereas Ustaša authorities transferred hundreds of thousands of Serbs slated for resettlement to them. Most of the camps were located in Serbian-populated western Croatia, where they became places of terror and mass murder as early as July 1941. They also served as command centers for Ustaša militia units and as military posts facilitating Ustaša control of the countryside.

Although ethnic Serbs were their initial targets, Ustaša forces also persecuted and murdered tens of thousands of Jews and Roma as enemies of the state. By late 1941, the Croatian authorities had incarcerated approximately two thirds of the 32,000 Jews living in Croatia in camps, including at Jadovno, Kruščica, Loborgrad, Đjakovo, Tenje, and Jasenovac. Between 12,000 and 20,000 Jews were murdered in these camps. The Ustaša authorities also collaborated with the Nazi regime in genocide when they handed 5,000 Croatian Jews over to German custody in August 1942 and in May 1943.[7] The Croatian Jews were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Approximately 3,000 Jews evaded these deportations. Some were exempt because of intermarriage or other factors, and some went into hiding or fled to Italian-occupied territories. The Italian authorities assembled Jews in camps of "protective internment" (*internamento protettivo*), including on Rab Island (Italian: Arbe) off the Adriatic coast, where a number of Jews were spirited to safety by the Yugoslav partisans after the Italian armistice of 1943. The Ustaša also targeted Roma, murdering 20,000 men, women, and children—virtually the entire non-Muslim Roma population of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Muslim Roma were to some extent exempted after the Bosnian Muslim clergy intervened on their behalf in 1942. About 15,000 Roma died at Jasenovac.

THE END PHASE, 1943–1945

By 1943, as the war turned against Nazi Germany and its allies, the NDH began to destabilize under the surge of partisan warfare. The Ustaša genocides had galvanized mass resistance by both royalists and communists determined to fight the regime. The earliest organized resistance occurred on June 22, 1941, when the First Sisak Partisan Brigade was formed in the Brezovica forest near Sisak in Croatia. The Partisans led by Josip Broz Tito were highly effective in organizing resistance movements composed of Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks, and others including Jews. Uprisings were particularly strong and frequent in rural areas, where the Partisans soon controlled large swaths of NDH territory.[8]

In the camps, the Ustaša's orgy of violence continued to the end. In early 1945, the Ustaša began moving the remaining inmates from Lepoglava, Sisak, and other sites in the Jasenovac complex. Although the Partisans were responsible for the liberation of the NDH camps at Jastrebarsko (1942) and Jasenovac V (1945), the Ustaša murdered the remaining Jasenovac prisoner populations and destroyed as much documentary evidence as possible.

By 1944, Pavelić's regime was entirely dependent on the military might of some 100,000 Croatian army and Ustaša troops. The Croatian army then merged with the militia units and by November 1944 was fully under Ustaša control. Meanwhile, the German position in the Balkans became untenable with Romania's withdrawal from the Axis in August 1944. Throughout the fall of 1944, German troops withdrew from Greece, Serbia, Albania, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, German and Croatian troops continued to fight together in northwestern Yugoslavia while attempting to retreat to Austria. Fighting continued even after the surrender of German Army Group E on May 9, 1945. On May 14 and 15, German and Ustaša troops engaged the partisans near Prevalje in present-day Slovenia. The Battle of Poljana was the final battle of World War II on European soil. The Ustaša was officially dissolved and banned. Its members and many other

The bodies of Croatian concentration camp victims floating along the banks of the Sava River near Sisak, May 3, 1945.
USHMM WS #91557, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL.

collaborators, but also some innocent noncommunists, were punished by the victorious Tito regime.

Along with other surviving leaders of the Ustaša regime, Pavelić fled to Austria, Italy, and finally Argentina, where he led the Ustaša in exile. He sustained serious injuries in an assassination attempt on April 9, 1957 and subsequently died in Spain in 1959.[9]

SOURCES An important secondary source relating to the persecution, atrocities, and camps under the Croatian regime is Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs: Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013); Korb's study details the ethnic civil war and mass atrocities against Serbs, Jews, and Roma instigated by the Ustaša. A foundational but dated text on the topic is Ladislaus Hory and Martin Broszat, *Der kroatische Ustascha-Staat, 1941–1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1964). For additional information about the Roma genocide, see Dennis Reinhardz, "Damnation of the Outsider: The Gypsies of Croatia and Serbia in the Balkan Holocaust," in David Crowe and John Kolsti, eds., *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), pp. 81–115. For additional information on the mass murder of Serbs, see also Michael Frucht Levy, " 'The Last Bullet for the Last Serb': The Ustaša Genocide against the Serbs, 1941–1945," *NatPpr* 37: 6 (December 2009): 807–837. For information on the camps, see, among others, Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941–1945: Logor smrti i radni logor* (Jasenovac-Zagreb: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003); Slavko Goldstein and Ivo Goldstein, *Jews in Jasenovac* (Jasenovac: Jasenovac Memorial Area, 2003); and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101. Older but still useful books include Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (1966; Zagreb: Globus, 1990); Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); and Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957). For details about NDH's establishment and the genesis of long-term rifts and conflicts, see Slavko Goldstein, *1941: The Year that Keeps Returning* (New York: New York Review of Books, 2013); Les Shaw, *Trial by Slander: A Background to the Independent State of Croatia and an Account of the Anti-Croatian Campaign in Australia* (Canberra: Harp Books, 1973); and Marcus Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997). For a broader overview of World War II developments in the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia, see Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001). The partisan wars in divided Yugoslavia are detailed in Klaus Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg in Jugoslawien 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Verlag E. S. Mittler & Sohn, 2002). For succinct information about the Holocaust on Yugoslav territory, see Holm Sundhaussen, "Jugoslawien," in Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Dimensionen des Völkermords: Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1991), pp. 311–330. For information on ethnic Germans in Yugoslavia during and after the war, see Georg Wildmann et al., eds., *Weissbuch der Deutschen aus Jugoslawien: Ortsberichte 1944–1948* (Munich: Universitas, 1995). For information on relevant primary sources, see Martin Seckendorf and Günter Keber, eds., *Die Okkupationspolitik des deutschen Faschismus in Jugoslawien, Griechenland, Albanien, Italien und Ungarn (1941–1945)* (Berlin: Hüthig, 1992) and Demokratska Federativna Jugoslavija, ed., *Dokumenti o izdajstvu Draže Mihailovića* (Belgrade: Drzavna Komisija za Utvrdjivanje Zlocina Okupatora i Njihovih Pomagaca, 1945).

Numerous local, regional, and national archives contain valuable documentation, with much of the material available in microform or digital form at USHMMA. See, among others, AJ, fonds 103 and 110, which contains records of the Yugoslav government-in-exile and its investigation into war crimes of the occupation powers; AUSSME, H3, H5, H8-9, I3, M3, which includes records and artifacts of the Axis invasion and occupation of Yugoslav territory; BA-MA, RH 20-12, RH 24-15, RH 26-114, which includes German military documentation pertaining, among others, to German troops stationed in Croatia; CZA, L17, which contains reports from occupied Europe; HDA, collections 218.1, 223, 227, 228, 232, 235, 241, 246–248, which includes records of the Croatian Justice Ministry and Interior Ministry's embassy reports, and, at 306 ZKRZ, records of an internal commission investigating war crimes of the occupying powers against Croatia; NARA, RG-238 (War Crimes), microfilm collection M893 (NMT Case 7); and RG-242 (Captured German Documents), microfilm collections T77 (Records of Headquarters, German Armed Forces High Command, and T311 (Records of German Field Commands: Army Groups); RGASPI, fond 1430, which contains the records of a support committee for Jewish refugees in Zagreb; and RGASPI, fond 1441, which contains the records of the Jewish community in Zagreb. At USHMMA see, among others, RG-61.007M, records of the Ustaša Supervisory Office; RG-61.009M, records of the Jewish Section of the Ustaša Intelligence Service; RG-61.010M, records of the Ustaša Supervisory Office on Đakovo; RG-61.011M, records of the Ustaša Supervisory Office on Loborgrad, Gornja, Rijeka, Jasenovac, and others; RG-61.015M, records of the Ministry of Health and Social Services, Welfare and Social Services Division; RG-61.016M, records of the NDH Internal Affairs Ministry; RG-61.017M, records of the Public Prosecutor's Office; RG-61.019M, records of the Jewish Collection of the Croat Historical Museum, Zagreb; RG-49.003M, Records Relating to Crimes against Serbs, Jews, and Other Yugoslav peoples during World War II, 1941–1943; RG50.468M, Jasenovac Oral History Project; and RG-61.001M, Jasenovac Memorial Area Collection.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia*, pp. 1–82.
2. For maps and additional information, see Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, pp. 72–78.
3. See census material in BA-MA/RH 31 III/13, among others, as cited in Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, pp. 78–79.
4. These numbers are at the low end of most current estimates of the victims of the Ustaša genocide. They are based on Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, pp. 432–433. Tomasevich provides extensive analysis and explanation of the wide-range

of "Alleged and True Population Losses" reflected in scholarship, media, and popular perception since the end of the war. Official Yugoslav estimates for Jasenovac victims, mostly Serbs, ranged from 600,000 to 700,000. Private Serbian estimates often exceeded one million Serbian casualties. Some of these numbers are based on estimates generated during the war; for example, those issued by Tito, who reported on April 4, 1942, that the Ustaša had already killed some 500,000 people, mostly Serbs. At the end of the war, Tito reported to the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency in Paris a total of 1,706,000 casualties, including Serbs and all other victim categories. In the postwar period, both scholars and Yugoslav officials gave a figure of 700,000 people murdered at Jasenovac. Tomasevich ultimately sides with low-range estimates calculated by Bogoljub Kočović and published in his *Žrtve Drugog svetskog rata u Jugoslaviji* (London: Naše delo, 1985), pp. 172–180. According to Kočović and Tomasevich, the losses of population in Yugoslavia between 1941 and 1945 include 209,000 Serbs for the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 125,000 Serbs and Montenegrins for the territory of Croatia. See Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia*, pp. 718–750.

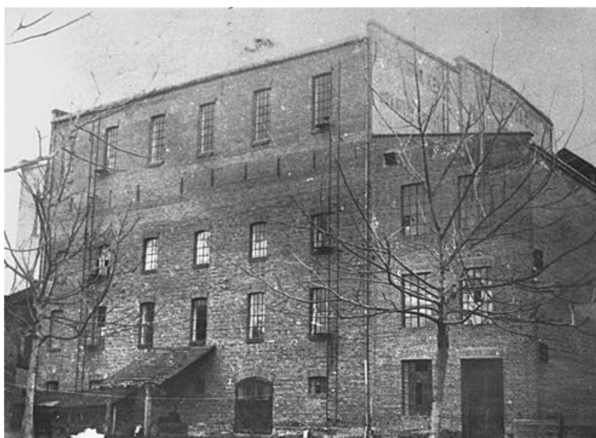
5. Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs*, pp. 375–377.
6. Ibid., pp. 386–390.
7. Ibid., p. 448.
8. Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg in Jugoslawien, 1941–1944*, pp. 104–108.
9. Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia*, pp. 751–767.

Camps in Croatia
Germany
Hungary
Italian-Occupied
Lepoglava
Loborgrad
Koprivnica
Kerestinec
ZAGREB
Jastrebarsko
Sisak I & II
Jasenovac I
Jasenovac II
Jasenovac III & IV
Jasenovac V
Slavonska Požega
Đakovo
Tenja
BELGRADE
Independent State of Croatia
Gospić/ Jadovno
Gospić
Gospić/ Pag Island
Italy
Kruščica
SARAJEVO
Serbia
Adriatic Sea
Montenegro
Albania
Italian-Occupied
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
0 20 40 60 80 miles
0 20 40 60 80 kilometers
N
W
E
S
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

ĐAKOVO

Similar to the Loborgrad concentration camp, the Đakovo camp—located in Slavonia 197 kilometers (123 miles) southeast of Zagreb in 1941–1942—was a concentration camp for women. Đakovo (German: Djakovo), a Catholic diocesan town, had a strong nationalist and religious meaning for Croatia. The city's environs were a central settlement of the German population in Croatia. Before it became a concentration camp, the Đakovo camp was administered by the Osijek Jewish community to house Jewish women and children deported from Sarajevo. In June 1942, a typhoid epidemic resulted in the dissolution of the camp and the subsequent murder of its prisoners after their transfer to the Jasenovac camp.

The Jewish communities in Bosnia were the first to be deported from their hometowns. The men were sent to Jasenovac and the women and children to the north Croatian camps for women. Toward the end of November 1941, the Osijek police ordered the Osijek Jewish community to make room within five days for 2,000 Jewish women and children deported from Sarajevo. Young members of the Jewish community quickly converted a 40-meter-long (almost 44 yards), three-story abandoned flour mill called "Cereal" (*Cereale*), which was owned by the Đakovo diocese, into a camp to house those women and children. The camp was later enlarged by several buildings. On December 2, 1941, approximately 1,800 Jewish women and children from Bosnia and about 50 Serbian women arrived at the camp. A transport of 1,161 women, originating from the Stara Gradiška women's concentration camp, arrived on February 24, 1942.[1] There were then about 3,000 persons in the camp, about a quarter of them children under the age of 14. Jewish community officials administered the camp until March 29, 1942. Two or three policemen under the command of Dragutin Mayer from Osijek guarded the camp.



Exterior view of a former flour mill in which the Đakovo concentration camp was located.
USHMM WS #68292, COURTESY OF JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM, BELGRADE.

Most of the women worked in ceramics and leather workshops, although as many as 400 women were made to do agricultural work on farms and in fields near the camp. In spite of all the renovations, the buildings were completely inadequate to house human beings because of the lack of heating and the humid conditions. At the beginning of 1942, a typhoid epidemic erupted in the camp. The Osijek Jewish community made every effort to contain the epidemic and evacuated a number of children, who were then taken care of by foster parents and were able to attend school. Other Jewish communities in Croatia lent humanitarian aid. In the Đakovo camp itself, a kindergarten was organized for the children.

Statements by the bishop of Đakovo, among others, fanned fears that the epidemic could spread and radicalized the situation. On January 30, 1942, the authorities sent a medical commission into the camp, which found awful hygienic conditions and recommended increases in the amount and quality of the medical supplies and care. As a result, a small number of prisoners were taken to hospitals. Meanwhile, the district administration requested that the camp be moved from its urban location. In contrast, the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS) was interested in enlarging the current camp, because the arrests of the Jews of Slovenia had started, increasing the number and size of transports to the camp by February. In the middle of April 1942, the Ustaša took over the camp with a detachment from Jasenovac led by Jozo Matijević. Some of these new guards lived in neighboring villages, and others lived in the camp. The new guard force drastically worsened conditions in the camp: no one could leave the camp, and contact by prisoners ceased with the outside world. Deliveries of aid from the Jewish communities were seized by the Ustaša, and cases of robbery, torture, mistreatment, and other offences occurred. The large increase in the number of prisoners quickly worsened the typhoid epidemic, resulting in prisoners dying every day. By March 1942, there were 631 hospitalized people in the camp, an additional 219 were infected, and 131 prisoners had already died. At least 569 bodies were buried in the camp cemetery.[2] Thus, the mortality rate for the 3,000 people temporarily imprisoned in Đakovo amounted to nearly 19 percent. On May 18, the Croatian Ministry of Health (*Ministarstvo zdravstva*, MZ) asked the Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost*, RAVSIGUR) to dissolve the camp within one month, disinfect the prisoners, and clean up the area.[3] The Ustaša responded by dissolving the camp and murdering the prisoners. Between June 15 and July 5, 1942, 800 prisoners were transported in each of three transports to the Jasenovac concentration camp and murdered on arrival, according to testimony by the camp commandant at that time, Miroslav Filipović-Majstorović. In 1945, the Yugoslav authorities undertook exhumations in the area of the Đakovo camp.

SOURCES Under the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, there were few works published that dealt with the Đakovo camp. Thus the early report, Federation of Jewish

Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957), contains only a brief section on the camp. Moreover, the camp is discussed in Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Prilog proučavanjo terora u NDH: Ženski sabirni logori 1941–1942," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38. Additional information can be found in Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus, 1990) and in Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). For the role of ethnic German guards at Đakovo, see Carl Bethke, *(K)Eine gemeinsame Sprache? Deutsch-jüdische Beziehungsgeschichte in Slawonien, 1900–1945* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2011); for a comparison with the Loborgrad concentration camp, see Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Đakovo camp can be found in HDA, collection ZKRZ, GUZ, fond 306; it contains a report about the situation in the Đakovo camp that probably originated from the Zagreb Jewish community. MUP collections (RG 223/38) and the Jewish Section of UNS (RG 252/9) contain correspondence of the health authorities, as well as between the Croatian authorities and the Jewish communities (some of the Jewish Section documentation is copied to USHMMA as RG-61.009M). Copied to USHMMA under RG-61.010M is the UNS collection on Đakovo. Also copied to USHMMA from HDA is the UHRO collection on the Đakovo camp (Acc. No. 1998.A.0021). YVA has some reports on the camp in collection M 70. At ITS, collection 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien) holds lists of prisoners buried at Đakovo. This material is available in digital form at USHMMA. There are survivor accounts in JIM-Bg. AS holds documentation on Đakovo in the DK collection. USHMMPA holds five photographs related to Đakovo and its survivors, including two of the flour building (WS #68292 and 78483). USHMMA has four oral history interviews with Đakovo survivors: Ljilljana Ibvanisevic (RG-50.468*0009, July 19, 1997); Aleksandar Jovanović (RG-50.585*0015, August 5, 2006); Sava Petrovic (RG-50.468*0007, July 12, 1997); and Rade Vlaisavljević (RG-50.585*0021, September 27, 2007). The published diary of Diana Budisavljević, who organized humanitarian assistance for the camp inmates, is available as Josip Kolanović, ed., *Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević: 1941–1945* (Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2003). An eyewitness report in the English language is Nada Salzberger and Vlado Salzberger, *We Survived . . . Yugoslav Jews on the Holocaust* (Belgrade: Jewish Historical Museum, 2005).

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NOTES

1. Gesundheitspolizeilicher Kommissionsbericht über das Judenlager in Đjakovo, February 9, 1942, YVA, M 70/16, p. 3.
2. ITS, 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien), "Liste von Juden des KZ-Lagers Djakovo beerdigt auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Djakovo/Kroatien," June 21, 1945, Doc. No. 478091–478117; and ITS, 1.1.15.1, "Liste faschistischer Opfer aus dem Sammellager Djakovo, beerdigt auf dem jüdischen Friedhof in Djakovo," Doc. No. 478214–478267.
3. MZ Ivo Petrić to RJRS, Priljepĉive zarazne bolesti u logorima, Zagreb, May 18, 1942, YVA, M 70/14.

GOSPIĆ

From June to mid-August 1941, Gospić was the center of an Ustaša concentration camp complex that included several subcamps, including those at Jadovno and Pag Island; those subcamps, constructed by mid-1941, were in locations considered completely unproductive from an economic viewpoint. Gospić is in the Croatian region of Lika, approximately 149 kilometers (about 93 miles) southwest of Zagreb. In June and July 1941, the Croatian police began to arrest Jewish and Serb citizens in many communities throughout the country and to deport them to concentration camps. On June 26, 1941, the Chief of State of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), Ante Pavelić, designated Gospić as the central camp for all Serb and Jewish "communists," at the same time ordering that "Croatian Jews in labor camps should be lodged in the open air."[1] In total up to 30,000 prisoners from other concentration camps and communities all over the country were deported to Gospić in June and July 1941, mostly by railway. In the Gospić complex, they were deployed as forced laborers in agriculture and for road construction. The conditions were particularly deadly in two of the subcamps: Pag Island (Italian: Isola da Pago), roughly 32 kilometers (20 miles) west of Gospić, and Jadovno in the Velebit Mountains, approximately 11 kilometers (6.8 miles) west of the main camp. Because of their isolated locations, these subcamps were intended for prisoners deemed dangerous or condemned to additional punishment.

In mid-1941, as many as 2,500 Jews—approximately 5 percent of Croatia's total Jewish population—were deported to camps. For the first time, the police arrested women and children as well. As a rule, the deportees were taken to transit or collection camps near their residences, where they were registered and separated from their families. The authorities then released specific prisoners to their homes. A complex of camps built around Gospić served as a collection camp. Although it was under the control of Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS), led by Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, Gospić was actually run by the local police commandant Stjepan Rubinić (born 1909). Rubinić was a determined and ruthless commandant, unafraid of conflicts with either his superior, the head of the Croatian Interior Ministry (*Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova*, MUP), or the German army. The Gospić camps were dissolved in August 1941 when the Italians invaded western Croatia. The guards evacuated a large number of the inmates, but also murdered thousands.

Malnourishment, hard and often senseless physical labor, mistreatment, and torture made life hellish in the Gospić camps. According to reports from surviving Jewish prisoners, the Ustaša clearly treated the Serbian prisoners more brutally than the Jews in the beginning. Serbs and Jews were divided into separate groups, and contact between them was prohibited. In this way, the Ustaša succeeded in activating and reinforcing prejudices, as demonstrated by the virulent antisemitism in the camps. Yet, there were numerous examples of mutual solidarity between Serbs and Jews, which demonstrated the

limits of Ustaša ethnic policies even in the camps. Because few survivors either lived through their odyssey through various other camps or, in exceptional cases, were released, researchers classify the Pag Island and Jadovno subcamps as annihilation camps, into which the Ustaša dispatched Serbs and Jews for the sole purpose of mass murder. Yet, questions remain whether the Ustaša's murder of Jadovno and Pag Island prisoners was planned or whether circumstances, namely the subcamps' isolated locations, fostered mass murder. Certainly, the treatment of the prisoners was brutal. Yet external events also played a role. For example, the Ustaša responded in panic to the Italian invasion in August 1941, carrying out a wave of mass killings.

Internal Ustaša inquiries into Rubinić's activities involving the failed attempt to evacuate the camps and prisoners revealed that his superiors were dissatisfied with the result. On September 13, 1941, Rubinić was arrested together with some of his Ustaša staff in the Jastrebarsko camp. Subsequent investigations explored the question of who ordered the "evacuation" of the Jadovno camp. In this case the term "evacuation" referred to mass murder, but the job was incomplete. In addition to questioning this decision, Rubinić was accused of embezzlement and the sexual molestation of prisoners. A disciplinary court sentenced him to expulsion from the Ustaša and one year's imprisonment in the Stara Gradiška camp, where he served as a prisoner-functionary.[2]

As mentioned, the Italian invasion of western Croatia caused a crisis in the Ustaša concentration camps. In response to the invasion, approximately 4,000 prisoners were deported to eastern Croatia from camps in and around Gospić. In haste, the UNS arranged for two transit camps to be built beyond the Italians' reach, which absorbed prisoners evacuated from western Croatia and later Jews deported from Sarajevo and other cities. Up to 1,500 Jewish prisoners were housed on an estate near Jastrebarsko, a small town between Zagreb and Karlovac. In September 1941, 3,000 Jewish and Serbian men, women, and children arrived at the Kruščica internment camp in central Bosnia, which had been operational in prewar Yugoslavia; they were then moved again to recently completed concentration camps, such as Jasenovac and Loborgrad.

The fact that the Ustaša carried out evacuation marches of weakened prisoners and perpetrated massacres under the very eyes of members of the Italian army challenges the picture of the Italians as presumptive liberators. Survivors of the Gospić camp recalled being stunned that the Italian military completely disregarded the prisoners.[3]

SOURCES The Gospić camp is treated, often briefly, in numerous works about the persecution of the Jews in occupied Yugoslavia: Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101; Ilija Jakovljević, *Konclogar na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999); and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber 2001). Only a few statements on those camps can be found in the Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957), and those statements focus mainly on the murder of inmates at Jadovno. In German, there is some information on Gospić in Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993) and Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 9: *Arbeitserziehungslager*, *Ghettos*, *Jugendschutzlager*, *Polizeihaftlager*, *Sonderlanger*, *Zigeunerlager*, *Zwangsarbeiterlager* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009). See also Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013). For a detailed discussion of a survivor's account, see Zvi Loker, "The Testimony of Dr. Edo Neufeld: The Italians and the Jews of Croatia," *HGS* 7: 1 (1993): 67–76.

Primary documents about the Gospić camp can be found in JIM-bg and AS, especially in the files of the DK collection. Additionally, numerous documents on the Gospić camp complex are located in HDA, in the collection of files of the Croatian State Commission, "Zemaljske komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača." USHMMA holds three oral history interviews with Gospić survivors: Ivo Herzer (RG-50.030*0097), Otto Lingfelder (RG-50.120*93), and Yosef Morgenshtern (RG-50.120*0108). In YVA collection O-39/158 there is a testimony by a Jewish lawyer from Zagreb, Dr. Edo Neufeld, who was taken from Zagreb to Gospić in July 1941. Moreover, there is a report about the Gospić concentration camp by ISI (1976). VHA holds eight pertinent testimonies, including an account by a survivor of what could be considered an additional Gospić subcamp at Ovčara.

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NOTES

1. MUP, Pavelić Extraordinary Decree, June 26, 1941, VaB, NDH/234, 4/4, pp. 20–22.
2. MUP RH, file II-91, box 150, USIKS 337/41, p. 804, as cited by Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, p. 27.
3. YVA, O-39/158, Neufeld testimony, as cited in Loker, "The Testimony of Dr. Edo Neufeld," p. 69.

GOSPIĆ/JADOVNO

In May 1941, the Ustaša built a subcamp of the Gospić concentration camp at Jadovno in the Velebit Mountains, located 154 kilometers (96 miles) southwest of Zagreb and 11 kilometers (6.8 miles) west of the city of Gospić. It was located in a forest clearing at an altitude of 1,200 meters (3,937 feet) in the Jadovno hamlet. During the summer of 1941, approximately 3,000 prisoners from the Gospić camp were transferred there. Just as at Pag Island, the Jadovno subcamp housed, in addition to Serb and communist prisoners, Jews deported from their

The "Sevic pit," one of numerous pits into which corpses of victims from the Jadovno concentration camp were thrown.
USHMM WS #85762, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

homes; for instance, on June 23, 1941, approximately 200 Jews from Zagreb were brought to the subcamp. The first prisoners worked on clearing the road and building barracks for the Ustaša guards, while the prisoners slept in the open air in makeshift accommodations.

The camp was under the control of Bureau III of the Security Police (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS) in Zagreb, but was administered by the Gospić camp staff. Its commandant was the UNS chief in the Gospić district, Stjepan Rubinić. Troops from the Ustaša 17th Company under Satnik Mihajlo Prpić and the 23rd Company under Satnik Drago Gespaverić guarded the prisoners.

New transports of prisoners arrived regularly at the camp during its short existence. When there was no longer any room to house the prisoners, some were shot. Some groups of prisoners were shot immediately on arrival, such as was the case for 165 Jewish youths, whom the police in Zagreb had arrested toward the end of May because of allegedly leftist convictions and who were then transported from the Danica concentration camp to Jadovno on July 10, 1941. The transport from one concentration camp to another, more isolated site suggested that murder was the underlying purpose for the transfer. Bodies were disposed of in the numerous chalk caves in the camp's environs, some of which reached a depth of up to 50 meters (164 feet).[1]

It is not known whether the transports to Jadovno were organized using lists of prisoners, because such lists no longer exist. Consequently, it is difficult to determine both the total number of prisoners and the number of murder victims; the estimates of the number murdered in Jadovno vary widely. Historian Jaša Romano estimates that there were about 3,500 murder victims.

In August 1941, during the Italian occupation of western Croatia, the Ustaša shut down the Jadovno camp. The closure of the isolated camp resulted in the mass murder of numerous prisoners. Accusations of atrocities and irregularities prompted the Ustaša Disciplinary and Criminal Court (*Ustaški stegovni i kazneni sud*, USIKS) in Zagreb to punish Rubinić, partly in connection with the "evacuation" at Jadovno.[2]

SOURCES The most exhaustive source on Jadovno is Đuro Zatezalo, *Jadovno: Kompleks ustaških logora 1941*, 2 vols. (Belgrade, 2007), which also claims the highest estimated number of victims. In addition, the Jadovno camp is treated in a few works about the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia, including Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957); Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Ucešnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101. Extensive coverage of the Jadovno camp can be found in Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). See also Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013). Additional information can be found in Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993) and Marija Vulkesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 9: *Arbeitserziehungslager, Ghettos, Jugendschutzlager, Polizeihaftlager, Sonderlanger, Zigeunerlager, Zwangsarbeiterlager* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009). See also Narcisa Lengel-Krizman and Mihael Sobolevski, "Hapšenje 165 omladinaca u Zagrebu u svibnju 1941. g.," *Nom* 31 (1998): 7–9 and Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus, 1990). For two reports based on survivors' accounts, see Vlasta Kovač, "Božo Švarc: Kako sam preživio," *H-K*, 69/70 (2001): 5 and Zvi Loker, "The Testimony of Dr. Edo Neufeld: The Italians and the Jews of Croatia," *HGS* 7: 1 (1993): 67–76.

Primary documents about the Jadovno camp can be found in JIM-bg and AS, especially in the files of the DK collection. In addition, numerous documents on the Gospić camp complex can be found in HDA, in the collection of files of the Croatian State Commission, "Zemaljske komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača." USHMMA holds an oral history interview with Božo Švarc (RG-50.468*0001), and USHMMPA has a number of photographs taken during investigations of mass murder at Jadovno. The first detailed statement about the Gospić camp complex was written in December 1943 by the Zagreb lawyer, Dr. Edo Neufeld, who fled from the Croatian camps via Italy to Switzerland. See Edo Neufeld, "Svjedočanstvo preživjelog," *Nom* 42/43 (2000): n.p. YVA, collection O.10/123, holds testimonies by Dr. Emil Freundlich (March 6, 1958), Dr. Bela Hohšteter (April 12, 1958), and Dr. Milan Polaks (May 4, 1958).

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NOTES

1. Photograph of the sevic pit, USHMMPA, WS #85762 (Courtesy of MRNJ).
2. MUP RH, file II-91, box 150, USIKS 337/41, p. 804, as cited by Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu*, p. 27.

GOSPIĆ/PAG ISLAND

Beginning on June 25, 1941, up to 3,000 prisoners were transported from the Gospić camp to Karlobag, and from there they were brought to Pag Island by requisitioned fishing boats. Pag Island is 169 kilometers (105 miles) southwest of Zagreb and 32 kilometers (20 miles) west of Gospić. Soon after its establishment, the Italian troops stationed in the region noted that it was a "camp for undesirables" (*indesirabili*), as expressed by an army observer.[1] Although most of Zagreb's Jews came to Pag Island via the Gospić camp, many of the Serb prisoners had been local residents. An exception was the 500 Serb prisoners who were transported to the camp from Banja Luka.

The camp for male Serbs and Jews was located on the northern side of the island, on a barren rock plateau above Slana Bay. A barbed-wire fence separated the Jewish men in Slana in that camp's southern section from the Serbs and Croats housed in the northern section.

Up to 650 Serb and Jewish female prisoners and children who had been transported to the island were lodged in the village of Metajna, located a few kilometers south of the men's camp. This location made possible several instances of contact with the local population and the smuggling of food into the camp. The guards also had their accommodations in the village. Up to 300 members of the Ustaša militia, some of whom were island residents, acted as guards for both the men's and women's camps. The Ustaša Satnik Maks Očić from Zagreb commanded the Metajna camp; the camps in Slana were led by the Ustaša official Ventura Baljak, born in 1904 in Poličnik. Both camps were the responsibility of the Ustaša poručnik Ivan Devčić, called Pivac, born in 1908, who had been part of the staff in an Italian training camp of the Ustaša before 1941.

A company of the Italian army under the command of Capitano Paolo Bertoli was stationed on the island, but did nothing to prevent the violence in the camp. The Italian accounts are an important source for the camps' history. For example, they report that the guards brought large amounts of building material onto the island, supposedly to build roads. This indicates that the Ustaša claim of wanting to use deported Jews as forced laborers was not purely fictional. After the prisoners built the camp, they were forced into hard labor in the salt works and quarries and also to build roads. The prisoners in Slana worked up to 12 hours a day. Some of the women in Metajna worked for the Ustaša as seamstresses.

Within a few weeks of the prisoners' arrival on Pag Island, the Ustaša guards there initiated mass killings in a section of the island called Furnaza. On July 3, 1941, they removed 55 elderly Jewish prisoners and killed them in a cave located some distance from the camp. In the following weeks, the guards carried out additional mass killings. At the beginning of

View of the Ustaša concentration camp on Pag Island, 1941.
USHMM WS #78455, COURTESY OF JEWISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM, BELGRADE.

August 1941, around 80 Serbs from the village of Sibuljine were brought to Slana and murdered on August 6. The prisoners in the camp, listening in the night to the frequent firing of machine guns, had little hope that their abducted fellow prisoners could survive.

Most of the mass murders were carried out toward the end of August when Italian troops began to expand their area of occupation in western Croatia and to close in on the Gospić camps. Fascist Italy's annexation of western Croatia appeared imminent. To prevent the liberation of the prisoners by the Italians, on August 23, 1941, the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) ordered the dissolution of the Pag Island camps and evacuation of the prisoners to the mainland. This order posed an organizational challenge with which the Ustaša was unable to cope because of the chaos in the face of an impending Italian invasion and the lack of transportation. Only a few ships were available to transport about 450 prisoners to the mainland. Although the Italian military did not make an attempt to prevent the evacuation, the Ustaša feared that it would do so. Instead of letting the remaining prisoners fall into Italian hands, the guards began to murder them. At the Pag coast, the guards beat to death or shot groups of prisoners and threw their bodies into the sea. According to witnesses, Father (*Don*) Ljubo Magaš from Barbat was an especially active participant in these atrocities.[2] The priest Krsto Jelinić from Zadar and Martin Maraš also participated in the violations. The Ustaša member and guard, Joco Orešković, reported on the murder of two Jewish children during an inspection visit of the camp by Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, a high-ranking UNS functionary.[3]

The invading Italian soldiers and the inhabitants of the surrounding communities, who dared to visit the camps after the Ustaša left, were confronted by a terrible sight, because the guards had not bothered to dispose of the bodies. As early as 1941 the Italian occupying authorities carried out an investigation under the leadership of Tenente Dr. Santo Stazzi of the V Italian Army Corps, which resulted in the discovery of 791 victims buried in a mass grave, including 293 women and 91 children. An additional 76 bodies were found in other locations.[4]

After the war ended, other mass graves were investigated, but some of the killing sites were never found. Thus the total number of victims cannot be determined. However, it has been estimated at around 1,500, among them about 1,000 Serbs and 450 Jews. Historian Klaus Voigt estimates the number of murdered Jews to be 300. The estimated highest number of prisoners on Pag Island was 5,000.

SOURCES To date, there is not a monograph on the Pag Island camp, but a few works on the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia include some information on this camp; see Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101; Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); and Ivan Babanovski and Samuel Sadikario, *Portraits of Criminals—Jasenovac Called the Balkans' Auschwitz* (Skopje: Akademski Pevat, 2008). Extensive information about both camps on Pag Island can be found in Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990) and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber 2001). See also Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013).

Primary documents about the Pag Island camp can be found in JIM-bg and AS, especially in the files of the DK collection. Additionally, numerous documents on the Gospić camp complex can be found in HDA in the collection of files of the Croatian State Commission, "Zemaljske komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača." The website, www.jadovno.com, reproduces testimonies and archival documentation, including a report submitted at Bari on September 8, 1944, by former Metajna prisoner Nada Feuerissen, extensive interviews with Pag Island prisoner Dr. Oto Radan, and facsimiles from Italian army investigations of 1941. The original Italian army documentation, attributed to AUSSME, has not been found.

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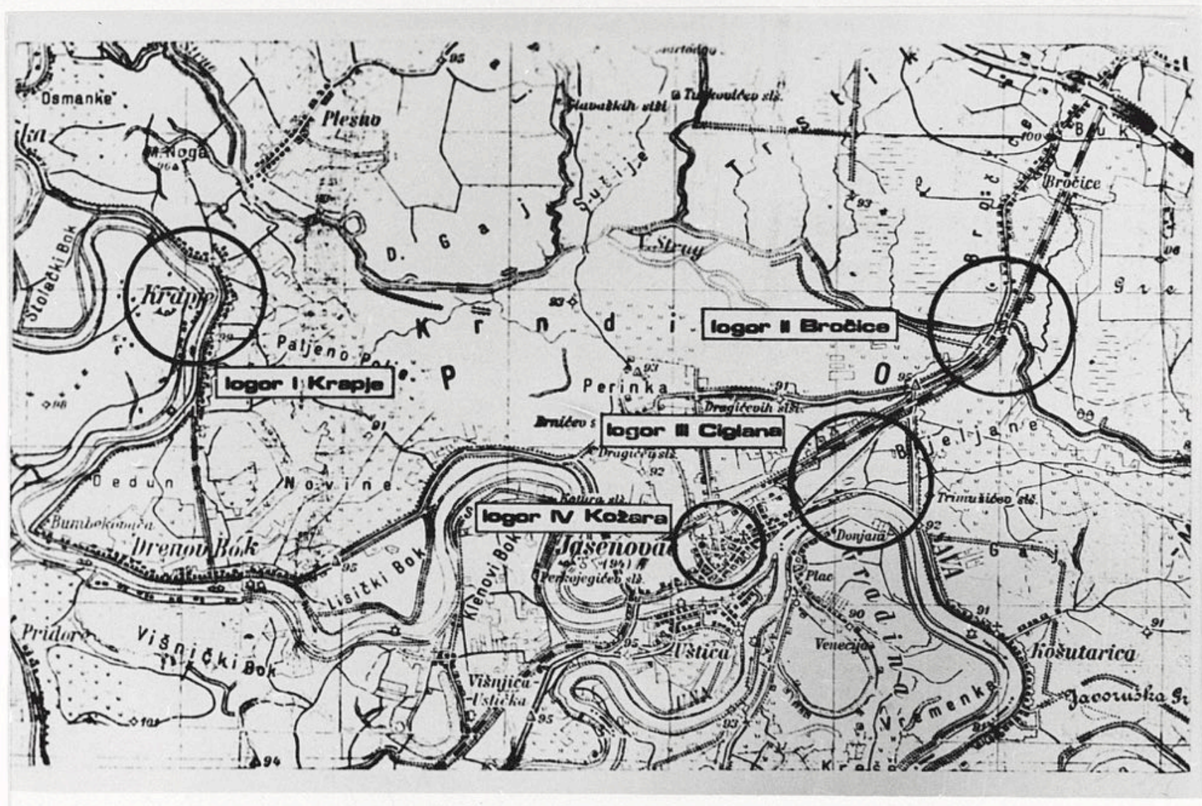
NOTES

1. Military Post No. 10 to Command of Second Italian Army, August 1, 1941, YVA, O.10/64, p. 3.
2. Dr. Oto Radan interview, quoted in www.jadovno.com, July 10, 2010.
3. Orešković testimony, DK, n.d., as quoted in Babanovski and Sadikario, *Portraits of Criminals*, p. 37.
4. Entry of September 3, 1941, Sottotenente Vittorio Finderle alla direzione di sanita' del V CdA, Ogg.: "Relazione circa i cimiteri provvisori della nostra zona," September 6, 1941, original in AUSSME (uncertain provenance), reproduced at www.jadovno.com.

JASENOVAC I AND II

In August 1941, the Ustaša founded the first two camps in the camp complex located in Jasenovac, which is 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Jasenovac I (Krapje) was located near the village of Krapje, approximately 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) northwest of Jasenovac. Jasenovac II (Bročice) was located near the village of Bročice, approximately 5 kilometers (3 miles) northeast of Jasenovac, close to the Jasenovac-Novska Road and the Veliki Strug River. These subcamps were built on the marshy terrain of Lonjsko polje, a region that experienced the seasonal flooding of the Sava, Veliki Strug, Trebeža, and Lonja Rivers. Survivors described the Krapje and Bročice camps as each having three to four wooden barracks raised on stilts that housed inmates and one raised wooden barrack for camp administrators and guards. Survivor Otto Langfelder recalled that Bročice was separated internally into compounds for Jews and Serbs.[1] A high barbed-wire fence and manned guard towers surrounded each camp.



A map showing the location of four of the concentration camps that made up the Jasenovac camp system.
USHMM WS #46543, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

Eugen “Dido” Kvaternik, serving as state secretary of the Internal Affairs Ministry (*Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova*, MUP) and as director of the Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost*, RAVSIGUR), ordered the establishment of Jasenovac I and II in the early summer of 1941. In late July and early August 1941, the Directorate for Land Reclamation and Water Regulation (*Ravnateljstvo melioracijskih i regulacijskih radova*) procured timber and chipboard for the construction of wooden barracks near Jasenovac. On August 23, 1941, the Ustaša newspaper *Hrvatski narod* reported that the construction of barracks in Lonjsko polje was finished and that they were to house workers sent there to perform the “regulation of the course of certain rivers, tributaries, streams, and underground rivers, as well as drainage of the vast flood-prone areas of the Lonjsko polje region.”[2] On the same day, the first large groups of prisoners started arriving in the Krapje and Bročice camps. Most of the arrivals were Jews and Christian Orthodox Serbs transferred to the Jasenovac camps from previously established Ustaša camps set up in and around Zagreb—Gospić and the Gospić subcamp of Pag Island—and elsewhere in the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH). The earliest existing document that showed prisoners were sent to the Krapje and Bročice camps appeared on September 11, 1941: in a telegram, Kvaternik instructed that “50 Communists and Četniks from Bijelina be sent to the Jasenovac transit camp.”[3] As many as several thousand male prisoners were arrested by the Ustaša militia, local police directorates, and the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) and sent to the Krapje and Bročice camps from late August until early November 1941.

Bureau III of the UNS, commanded by Satnik (later Bojnik and Pukovnik) Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, oversaw the Krapje and Bročice camps. Poručnik Ante Marić was camp commandant (*Zapovjednik logora*) of the Krapje camp; Poručnik Ivan Rako held the same position in the Bročice camp. Units from the 13th and Lika Ustaša Battalions and the Ustaša Defense (*Ustaška obrana*) guarded both camps.

It is impossible to state the exact number of inmates who passed through or perished in the Krapje and Bročice camps, but the combined camp populations ranged between 4,000 and 5,000 inmates. At any given time each camp held between 1,500 and 2,500 inmates. The majority of the prisoners held in the camps were Jews and Serbs; the rest were Croats and Bosniaks, prisoners belonging to other ethnic groups, and regime opponents, including communists.

On arrival, the prisoners were thoroughly searched by guards, stripped of all valuables, and sent to wooden barracks where they slept on bunks. As more prisoners arrived the barracks became overcrowded, and some prisoners were forced to sleep on the floor. All prisoners had to work from early

morning until late evening, seven days a week. The prisoners built flood-protection embankments along the Sava, Veliki Strug, and Lonja Rivers. Each morning, prisoners were assembled into large work groups of several hundred men and marched in columns for several kilometers to worksites where they used shovels, wheelbarrows, and bare hands to transport earth and other materials to the embankments. Armed guards accompanied prisoners working outside the camps. The guards carefully observed the prisoners and walked among them; prisoners seen to be taking unauthorized breaks or not performing their work adequately faced severe beatings by the guards and in some cases were shot.

Living conditions in the Krapje and Bročice camps were very harsh. The inmates suffered from chronic malnourishment, inadequate clothing, lack of sanitation, various diseases, exhaustion, and regular beatings by the guards. Prisoners were usually given two or three meals a day consisting mostly of warm water mixed with small amounts of potatoes, beans, cornmeal, cabbage, or turnips.[4] The autumn of 1941 was unusually cold, leading to a sharp increase in the number of weak, sick, and emaciated prisoners who died in the barracks and at the worksites. Survivors testified that a dozen or more prisoners died in the camps each day. The first mass murder of prisoners took place in late October or early November 1941. A reduction in the amount of food the prisoners received in the Krapje camp sparked a prisoner uprising that was viciously put down and resulted in the deaths of many prisoners. Afterward, a traveling summary court (*Pokretni prijeki sud*), presided over by Ivan Vignjević, sentenced approximately 100 prisoners to death.

In late October heavy autumn rains started and continued to fall for three weeks without relief. In the belief that maintaining the camps through winter was not feasible, Luburić ordered that young, strong, and skilled prisoners be put to work to set up Jasenovac III (Ciglana) close to the town of Jasenovac. In mid-November, as rain continued to fall and nearby rivers flooded, the water levels in the camps rose drastically and life came to a standstill. Acting on Luburić's orders, the guards dissolved the Krapje and Bročice camps between November 14 and 16, 1941. Strong and healthy prisoners were marched to Jasenovac III (approximately 2 kilometers or 1 mile east of the town of Jasenovac), while the elderly, sick, and weak were either killed immediately or left to die in the abandoned camps. Of the 3,000 to 4,000 prisoners held in the Krapje and Bročice camps at the time they were dissolved, only approximately 1,500 arrived in Jasenovac III.

SOURCES Some of the most important secondary works describing Jasenovac I and II are Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013); Tea Benčić, *Jasenovac Memorial Site* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2006); Slavko Goldstein and Ivo Goldstein, *Jews in Jasenovac*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003); Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941–1945: Logor smrti i radni logor* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003); Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac Concentration Camp: Exhibition about the Beginning of the Camp System, August 1941–February 1942* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2002); Radomir Bulatović, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac sa posebnim osvrtom na Donju Gradinu: istorijsko-sociološka i antropološka studija* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1990); Nikola Nikolić, *Jasenovački logor smrti* (Sarajevo: Oslobođenje, 1975); and Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1966).

Primary sources documenting the history of Jasenovac I and II can be found in HDA, available in microform collections at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M and Public Prosecutor's Office, RG-61.017M). Additional Jasenovac I and II documentation can be found in FJCY (available at USHMMA as RG-49.002), JIM-bg (available at USHMMA as RG-49.007), and MmJa (available at USHMMA as RG-61.001M). The ITS also holds documents related to Jasenovac I and II, under collections 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien) and 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), which are available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA also holds oral history interviews with survivors Mihajlo (or Mihailo) Marić, July 7, 1997 (RG-50.468*0005) and Bozo Svarc, June 1997. Both survivors have also given testimonies to VHA: Mihailo Marić, July 9, 1997 (#47554) and Bozo Svarc, June 24, 1997 (#39236). A propaganda account of the camp is found in *HrNa*. The best-known volume of published primary sources relating to the Jasenovac camps is Antun Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986). Published testimonies include Egon Berger, *44 mjeseca u Jasenovcu* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1966); Vladimir Carin, *Smrt je hodala četvoronoške* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1961); and Ilija Jakovljević, *Konc-logor na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999).

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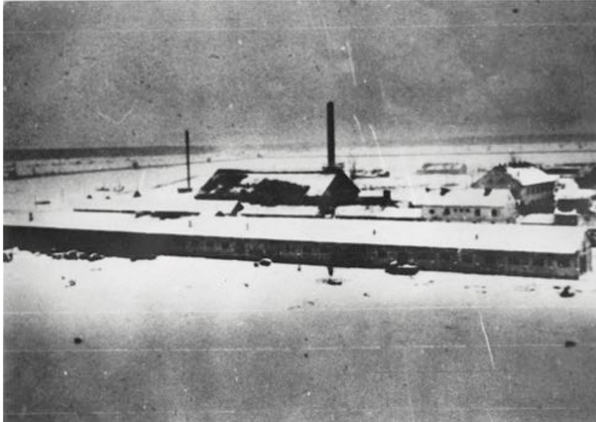
NOTES

1. "Konzentrationslager Jasenovac: Aus dem Protokoll der Kreiskommission zur Feststellung von Kriegsverbrechen-Verhör dem vereidigten Langfelder, Otto, aus Osijek, Rückkehrer aus dem Lager Jasenovac," June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204832.
2. *HrNa*, August 23, 1941, reproduced in Miletić, ed., *Jasenovac*, 1: 75–76.
3. E. Kvaternik telegram to Stožer, Stozeru Domobranstva, Zagreb, September 11, 1941, reproduced in Miletić, ed., *Jasenovac*, 1: 81.
4. "Konzentrationslager Jasenovac," June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204832.

JASENOVAC III

The Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost*, RAVSIGUR) of the Internal Affairs Ministry (*Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova*, MUP) founded Jasenovac III in October 1941 following the takeover of the Bačić & Co. industrial complex, located 2 kilometers (1 mile) east of the town of Jasenovac. Jasenovac is 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Called the "Labor Service of the Ustaša Defense Detention Camp No. III" (*Radna služba Ustaške obrane*



View of the Jasenovac III concentration camp at Ciglana.
USHMM WS #67090, COURTESY OF MILAN BULAJIC.

sabirni logor Br. III), Jasenovac III was more commonly known as the "Brickyard" (*Ciglana*). It was the largest, longest lasting, and deadliest of the five Jasenovac concentration camps.

The camp was constructed on the left bank of the Sava River. With the incorporation of the Bačić & Co. property, the camp occupied a total area of approximately two square kilometers (494 acres). A brickyard, chain factory, sawmill, electrical power plant, and approximately 24 other smaller plants and workshops were located inside the camp. Six large wooden barracks were surrounded by high barbed-wire fences and guard towers. In the spring of 1942, a brick wall several meters high was constructed on three sides of the camp; the fourth side faced the Sava River. A small road and railroad line allowed transit through the camp under tight security.

Led by Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) oversaw the camp until January 1943, at which point RAVSIGUR took over. The camp's administration had three divisions: security, labor, and health. The 1st and 17th Ustaša companies, and Ustaša Defense (*Ustaška obrana*)—1,500 troops in all—served as guards. The commandant (*zapovjednik logora*) and labor services commandant (*zapovjednik radne službe*) administered the camp. In succession, the commandants were Jozo Matijević, Ivica Matković, Miroslav Filipović-Majstorović, Ivica Brkljačić, and Dinko Šakić. The first labor service commandant was Ljubo Miloš, and his successor was Dominik Hinko Picili. An inmate with the title of "camp officer" (*logornik*) served as camp elder. The first logornik was Bruno Dijamantstein, and his successor was Ladislav Wiener.

The first prisoners arrived in Ciglana in late October 1941. They consisted of healthy prisoners from Jasenovac I (Krapje) and Jasenovac II (Bročice) who were ordered to build the camp. In mid-November 1941, 1,500 additional prisoners from the Krapje and Bročice camps arrived after those two camps were closed. (In total, approximately 2,500 prisoners from the first two Jasenovac camps were transferred to Ciglana in November 1941. Those prisoners not sent to Ciglana were murdered or starved to death.) The exact number of prisoners who passed through Ciglana is impossible to determine because of the large waves of arrivals, departures, and mass killings. The apex of new arrivals and of mass killings took place in 1942. In May and June 1942, at least 10,000 Roma arrived in the camp, most of whom were murdered or starved to death in the deadliest section of Ciglana, section IIIC. In June and July, 2,400 to 3,200 Jewish women and children arrived from the Đakovo camp. In July, August, and September, tens of thousands of people, mostly Serb civilians, arrived following Ustaša ethnic cleansing operations in the Kozara region of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The number of new arrivals decreased significantly in 1943 and remained relatively low until the camp's dissolution. At the same time, there were also large departures of prisoners; tens of thousands of prisoners were transferred to other Croatian or German camps. In August 1942 and in May 1943, the Croatian authorities permitted the transfer to Auschwitz of most Jews not needed for labor in the Jasenovac camp complex.

The constant turnover ensured that the camp population varied considerably in size and composition. On average, between 3,000 and 4,000 prisoners were held in the camp at any given time. In his postwar trial, Miloš testified that Luburić ordered that there should always be around 3,000 prisoners in the camp to satisfy labor needs.[1] Miloš also testified that whenever the number of prisoners exceeded camp labor requirements, the "surplus" prisoners were either transferred elsewhere or wiped out in mass murders that usually took place in nearby forests or on frequently used killing sites in Limani, Granik, and Donja Gradina. Prisoners were marched in columns to the killing sites where they were shot, stabbed, and clubbed to death by guards. The corpses were thrown into mass graves and into the Sava River. The Jasenovac Memorial has estimated that at least 57,000 people lost their lives in Jasenovac III.

Forced labor details ranged in size from a handful to several hundred. Under the direction of labor services command, prisoners were selected to manage the work groups. A group leader was called the *grupnik*; units of 100 were led by a *stotnik* and units of 10 by a *desetnik*. Most of the goods manufactured were used to support the Ustaša war effort.

In Ciglana, the living conditions were abysmal. Prisoners suffered from chronic malnourishment, inadequate clothing, lack of sanitation, various diseases, exhaustion, and regular abuse by the guards. The two or three daily meals consisted mostly of warm water with small amounts of potatoes, beans, cornmeal, cabbage, or turnips thrown in. One survivor, Eduard Sajer, recalled food being so scarce that at one point his nails and hair stopped growing.[2]

As news spread about the horrible conditions at Jasenovac, the Pavelić regime attempted to misrepresent its purpose in propaganda accounts and staged visits. At the Zagreb Fairgrounds in late 1942, a photograph appeared in a display, showing forced laborers at the brickyard mixing lime with the caption, "One Year of Work in Transit Camps." Indeed, the only times that conditions materially improved were

Prisoners at forced labor in the Jasenovac III concentration camp brickyard mixing lime in large troughs, June 1942.
USHMM WS #13943, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

before and during the visits of the International Commission in early 1942 and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in June 1944. In the days before the delegations' arrival, the barracks were cleaned and rations improved. Once the delegations left, the conditions reverted to their dreadful state. Kvaternik arranged for the 20-member International Commission to visit Jasenovac III in early 1942. In preparation, new beds for the barracks arrived from Zagreb, and there were new bedclothes for the hospital, in which relatively healthy and less exhausted prisoners were placed to "act" as patients, while the sick and exhausted were killed so as not to mar the visitors' good impression. Not long after the International Commission's two-hour visit, an article appeared in the Ustaša newspaper, *Narodne novine*, titled "Jasenovac is neither a place of torture nor a sanatorium."[3]

As the Yugoslav Partisans approached, Ustaša personnel began closing down the camp in late April 1945. Realizing that they would most likely be killed, some prisoners devised an escape plan. The breakout took place at 10:30 A.M. on April 22, 1945. The escapees stormed the doors of the workshop where they were confined and overpowered the guards. As soon as they started running for the gates, the guards fired in all directions. During the breakout, the prisoner electrician Sajer cut the telephone wire to disrupt Ustaša communications.[4] Of the roughly 600 escapees, only about 70 to 80 managed to escape from the camp and hide until the Partisans arrived. Among the few survivors was Otto Langfelder, who, unable to swim across the Sava River, fled to the forest with his comrades.[5] The guards shot the prisoners remaining in the camp and razed Ciglana in early May 1945.

SOURCES Two of the most important secondary sources describing the persecution of the Roma in Jasenovac III are Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, *Genocid nad Romima: Jasenovac 1942* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003) and Dragoljub Acković, *Roma Suffering in Jasenovac Camp* (Belgrade: Museum of the Victims of Genocide, 1995). A book that describes the trial of Dinko Sakić, the last Jasenovac III commandant and the last camp commandant to be tried for war crimes, is Milan Bulajić, *Jasenovac na sudu: sudenje Dinku Sakiću* (Belgrade: Muzej zrtava genocida, 2001).

Primary sources documenting Jasenovac III can be found in HDA, available in microform collections at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M and Public Prosecutor's Office, RG-61.017M). Additional documentation can be found in FJCY (available at USHMMA as RG-49.002), JIMbg (available at USHMMA as RG-49.007), and MmJa (available at USHMMA as RG-61.001M). The ITS also holds documents related to Jasenovac III, under collections 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien), 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), and 1.2.4.3 (Service Watson), available in digital form at USHMMA. Among the testimonies at VHA by Jasenovac III survivors are Cedomil Huber, July 7, 1997 (#35878); Eduard Sajer, June 28, 1997 (#48709); and Savo Petrovic, July 12, 1997 (#40070). The best-known volume of published primary sources regarding the Jasenovac camps is Antun Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986). There are a number of published testimonies on Jasenovac III, including Egon Berger, *44 mjeseca u Jasenovcu* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1966); Vladimir Carin, *Smrt je hodala četvoronoške* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1961); Ilija Jakovljević, *Konc-logor na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999); Đorde Miliša, *U mučilištu-paklu Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Politika, 1991); Boško Jugović, *Moj put kroz Jasenovac* (Banja Luka: Vaso Pelagić, 2000); Čadik I. Danon Braco, *The Smell of Human Flesh: A Witness of the Holocaust*, trans. Nedežda Obradović (Belgrade: Slobodan Masić, 2002); and Ilija Ivanović, *Witness to Jasenovac's Hell*, ed. Wanda Schindley, trans. Aleksandra Lazić (Mt. Pleasant, TX: Dallas Publishing, 2002). A collection of testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Jasenovac camps can be found in Dušan Sindik, ed., *Sečanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1972).

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NOTES

1. Miloš affidavit, 1946, reproduced in Miletić, *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac*, 2:1015.
2. USHMMA, RG-50.468*0003, Eduard Sajer interview, 1997.
3. *NarNo*, January 10, 1942.
4. USHMMA, RG-50.468*0003, Sajer interview, 1997.
5. "Konzentrationslager Jasenovac: Aus dem Protokoll der Kreiskommission zur Feststellung von Kriegsverbrechen-Verhör dem vereidigten Langfelder, Otto, aus Osijek, Rückkehrer aus dem Lager Jasenovac," June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204836.

JASENOVAC IV

In late January 1942, Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) founded Jasenovac IV as a con-

centration camp dedicated to leather production. It was located within the town of Jasenovac, which is 100 kilometers (62 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Officially named the "Labor Service of the Ustaša Defense Detention Camp No. IV" (*Radna služba Ustaške obrane sabirni logor Br. IV*), Jasenovac IV was more commonly referred to as "Leatherworks" (*Kožara*). It was the smallest and most highly specialized of the five Jasenovac concentration camps.

The camp included tanning and leather processing plants, storage facilities, two buildings that housed prisoners, and offices for camp administrators. High barbed-wire fences and guard towers surrounded the camp. A few roads permitted transit through the camp under heavy guard.

Overseeing Jasenovac IV was the Central Command Post for all Jasenovac Assembly Camps (*Zapovjedništvo sabirnih logora Jasenovac*), based in Jasenovac and supervised by the Directorate for Public Order and Security (*Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost*, RAVSIGUR) and Ustaša Defense (*Ustaška obrana*). A camp commandant (*zapovjednik logora*) administered the camp, and units from the 1st and 17th Ustaša companies and members of the Ustaša Defense served as guards.

The first groups of prisoners were brought to the tanning and processing plants in November 1941. They had worked as tanning and leatherworks laborers in Jasenovac III where they produced leather goods for the Croatian war effort. In January 1942, the industrial plants and a few surrounding residential buildings were cordoned off with barbed-wire fencing and guard posts and converted into the concentration camp, Jasenovac IV. On average there were between 150 and 200 prisoners in the camp, all male; most were Jews skilled in tanning and leatherwork.[1] The leather goods were essential to the Croatian war effort and included clothes and accessories used by Ustaša and Croatian Army (*Domobrani*) soldiers and officials. Because of the prisoners' technical expertise and the importance the Ustaša authorities placed on the goods they produced, mass murders did not take place in the camp, although the guards regularly beat and occasionally killed prisoners for poor work performance or alleged violations of camp rules.

Prisoners were assigned to various work groups that specialized in aspects of tanning, leather processing, and storage; the size of the groups ranged from a handful to several dozen prisoners. The prisoners labored from early morning until late evening, only receiving a short break for lunch. Certain prisoners were selected to manage the work groups. Groups were led by a leader called the *grupnik*, and large groups were further subdivided into 10-man units led by a *desetnik*. The prisoner-managers received their work assignments from the camp labor services command.

Living conditions in the Kožara camp were substantially better than in the other four Jasenovac camps, but were still harsh. According to Otto Langfelder, who was a survivor of all five Jasenovac camps, "The food ration was better and we had an exceptional kitchen and also got bread."[2]

In late April 1945, as Yugoslav Partisans approached, the Ustaša began preparations for dissolving the camp. On April 22, alarmed by gunfire and blasts heard coming from Jasenovac III (where an escape attempt was taking place), the prisoners in Jasenovac IV devised their own escape plan. That evening 125 prisoners stormed the doors of the buildings where they were confined and charged the camp gate.[3] The guards, on alert after the Jasenovac III breakout, immediately shot the prisoners, killing most of them; no more than 10 escapees managed to survive, hiding in nearby forests until the Partisans arrived. The guards destroyed some of the camp's workshops and most of the remaining documents before dissolving the camp in early May 1945.

SOURCES Some of the most important published secondary sources describing Jasenovac IV are Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013); Tea Benčić, *Jasenovac Memorial Site* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2006); Slavko Goldstein and Ivo Goldstein, *Jews in Jasenovac*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003); Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac 1941–1945: Logor smrti i radni logor* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003); Nataša Mataušić, *Jasenovac Concentration Camp: Exhibition about the Beginning of the Camp System, August 1941–February 1942* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2002); and Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1966).

Primary sources documenting the Jasenovac IV camp can be found in HDA, available in microform collections at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M and Public Prosecutor's Office, RG-61.017M). Additional Jasenovac IV documentation can be found in FJCY (available at USHMMA as RG-49.002), JIM-bg (available at USHMMA as RG-49.007), and MmJa (available at USHMMA as RG-61.001M). The ITS also holds documents related to Jasenovac IV, under collections 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien), 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), and 1.2.4.3 (Service Watson), available in digital form at USHMMA. The best-known volume of published primary sources regarding Jasenovac camps is Antun Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986). Published survivor testimonies include Egon Berger, *44 mjeseca u Jasenovcu* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1966); Vladimir Carin, *Smrt je hodala četvoronoške* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1961); and Ilija Jakovljević, *Konc-logor na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999). A collection of testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Jasenovac camps (including Kožara) can be found in Dušan Sindik, ed., *Sečanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1972).

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1. See Kožara references in ITS, 1.2.4.3, Jasenovac, 1944, Doc. Nos. 12847111–12847122.
2. "Konzentrationslager Jasenovac: Aus dem Protokoll der Kreisskommission zur Feststellung von Kriegsverbrechen-Verhör dem vereideten Langfelder, Otto, aus Osijek, Räckkehrer aus dem Lager Jasenovac," June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204834.
3. "Popis zatočenika Kožare," April 22, 1945, JIM-bg, reg. 2368, k. 25-511/4, reproduced in Miletić, ed., *Jasenovac*, 2: 892–893.

JASENOVAC V/STARA GRADIŠKA

In the former Austro-Hungarian garrison town of Stara Gradiška, located 124 kilometers (almost 77 miles) southeast of Zagreb and 30 kilometers (18 miles) southeast of Jasenovac proper on the Sava River, the Ustaša established the Jasenovac V camp at the end of 1941. The camp was in a former fortress and principally held women and children. Beginning in May 1941, the Ustaša police imprisoned political and "racial" persecutees from the surrounding communities in the garrison barracks. A November 1941 edict issued by Ustaša supreme leader (*Poglavnik*) Ante Pavelić, "Legal Provision on Deporting Undesirable and Dangerous Persons to Enforced Detention in Assembly and Labor Camps," formed the basis for the imprisonment of Serbs and Jews in Croatian camps, including Stara Gradiška.[1] Toward the end of 1941, Stara Gradiška was incorporated into Jasenovac as camp V. The prison was subsequently moved to Hrvatska Mitrovica (today: Sremska Mitrovica). As part of the Jasenovac system, the camp was relatively self-contained and communicated independently with Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS).

The first commandant of Stara Gradiška was Nadsatnik Ante Vrban. From 1942 on, Nadporučnik Dinko Šakić served as the deputy commandant. Šakić achieved international notoriety when he was extradited from Argentina to Croatia in 1999. He was condemned to 20 years' imprisonment for crimes against humanity perpetrated in the Jasenovac complex. Nadsatnik Miroslav Filipović-Majstorović, another Ustaša commandant in 1942 and 1943, was known for his brutality. He was condemned to death for war crimes on June 29, 1945, in Zagreb. Both male and some female Ustaša served as guards.

The camp held prisoners from diverse ethno-religious groups: Serbs, Jews, Croatians, Roma, and Muslims were deported to the camp for political or racial reasons or a combination of both. Inside the camp were several women's and men's subsections, which in turn were separated along ethno-religious lines. Political prisoners were isolated in garrison cell blocks. Initially, women were lodged in the fortress tower (*Kula*), the keep of the former fortress. This building was dark, dank, and derelict; its 59 large cells were filled with the heavy stench of centuries of neglect. Initially all the female prisoners were held together, but in March 1942 the Croatian women were moved to new premises that came to be called the Croatian women's camp. A small gate led from the tower through the fortress wall to the graveyard, through which groups of Jews, Serbs, and Roma (both men and women) were often taken out at night to the killing sites at Sava, Mlaka, Jablanac, Uskočke šume, and Međustrugove.

Forced labor in Stara Gradiška consisted mainly of craftwork such as carpentry, pottery, and tailoring, in small groups; some prisoners also engaged in farming. Many of the women were occupied with supporting internal camp operations.

The number of prisoners varied continually because, again and again, groups of prisoners were transferred or released. For example, there were 118 prisoner admissions in the 10-day period between March 19 and March 29, 1944.[2] As a skilled worker, Otto Langfelder was imprisoned in every camp in the Jasenovac complex, including in Stara Gradiška in 1942 and 1943.[3] The high proportion of women and children in the camp differentiated Stara Gradiška from other Ustaša camps. Some male children and youths were forced into a unit where they were indoctrinated as Croatian mercenaries.

Mothers and children imprisoned in the "Kula" (tower) of the Stara Gradiška concentration camp.
USHMM WS #90182, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

The conditions for the children in the camp were particularly appalling and prompted repeated humanitarian interventions. For example, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp in June 1944, which led to the removal of some young prisoners. The Ustaša ensured that the delegates were given a highly misleading tour of the camp, as evidenced by a series of photographs showing cleaned-up prisoners at forced labor and seemingly friendly chats between Ustaša and ICRC representatives.[4]

Stara Gradiška housed a number of prominent prisoners. Ilija Jakovljević was a Catholic publicist who was released in 1942. The journalist Mirko Peršen, who subsequently published a history of Jasenovac, was held in Stara Gradiška from 1943 to 1944. Vlado Singer was a former Ustaša activist of Jewish background, who was murdered in the camp in November 1943.

A diary and an artifact help document some of the coping mechanisms used by the prisoners at Stara Gradiška. One prisoner, Andrea Hrg, struggled with the agonies of starvation by secretly writing a recipe book. The book opened with the following lines:

> Since I wasn't proclaimed a national hero, these notes are not in any museum. But I have children, for whom I wish them [these notes] to be preserved. They were written in January and February 1942, when we were not eating at all [the 3rd to the 26th of January 1942], and during February of the same year when only one meal [per day] of thin gruel or thin bean soup was received . . . . Cornmeal biscuits: 30 dkg [dekagrams]

cornmeal, 10 dkg bread flour, 15 dkg sugar, 15 dkg butter, lemon peel, a little baking soda. Mix all ingredients and roll out a little thicker, make shapes and bake.[5]

Another prisoner, Radmila Radenović, embroidered cloth hearts for her fellow inmate, Parica Bobinac.[6]

Historians of the Yugoslav communist regime inflated the estimated number of victims at Stara Gradiška, with one claim reaching 75,000. These assertions did not withstand the first serious investigation. In 2007, investigators furnished the Jasenovac Memorial with data documenting the deaths of 12,790 prisoners. In the camp's vicinity, there were many mass graves, which were investigated by the Yugoslav War Crimes Commission after the war.

Yugoslav Partisans liberated Stara Gradiška on April 23, 1945.

SOURCES A secondary source describing Jasenovac V is Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957). On the persecution of Roma, see Dragoljub Acković, *Roma Suffering in Jasenovac Camp* (Belgrade: Museum of the Victims of Genocide, 1995) and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, *Genocid nad Romima: Jasenovac 1942* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003). A useful source on child victims at Stara Gradiška is Dregoje Lukić, *Bili su samo deca: Jesenovac grobnica 19,432 devojcice i decaka* (Belgrade: Muzej zrtava genocida, 2000).

Primary sources on Jasenovac V can be found in HDA, available at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M and Public Prosecutor's Office, RG-61.017M); AJ; MmJa (available in microform at USHMMA under RG-61.001M); and ITS, collections 1.1.15.1 (Listenmaterial Jugoslawien) and 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), the latter available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds a small collection of postcards from Stara Gradiška and Lepoglava: Alralej-Steruberg postcards (Acc. No. 2002.205.1). Under RG-60.3873, USHMMA holds a film, *Camp Stara Gradiška*, originally from MmJa. USHMMPA has numerous photographs, including 11 photos from the ICRC inspection and others from MmJa. The best-known collection of published primary sources relating to the Jasenovac camps is Antun Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986). Thirty-three survivor testimonies can be found in VHA. There are a number of published testimonies by Jasenovac V survivors: Egon Berger, *44 mjeseca u Jasenovcu* (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1966); Vladimir Carin, *Smrt je hodala četvoronoške* (Zagreb: Mladost, 1961); Ilija Jakovljević, *Konc-logor na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor, 1999); Čadik I. Danon Braco, *The Smell of Human Flesh: A Witness of the Holocaust*, trans. Nedežda Obradović (Belgrade: Slobodan Masić, 2002); Ilija Ivanović, *Witness to Jasenovac's Hell*, ed. by Wanda Schindley, trans. Aleksandra Lazić (Mt. Pleasant, TX: Dallas Publishing, 2002); Boško Jugović, *Moj put kroz Jasenovac* (Banja Luka: Vaso Pelagić, 2000); and Đorde Miliša, *U mučilištu-paklu Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Politika, 1991). A collection of testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Jasenovac camps can be found in Dušan Sindik, ed., *Sećanja Jevreja na logor Jasenovac* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1972). The suffering and rescue of children in the Stara Gradiška camp are documented in *Dnevnik Diane Budisavljević 1941–1945* (Jasenovac: Javna ustanova Spomen-područje Jasenovac, 2003). This source excerpts the diary of Diana Budisavljević, who was widely credited with rescuing children from Stara Gradiška.

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Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. "Zakonska odredba o upućivanju nepoćudnih i pogibeljnih osoba na prisilni boravak u sabrine i radne logore," November 25, 1941, NDH, k. 202, reg. br. 32/6, reproduced in Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac*, 1:98–100.
2. Zetočenici, Koji su se javili iz Stara Gradiška, March 29, 1944, ITS, 1.1.15.1, folder 1, Doc. Nos. 478209–478210.
3. "Konzentrationslager Jasenovac: Aus dem Protokoll der Kreisskommission zur Feststellung von Kriegsverbrechen-Verhör dem vereideten Langfelder, Otto, aus Osijek, Räckkehrer aus dem Lager Jasenovac," June 12, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204834.
4. USHMMPA, WS #13966, Stara Gradiška prisoners at work in a sewing workshop, 1943 (Courtesy of CICR).
5. USHMMPA, WS #N11711.04, ed. recipe book, January to February 1942 (Courtesy of MmJa).
6. USHMMPA, WS #N08121, textile hearts made in 1943, in the Stara Gradiška camp (Courtesy of MmJa).

JASTREBARSKO

Jastrebarsko was a concentration camp holding mainly Jewish and Serb prisoners, which Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS) operated in the summer of 1941; in July 1942 part of it became a camp for children that was in service until November 1942. Jastrebarsko is a town 31 kilometers (19 miles) southwest of Zagreb on the railway line from Zagreb to the coast.

In the summer of 1941, UNS evacuated the concentration camps around Gospić in western Croatia because of the impending occupation of the region by the Italian army.[1] In great haste, Ustaša guards killed many prisoners and deported the rest to prevent their liberation by the Italians. The Ustaša also constructed several new camps in the part of the country that was within the German sphere of influence and was therefore safe from Italian intervention.[2] Jasenovac was the centerpiece of this new camp system. It served as an internment camp for evacuated Serb and Jewish prisoners and as a prison for Jews arrested in August and September 1941.[3] Most of the 1,500 Jewish prisoners were sent directly to Jasenovac after its construction was completed in September 1941.

In July 1942, a manor house and a Franciscan monastery in Jastrebarsko were converted into an internment camp for children. Later, some barracks used by the Italian army were incorporated into the camp, which was officially part of the Jasenovac camp complex under the supervision of the Ustaša

Children sit on the floor of a barracks in the Jastrebarsko concentration camp, summer 1942.
USHMM WS #01149, COURTESY OF LYDIA CHAGOLL.

general and official Vjekoslav Maks Luburić. Its purpose was to house children and juvenile prisoners transferred to Jastrebarsko from other camps such as Jasenovac and Stara Gradiška. The first transport of 566 children arrived at the camp on July 11, 1942. Many of the underaged prisoners were ill or in poor physical condition, and a good number died during the transport or shortly after arrival in the camp. In its several months of operation, up to 3,000 children were held prisoner at Jastrebarsko, some of whom suffered from typhoid fever (they were deported from the Gornja Rijeka camp in August 1942). The majority of the children in the second phase of the camps were Serbs. It is not entirely clear why the Ustaša camp administration decided to concentrate children in the Jastrebarsko camp, but its use as a children's camp coincided with military campaigns against partisan-held territories, such as Operation Kozara, after which the surviving population was deported. It was also a response to popular and diplomatic criticism of the situation in the camps. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) gained access to Jastrebarsko and was indeed able to improve the children's living conditions. Neighbors and individuals from Zagreb also tried to support the children by providing them medicine and food. Despite this civilian access to the camp, reports suggest that the treatment by Ustaša guards and the nurses who were in charge of the camp was generally brutal. A nurse called Berta was reportedly the camp's director.

On August 26, 1942, a partisan detachment attacked and liberated the camp. They evacuated the majority of the prisoners, incorporating some into their ranks and transporting others to the liberated territories. The Croatian Caritas took care of those children who could not be evacuated and had to stay behind. They were not transferred to another camp, but came into the custody of Catholic institutions or private families. The camp was officially dissolved in November 1942. The last unit in operation was the hospital with 300 ill children, most of whom stayed there until the end of the war.

SOURCES Jastrebarsko is briefly discussed in most studies that either deal with the Holocaust or with the history of political persecution in the NDH: Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89–101; Ilija Jakovljević, *Konclogar na Savi* (Zagreb: Konzor 1999); Božo Švarc, "Kako sam preživio," *H-K* 69/70 (2001): 5; and Ivo

Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). For information about camps for female prisoners, see Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Prilog proučavanju terora u NDH: Ženski sabirni logori, 1941–1942," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38. For an overview of the Croatian camps, see Alexander Korb, *Im Schatten des Weltkriegs: Massengewalt der Ustaša gegen Serben, Juden und Roma in Kroatien 1941–1945* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Jastrebarsko camp can be found in YVA, collection M70, and ZkuzonpH.

Alexander Korb

NOTES

1. Statement of Oskar Mohr, October 16, 1945, ZkuzonpH.
2. Pisarovina district to RAVSIGUR, July 9, 1941, YVA, M.70/1, p. 1
3. Društvo Crvenog Križa NDH to RUR ŽO, August 22, 1941, YVA, M.70/15, p. 3.

KERESTINEC

Located approximately 15 kilometers (just over 9 miles) southwest of Zagreb, Kerestinec was a prison that was originally used for the internment of political prisoners in the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Immediately after the declaration of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), the Ustaša took over its administration and, on April 19, 1941, set up a collection camp (*sabirni logor*) there. The Zagreb police assumed responsibility for the camp's operation. The Kerestinec camp commandant was Mladen Horvatin, and the guards were Ustaša members. Political and ethnic persecutees of both sexes were imprisoned in the camp. In addition to confining Serbs and Jews, Kerestinec served principally as a concentration camp for former Yugoslav officials as well as for leftist opponents.

It was common practice in the Ustaša camps to segregate prisoners of different ethnicities. The first 60 prisoners were brought into the "Serbian-Yugoslav" section of the camp on April 21, 1941, and approximately 200 were lodged there by the end of the month. On May 1, 1941, 79 Jewish lawyers from Zagreb were hauled off to Kerestinec; a "Jewish" area of the camp was created to house them. Among the Jewish detainees were about 140 men, women, and children transported from Samobor on May 27; around 150 from Zagreb; and about 400 refugees from Nazi Germany. Beginning on May 22, members of the left-wing intelligentsia, such as publicist Zvonimir Richtmann and poet August Cesarec, were detained. This group of prisoners formed the "communist" sector of the camp. In total, there were as many as 900 inmates detained at Kerestinec, with Jews constituting approximately one third of the prisoners. In addition, many of the imprisoned communists had Jewish ancestry.

In June 1941, even as some detainees succeeded in securing their release or purchasing their freedom, camp conditions clearly deteriorated after the German attack on the Soviet Union. That attack marked the beginning of the communist resistance against the Ustaša. Radio Moscow's July 3, 1941, appeal to European nations to rise up against the fascists inspired resistance in Croatia, and the brutalization and destabilization of the NDH accelerated. Repression of the communists began immediately. On July 10, a military court sentenced to death 10 prisoners of the Kerestinec camp, 6 of whom were Jewish. Their execution and, with that, the existence of the camp were publicized in newspaper stories and posters.

Resistance activities also intensified inside the camp. In consultation with outside communist groups, the communist prisoners planned a mass escape for the night of July 13. Six guards were killed in the attempt. The number of escapees has been the subject of dispute. The "Incident Report Soviet Union" (*Ereignisbericht Sowjetunion*) of the Nazi SS Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) reported 140 escapees.[1] According to other sources, 89 prisoners participated, almost all of them coming from the "communist" section of the camp. Still other reports found that between 14 and 90 men succeeded in escaping. The guards' answer to the rebellion was mass murder. A bloodbath inside the prison followed the escape, in which at least 31 prisoners were shot to death. On July 17, Ustaša guards killed 44 alleged participants at Dotrščina Park, located north of Zagreb (today: part of Zagreb). Among the victims were well-known personalities such as Ernest Rado, Isak Katan, Hugo Kon, Ljudevit Kon, and Israel Steinberg. In addition, courts-martial labeled up to 300 people as communists in connection with the Kerestinec camp rebellion and sentenced them to imprisonment in a camp or to death. The Internal Affairs Ministry published an announcement about the escape and the meting out of sentences by the flying court-martial.[2]

The Ustaša dissolved the Kerestinec camp on July 16, 1941. Most of the remaining inmates were transferred to the Gospić camp, where the vast majority lost their lives. Because of the mass killings of prisoners, the mortality rate of the Kerestinec camp was about 10 percent.

SOURCES There is extensive literature about the Kerestinec camp, especially about the escape attempt in July 1941: Ivan Jelić, *Tragedija u Kerestincu: Zagrebačko ljeto 1941*, foreword by Hodimir Sirotković (Zagreb: Globus, 1986); Zvonimir Komarica, *Kerestinečka kronika* (Zagreb: Globus 1989); Zdravko Dizdar, "Logor Kerestinec," *Popr* 8 (1989): 143–192; Zdravko Dizdar, "Logori na području sjeverozapadne Hrvatske u toku drugoga svjetskog rata 1941–1945," *Čsp* 22 (1990): 83–110; Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990); Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber 2001); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997); and Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*: *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 331–336. Davor Kovačić analyzes the broader context of the prisoner rebellion in "Kominterna i

forsiranje antifašističkog ustanka u Hrvatskoj 1941: Slučaj Kerestinec," *Čsp* 3 (2011): 863–880. On the Dotrščina Park memorials, see www.memorialmuseums.org/eng/denkmaeler/view/1469/Dotr%C5%A1%C4%87ina-Park-Memorials.

Primary sources on the Kerestinec camp can be found in AJ, which holds documents of the DK investigation under the Državna collection. It contains detailed information about numerous camps, including Kerestinec. HAD has documents from the ZkuzonpH collection, some of which are reproduced in Jelić. Additionally, there are documents about the Jews in Ustaša camps in JIM-bg. VHA holds three testimonies by Kerestinec survivors. A published testimony on the Kerestinec camp is Zvonimir Komarica, *Kerestinečka kronika: Zapis vojnika I* (Zagreb: Globus, 1989).

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A group of interned men in the Danica camp in Koprivnica, 1941.
USHMM WS #06382, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

NOTES

1. Ereignisbericht UdSSR Nr. 27, 17 July, 1941, JIM-bg, box 21, 2a, 1/13.
2. "Kažnapadaj na stražu u Kerestincu: Uhvačeni komunisti osudjeni na smrt I strijeljani," July 17, 1941, MUP Nr. 10853-1941, reprinted in Jelić, *Tragedija u Kerestincu*, n.p. (plate).

KOPRIVNICA

On April 15, 1941, the Croatian Interior Ministry and local Ustaša militia founded the first camp in the newly created Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH). It was located in the unused buildings of the Danica chemical factory near Koprivnica, close to the Hungarian border. Koprivnica is more than 77 kilometers (48 miles) northeast of Zagreb. Commonly known as Danica, the camp interned people arrested on ethnic, political, or religious grounds. Common criminals were also detained there. The Serbs formed the largest group of inmates, followed by politically "undesirable" Croats as well as Jews. The Croatian prisoners consisted primarily of members of the prewar political Left.[1] According to historian Anna Maria Grünfelder, some Seventh-Day Adventists were also interned in the camp.

The first camp commandant was Ustaša member Martin Nemec, originally a businessman in Koprivnica who had gone into exile in 1933 and returned in early 1941. At the time, 89 Ustaša members served as guards. Nemec served from mid-April to the end of June 1941. Ustaša member Nikola Herman from Koprivnica then headed the Danica camp until its dissolution in 1942. At its peak operation, there were as many as 100 guards, who were Ustaša militia from the area.

The first prisoners arrived in the Danica camp on April 18, 1941. Ten days later a larger group of 504 people, mostly Serbs from the Grubišno Polje area, arrived.[2] By mid-May the number of inmates exceeded the camp's capacity of 1,000, yet even more prisoners continued to arrive; among them, for example, 165 Jewish youth between the ages of 18 and 21 from Zagreb entered Danica on May 31. By the end of June the camp population had more than doubled to nearly 2,200. From June 30 to July 15, approximately 1,960 inmates were transported to the Gospić camp, whereas only 76 people were released during the same period. In August 1941, the prisoner population peaked at 2,656, after which many prisoners, mostly Serbs and Jews, were transferred to other camps, initially to Gospić or Jadovno; from December 1941 the men were sent primarily to Jasenovac and the women and children to Stara Gradiška. These transfers were implemented because the camp was seen as insufficiently fortified against partisan activity. By May 1942, Danica was used only to confine common criminals.

A few camp inmates were used as forced labor in digging defensive earthworks in the camp's vicinity, as well as in work inside the camp. Nothing is known about the deployment of prisoners as workers in firms from Koprivnica. In her account, Grünfelder makes the point that the Ustaša description of this camp as being for "labor service" was propaganda.

Over the course of the camp's existence, 5,600 people were temporarily detained in Danica. German historian Marija Vulesica estimates that the prisoner population consisted of more than 3,000 Serbs, approximately 1,000 Croats, more than 600 Jews, and about 400 Roma. Most of the Jewish prisoners came from Zagreb, in addition to Bjelovar, Karlovac, Koprivnica, and Sarajevo. Historian Jaša Romano estimated that there were approximately 200 internees murdered in the camp, but recent research by Vulesica indicates that there were up to 300 dead internees. There was a so-called death barrack in the camp, in which many inmates were tortured and murdered. Some of the prisoners who were seriously hurt by the torture were later shot by the guards.

The Jewish community in Zagreb and Koprivnica supported the interned Jews. Unfortunately, the guards confiscated numerous goods and food sent into the camp, as well as parcels sent from individuals.

The Danica camp was dissolved on September 1, 1942. After the end of World War II, the first commandant, Martin Nemec, was condemned to death and hanged in Danica.

SOURCES The camp at Koprivnica (Danica) is mentioned in a few works about the persecution of the Jews in occupied Yugoslavia: Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1957); Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (1966; Zagreb: Globus, 1990); Zdravko Dizdar, "Logori na području sjeverozapadne Hrvatske u toku drugoga svjetskog rata 1941-1945," *Čsp* 22: 1–2 (1990): 83–110; and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). In German, there is some information in Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9:317–318; and a more extensive treatment in Anna Maria Grünfelder, *Von der Shoa eingeholt: Ausländische jüdische Flüchtlinge im ehemaligen Jugoslawien 1933–1945* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Koprivnica (Danica) camp can be found in AS, collection DK. Additional documentation can be found in NDH, collections ZKRZ, and the Ustaša Supervisory Office for the City and District of Koprivnica. The latter documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-61.014M. Additional material is found in JiM-bg, some which is copied to USHMMA as RG-49.007M. The ITS has a detailed report from the 1970s on the Danica camp, which can be found in collection 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Measures in Serbia). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds two testimonies by Danica survivors: Erna Relic, March 30, 1996 (#13014) and Bozo Svarc, February 26, 1998 (#39276).

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NOTES

1. Pero Damjanović, ISI, "Das Konzentrationslager 'Danica' in Koprivca," June 24, 1976, ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205943.
2. Damjanović, "Das Konzentrationslager 'Danica' in Koprivca," ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205941.

KRUŠČICA

In July 1941, Satnik (later Bojnik and then Pukovnik) Vjekoslav Maks Luburić, the head of Bureau III of the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška nadzorna služba*, UNS), ordered the Ustaša commissar for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Jure Francetić, to establish a camp for Jews and Serbs in Kruščica. The village of Kruščica is close to the city of Vitez, which is approximately 56 kilometers (35 miles) northwest of Sarajevo in Bosnia and 235 kilometers (146 miles) southeast of Zagreb. The site was a dilapidated estate belonging to the Gutman family, which had previously served as an internment camp for the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Under the direction of the camp commandant, Ustaša Nadporučnik Jozo (Josip) Gesler, 75 imprisoned Serbs from Pale refurbished the camp barracks and erected a barbed-wire fence to enclose the camp. The Kruščica camp served as an assembly and transit camp, temporarily absorbing prisoners coming from other dissolved camps, such as from Kerestinec via Sarajevo, and from the Gospić camp complex; it also housed Jewish women from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The first 23 inmates arrived at Kruščica at the beginning of August 1941. Among them were farmers and workers from Željecare, as well as some communists from Zenica. There were also two Croats and one Muslim. Toward the end of August 1941, the camp rapidly filled with Jewish prisoners, primarily women and children transported from Gospić.[1] The first transport arrived from the Pag Island subcamp at Metajna via Slavonski Brod on August 28, 1941. According to historian Jaša Romano, this group consisted of 1,100 people, including children. On September 3, approximately 500 Jewish men, women, and children from Sarajevo were sent to Kruščica. The next group of about 500 Jews from Sarajevo reached the camp on September 9. The Ustaša supervisor from Travnik, Nikola Tursun, claimed that there were only 1,539 people imprisoned in Kruščica in mid-September. This number is most likely too low. According to author Mirko Peršen, there were at least 3,000 prisoners in the camp then, most of whom were Jewish women, but also including some 300 Serb women brought to Kruščica from Herzegovina. In late September or early October 1941, Jewish males over age 14 were sent from the camp to Jasenovac. Historian Ivo Goldstein places the date of the transfer of these Jewish males as October 1, with a transport of 250 prisoners to Jasenovac. Between October 5 and 7, 1941, 1,200 Jewish women and children in addition to 170 Serbian Orthodox women and children were sent to Loborgrad.[2] In November 1941 the Ustaša emptied the camp.

Luburić appointed Francetić's deputy, Gesler, as the first Kruščica camp commandant. Gesler was a mechanic from Podravska Slatina who had gone into exile. In 1936 he was one of the exiled Ustaša living on Lipari Island in Fascist Italy. Commandant Gesler himself committed a number of homicides at Kruščica. In some cases, he murdered prisoners simply to get their belongings, mainly clothes. In August 1941, Marjan Čilić, a policeman in Travnik, opened an investigation about two Croats and a Muslim brought into the camp. Gesler reacted by shooting a prisoner dead. On the night that the investigation began, 17 prisoners attempting to escape were killed by the guards and by Gesler. After the arrival of additional guards from Travnik and Vitez, the 75 Serb prisoners from Pale, previously tasked with constructing and enlarging the camp, were murdered and then buried in a lime pit. According to other reports, a total of 98 prisoners were murdered on that night. During this series of massacres, a Ustaša guard accidentally shot Gesler, who died of his wounds. Toward the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, some Serb prisoners were murdered in Smrikama near Travnik.

The camp's second commandant, Mate Mandušić, born in Rupe near Šibenik, had also gone into exile in Fascist Italy. After Gesler's death, Nadporučnik Mandušić assumed command of the Kruščica camp, earning a reputation for sadism. The 17th Ustaša Company guarded the camp. Mandušić

reinforced this company with 60 additional men from the 13th Ustaša Batallion.

The Jewish community in Sarajevo sent food to the camp, but it is doubtful that any of it reached the prisoners. The Zagreb Jewish community similarly sent about 20 crates containing food that was never distributed among the inmates. In fact, the prisoners suffered under such terrible conditions that a physician at Loborgrad, Dr. Janko Pajas, described those coming from Kruščica as an "image of misery" ("*slike mizerije*"). Malnourishment rendered them hollow-eyed; their skin was peeling off, their hair was falling out, and they had loose teeth.[3]

The local civilian population was aware of the crimes committed in the camp, and some complained to the Travnik authorities about the prisoners' poor treatment. Additionally, the Italian legation in Travnik investigated whether there were Italian citizens among the prisoners who were eligible for their protection.

At the beginning of October 1941, the Croatian authorities issued an order to close Kruščica.[4] The Ustaša dissolved the camp after the last male prisoners were transported to Jasenovac on October 5 and approximately 1,300 women and children were sent to Loborgrad on October 6.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kruščica camp are Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (1966; Zagreb: Globus, 1990); Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Prilog proučavanjo terora u tzv. NDH—ženski sabirni logori 1941–1942," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38; and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 89-101. Additional information on the Kruščica camp can be found in Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Kruščica camp can be found in AS, collection DK; HDA, available in microform collections at USHMMA (Ustaša Supervisory Office, RG-61.011M). Additional documentation on Jews in Kruščica can be found in JIM-bg. ITS holds some documentation on Kruščica in collection 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds nine testimonies by survivors of Kruščica.

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NOTES

1. FJCY to CICR, Service international de recherches, December 26, 1966, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. Nos. 82204818–82204819.
2. Židovskoj begoštovnoj općini aškenaskog obreda Sarajevo, November 8, 1941, JIM-bg, fond ŽOZ, bez. Reg., br.1.sign., reproduced in Goldstein, *Holocaust u Zagrebu*, p. 345.
3. As quoted in Federation of Jewish Communities, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia*, p. 74.
4. VaB, K-239, reg. broj. 143, 56, 2/1, 1941, as cited in Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije*, pp. 130–131.

LEPOGLAVA

Located just over 25 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of the county seat Varaždin and 44 kilometers (27 miles) north of Zagreb, Lepoglava was the site of a mid-nineteenth-century prison that held political opponents before World War II. The prison's prewar population consisted of communists and Ustaša supporters. After the founding of the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), at which time the Ustaša members were released, the prison incarcerated political persecutees, principally Serbs, regime opponents, and Jews; some of these prisoners were murdered there. However, there were no mass murders in Lepoglava. From April 1941 until its closure in March 1945, the Ustaša guarded the camp. According to a Yugoslav report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Lepoglava's commandants were Ljubo Miloš, Miro Natijević, and Nikola Gadjić.[1]

Between April 11 and July 15, 1941, 71 new inmates were added to those already imprisoned, including 40 sent there from the Kerestinec camp. Among the first inmates were Jews who were members of the Yugoslav Communist Party. During this period 16 prisoners—7 Jews and 9 communists—were removed from the prison. On July 18, 1941, some of the communist prisoners were transferred to the Gospić camp, from which they were subsequently sent to Pag Island where they were murdered. The size of the prisoner population fluctuated because of murders, transfers from and to other camps, additional arrests, and releases. Occasionally, individuals were released; for example, the canon from Zagreb, Pavao Lončar, was released toward the end of 1943. In October 1944, prisoners from the Stara Gradiška camp arrived at Lepoglava.

The prisoners performed agricultural work in the local area and produced military supplies.

On the night of July 13, 1943, the Partisans liberated at least 80 inmates during an attack that destroyed the old prison. After this incident, the communist supporters of the Yugoslav National Liberation Movement (*Narodnooslohodilacky pokret*, NOP) were transferred out of Lepoglava. According to the Yugoslav report to ITS, another policy change that followed this raid was the site's formal reclassification as a concentration camp. The Ustaša deployed forced labor from Jasenovac to reconstruct the old prison.[2] According to camp-issued postcards for prisoner use, Lepoglava was designated a labor (*radnog*) camp.[3]

Approximately 1,000 prisoners in Lepoglava were murdered, but most homicides did not take place in or near the camp. Some communist prisoners were shot as early as April 1941. Additional murders followed Germany's attack on the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941. For example, Budislav Borjan was brought from the Lepoglava camp to Zagreb,

Corpses in the central courtyard of the Lepoglava prison.
USHMM WS #85189, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

condemned to death by a court on July 8, 1941, and executed the same day. Other prisoners were murdered on July 14 near Varaždin. As late as March 1945, the Ustaša murdered Jewish prisoners, including Dr. Ljudevit Friedländer and Nada Friedländer, after they were transported to Jasenovac.

Among the communist prisoners, there existed an underground organization that facilitated escape attempts and the provision of care for sick prisoners. The underground, which already existed under the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, helped Serb, Jewish, and Roma prisoners during the NDH period. Such assistance included the forwarding of small packages and money to prisoners. Additionally, the Jewish community in Zagreb sent clothing, medicine, and food to Jewish prisoners in Lepoglava. Parcels sometimes reached individual inmates, as prisoner Dr. Arnold Sternberg acknowledged in a postcard.[4]

The population of Lepoglava village generally knew about the prison and its conditions. According to historian Jaša Romano, that is why the murder of the prisoners at the time of the camp's liquidation was carried out not at Lepoglava, but at Jasenovac.

At the beginning of 1945, the NDH decided to dissolve the Lepoglava camp. The last transfer to Jasenovac, which included most of the prisoners, took place toward the end of March 1945.

SOURCES There is some information on the Lepoglava camp in three publications concerning the persecution of Jews in Yugoslavia during the Holocaust: Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije, 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus, 1990); and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001).

Primary sources on the Lepoglava camp can be found in AS, collection DK. HDA holds a corresponding report for Croatia in its ZKRZ collection. Additional documentation can be found in JIM-Bg. A postwar synopsis of the Lepoglava camp, submitted by ISI, can be found in ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), folder 76, Doc. No. 82205523-82205535 (in French with German translation). This report is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds the Alralej-Steruberg postcard collection (Acc. No. 2002.255.1), which consists of postcards sent by prisoner Dr. Arnold Sternberg from the Stara Gradiška and Lepoglava camps to Dr. Mosa Alralej. USHMMPA holds three photographs from Lepoglava, including one of the exhumation of murder victims at the camp (WS #85189). VHA has one testimony by a Lepoglava survivor: Simo Klaic (#48848). Zlatko Munkor published a brief memoir of the camp in *Otpor u žicama: Sećanja zatočenika* 2 (1969): 221–25. Former inmate Vlado Mađarić also published a testimony about his time in this camp, "Sjećanje na ustaški logor u Lepoglava 1941: godine," in Ljubo Boban et al., *Sjeverozapadna Hrvastka u NOB-u i socijalističkoj revoluciji: Zbornik* (Varaždin: Zajednica općina memorijalnog prodručja Kalnik, 1976), pp. 856–868.

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Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. "Strafanstalt und Lager Lepoglava," May 17, 1976, ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), folder 76, Doc. No. 82205524.
2. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205526.
3. USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.255.1, Alralej-Sternberg postcard collection, postcard January 5, 1945.
4. Ibid., postcard February 12, 1945.

LOBORGRAD

The Loborgrad concentration camp, in which Serbian and Jewish women and children were imprisoned in 1941 and 1942, was operated by the ethnic German (*Volksdeutsch*) militia. In the summer of 1942, the majority of the prisoners were deported to Auschwitz.

During the summer of 1941, the Ustaša Security Police (*Ustaška Nadzorna Služba*, UNS) decided to convert Lobor Castle, surrounded by hills and located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) north of Zagreb, into a concentration camp. In September 1941, UNS Bureau III ordered the evacuation of the 300-year-old building and the home for the elderly located there. The Zagreb Jewish community had to finance the conversion at a cost of 1.3 million Kuna (approximately $16,250 in 1941 U.S. dollars). Volksdeutsche members of the mobile staff (*Einsatzstaffel*) of the German Ethnic Group in the Independent State of Croatia (*Deutschen Volksgruppe im Unabhängigen Staat Kroatien*) administered the camp.

In an effort to physically exhaust and further persecute the prisoners, the guards forced the inmates to perform different types of hard labor. They were also forced to do agricultural work in the surrounding area.

On October 6, 1941, a total of 1,370 women and children arrived at the camp. Among them were 1,000 Jewish women from the Kruščica assembly camp. In November Serbian women with children and very old Jewish women were transported to the newly built Loborgrad subcamp at Gornja Rijeka. Despite these transfers, the number of prisoners rose to about 1,700 in December. In 1942, the number of prisoners decreased to about 1,300 in March and 1,057 by June. The decline in size of the

Children sit on benches outside a barracks in the Gornja Rijeka subcamp of Loborgrad, 1942.
USHMM WS #46565, COURTESY OF MEMORIJALNI MUZEJ JASENOVAC.

camp population had several causes: a typhoid epidemic, prisoner transports to the Jasenovac camp, and the release of some prisoners. Of the 250 children held overall at Loborgrad, only 15 remained in the camp on February 16, 1942. In August 1942 the remaining children were deported to Auschwitz and murdered.

In addition, women from the part of Croatia annexed by the Italians were released, and in February 1942, some sick prisoners, including Anica Ehrenfreund-Polić, were transported to hospitals in Zagreb. Toward the end of March 1942, 142 Serbian women were sent to Serbia from the camp. In May 1942, the younger Serbian prisoners from the Gornja Rijeka subcamp were sent to Germany for forced labor, while 73 Jewish women were returned to Loborgrad.

In August 1942, most of the Loborgrad prisoners were deported to Auschwitz in four transports. A small group of Croatian females was sent to the Stara Gradiška camp, while another group of women remained in the camp at Loborgrad to perform exhausting work. In September and October 1942, some Jewish women who had been arrested in Croatia arrived in the camp.

Of the approximately 2,000 women and children who were imprisoned at one time in the camp, probably 200 died. Most died from typhoid, and others from illness caused by the depleted food supplies, mistreatment by guards, and the indescribably unhygienic conditions, due principally to the extreme overcrowding in the barracks, which were completely lacking in sanitation facilities.

The camp commandant was the ethnic German Karlo or Karl Heger, of the Einsatzstaffel, who was born in 1906 in Osijek. His brother, Willibald Heger, was the deputy administrator. They came from a Catholic family. The Heger brothers treated the imprisoned women and girls with special cruelty. They beat, abused, and insulted them, calling them, among other things, "stinking crooks" (*čifutko* from *čifuti*: serpent or crook, a demeaning word for Jews in Bosnia and Albania). Karl is alleged to have clubbed a child to death with a rifle butt because the child had jostled him.

Other prisoners were beaten to death by the guards. Up to 20 Volksdeutsche from the Einsatzstaffel served as the guards, many of whom were assigned temporarily to Loborgrad. One of the guards named Zuber came from Lobor.

The Zagreb Jewish community sent numerous deliveries of foodstuffs, medicine, clothing, and other items to the camp. Very few supplies actually reached the prisoners, because camp personnel diverted them for other purposes, taking them for

themselves or selling them to earn money. The Jewish physician Dr. Milica Band-Kun (1913–1943), a prisoner in the camp, cared for the other inmates as much as possible. Additionally the Zagreb Jewish community was successful in obtaining the release of numerous children from the camp. The children had to leave behind their parents, who after deportation in 1942 were murdered at Auschwitz.

The camp's existence was well known in the environs of Lobor as well as in Zagreb. In addition, the prisoners were able to send postcards to relatives. The Jewish community in Zagreb was informed about conditions inside the camp because it was in charge of the supplies and also was able to send representatives, such as Oskar Kisicky, to visit the camp. Local companies also sold goods to the camp administration.

The camp was dissolved toward the end of October 1942. In the summer of 1943, it was used once again briefly to accommodate 80 Jews from the home for the elderly in Zagreb.

Beginning on April 6, 1960, the Central Office for State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes (*Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen*, ZdL) in Ludwigsburg began initial investigations into the murders or the aiding and abetting of murders committed in Loborgrad. The Traunstein District Court (*Landgericht*, LG) in Bavaria was in charge of the proceedings. Former guard Michael Gollick was located and investigated. Gollick was born in 1906 in Veliki Bečkerek, the son of a shoemaker. A tailor, he came to Loborgrad as part of the Einsatzstaffel. In December 1961, the case against Gollick was closed without conclusion.[1]

SOURCES The earliest publication on the Loborgrad concentration camp is Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade, 1957). Numerous authors discussed this camp in their studies about the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia: Jaša Romano, *Jevrei Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Učesnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Prilog proučavanjo terora u NDH: Ženski sabirni logori 1941–1942," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38, Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (Zagreb: Globus 1990); and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001). German studies on Loborgrad are Carl Bethke, "Das Frauen- und Kinderkonzentrationslager Loborgrad in Kroatien (1941-1942)," *JGKS* 9/10 (2007–2008): 127–140 and, briefly, Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors*: *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9:331–336. In English, there is Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism*, trans. Nikolina Jovanović (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997).

Primary sources on the Loborgrad concentration camp can be found in HDA, which holds a report dating from 1945–1946 about the camp in collection ZkuzonpH, fond 306. In the same archive are additional supporting documents on this camp and other Croatian detention sites. Some UNS documentation on Loborgrad from HDA is available in microform at USHMMA in collections RG-61.007M and 61.011M. USHMMA holds the bill of indictment, also from HDA, requesting the extradition of Ante Pavelić and Andrija Artuković, RG-61.017M, which includes some Loborgrad materials. USHMMPA has five photographs related to Loborgrad that show Jewish children in the camp (WS #68289, 88253–88256). In addition, there are documents on Loborgrad in AS, collection DK. Beyond that, there are documents on Jews in Ustaša camps in JIM-bg. At YVA, there is documentation on Loborgrad in collection M70 (Archives in Yugoslavia). BA-L holds a file that gives a view of the West German investigations in 1960–1961 of crimes committed at Loborgrad. USHMMA holds an oral history interview with Loborgrad survivor Vera Levy (RG-50.120*0089, March 20, 1993). VHA has ten testimonies by Loborgrad survivors.

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Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTE

1. On the investigation, BA-L, Akte B 162/1670.

SISAK I AND II

The German and Croatian authorities operated two camps at Sisak, near the confluence of the Kupa and Sava Rivers. Sisak is located more than 48 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Zagreb and almost 330 kilometers (205 miles) northwest of Belgrade. The first camp, Sisak I, served as a transit camp for thousands of captured Serbs, Bosniaks, and Roma, who performed forced labor for the Reich. The second camp, Sisak II, was reserved for those taken in German-Croatian "cleansing" operations who were deemed unfit for forced labor. It became a site of catastrophic conditions for Serbian women and children. According to a report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) by the Republic of Yugoslavia in 1976, the camps had two official, but deceptive names: the "transit camp for refugees" and the "reception center for children and refugees."[1]

Established on August 3, 1941, the camps originally had a joint administration: the German Commissioner in Croatia (*Deutscher Bevollmächtigter General in Kroatien*) and the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH).[2] Ustaša members served as the camps' administrators and guards. The Ustaša commandant was Dr. Antun Nadžer, and the Ustaša guard commander was named Faget. Female Ustaša guards oversaw women and children not deported for forced labor. On behalf of the German Commissioner, the Nazi Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) sent a representative to Sisak, and field gendarmes (*Feldgendarmen*) furnished security outside the camps and along the railway.[3]

Sisak I, the transit camp, consisted of a portion of the defunct Teslić factory, which was surrounded by barbed wire. The site was expanded in 1942 with the addition of seven more barracks. In 1943, it had a capacity of 5,000 prisoners.[4]

The German authorities dispatched able-bodied captives from there to the Semlin detention camp (*Anhaltelager Semlin*), located on the Belgrade Fairgrounds at the border of German-occupied Serbia.[5] According to a sampling of Central Name Index (CNI) cards at ITS, the Sisak prisoners met various fates in Nazi camps: the camps mentioned include Augsburg, Auschwitz, Dachau, Mauthausen, and Salzgitter (Lager Kalbert).[6] Some of the prisoners were sent to German-run camps in Norway. The German authorities ceded control over Sisak I to the NDH in April 1944. The adult camp closed in January 1945, with the remaining inmates dispatched to the Jasenovac camp.

The Ustaša scattered the Serbian children of Sisak II among several sites in the area: the Sisters of Saint Vincent Convent, the former Yugoslav Sokol, the Reis Saltworks, and a primary school in the neighborhood of Novi Sisak.[7] The children were orphans or had parents in forced labor in the Reich; the youngest, three and under, were held in the convent, whereas the four- and five-year-olds were confined to the saltworks. The first 1,200 children arrived from the Mlaka subcamp on July 29, 1942, with successive transfers in August from Jasenovac V (Stara Gradiška) and Jastrebarsko. Of the 7,000 children who passed through Sisak, between 1,200 and 1,600 perished due to a combination of starvation, thirst, typhus, and neglect. A medical doctor in civilian life, Nadžer administered lethal injections to some Serbian Orthodox children. According to a report by NDH official Ante Dumbović, the nuns who cared for the children did not even know their names. He attempted to rectify this situation by issuing metal plates to be worn around the children's necks as a form of identification.[8]

Sisak's horrific conditions shocked some Croatians, including Dumbović and the Croatian Red Cross (*Hrvatski Crveni Križ*, HCK). In 755 photographs taken during an inspection, Dumbović documented the dead and dying, many nearly skeletal, living in makeshift facilities.[9] Some lay naked on top of blankets, bedrolls, or straw beds on the floor. Corpses lay unattended among the living. At the time of his inspection, Dumbović found that 956 children were dead, of whom only 201 could be identified.[10] Three women affiliated with HCK—Jana Koch, Vera Luketić, and Luketić's mother, Dragica Habazin—visited the facilities in September 1942. During their interview with him, Nadžer dismissed allegations of suffering, apart from some "sick" internees at the primary school.[11]

In some cases, the children were released to their parents or close relatives. Many others ended up in foster care. Either because of the NDH policy of forced conversion or out of expedience, many were baptized into the Roman Catholic Church. One was Zdravka Zorić, then a ten-year-old girl who

Young children resting on the floor in a barracks at the Sisak concentration camp for children, ca. 1942–1943.
USHMM WS #01146, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

had already passed through the Mlaka, Jasenovac, and Jastrebarsko camps. During her time at Sisak, she saw at least three children die per day. Sent by truck with her brother to Sunja, Croatia, she was taken in by a Croatian woman whose neighbor likewise adopted her brother.[12]

The children's camp at Sisak closed on January 8, 1943, with the remaining inmates sent to Zagreb.[13]

SOURCES A brief description of the Sisak camps can be found in Birgit Mair, "They Survived Two Wars: Bosnian Roma as Civil War Refugees in Germany," in Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld, eds., *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York: Berghahn, 2010): 177–187. A media report on this camp is Paul Watson, "The Heirs to Kindness in Croatia," *LAT*, July 24, 2000, reproduced at www.balkanpeace.org/index.php?index=article&articleid=13814.

Primary sources documenting the camps at Sisak can be found in AJ, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-49.003*01, Records relating to crimes against Serbs, Jews, and other Yugoslav peoples during World War II; and ITS, collections 0.1 (CNI) and 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. USHMMA holds 11 oral history interviews with Sisak survivors and witnesses, including one by Zdravka Zorić (RG-50.585*0023, September 28, 2007). USHMMPA holds 49 photographs, many of which appear to originate from the Dumbović album. Published primary sources documenting the Sisak camps can be found in Antun Miletić, ed., *Koncentracioni logor Jasenovac 1941–1945: Dokumenta*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Narodna knj., 1986).

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NOTES

1. Pero Damjanović, ISI, "Le Camp de Sisak," ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205313.
2. Hauptmann Wallner, DBK, "Aktenvermerk über eine Besprechung im der Angelegenheit der zu gewärtigenden Gefangenen am 16. Januar 1943," ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205311.
3. "Aktenvermerk über eine Besprechung im der Angelegenheit der zu gewärtigenden Gefangenen am 16. Januar 1943," Doc. No. 82205311.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Milk B. (DOB September 15, 1927), Doc. No. 51958104; Dusan B. (DOB April 8, 1922), Doc. No. 52640267; Dusan B. (DOB September 27, 1925), Doc. No. 50932513.
7. Damjanović, "Le Camp de Sisak," Doc. No. 82205314.
8. Dumbović, "Iszještaj o razmještaju djece I brojnom staniu u privatilištu ua dan 25. Rujna 1942," September 25, 1942, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205230; for the identification numbers, Contact sheet in ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205319; and "Contact sheet of numbered portraits of infants at the Sisak concentration camp for children," USHMMPA, WS #88259 (Courtesy of SANU).
9. See, for example: "A group of emaciated children lie on the ground at the Sisak concentration camp," 1942, USHMMPA, WS #81364 (Courtesy of NARA); Dumbović report summarized in Damjanović, "Le Camp de Sisak," Doc. No. 82205315.
10. Dumbović, "Iszještaj o razmještaju djece I brojnom staniu u privatilištu ua dan 25. Rujna 1942," Doc. No. 82205230.
11. Damjanović, "Le Camp de Sisak," Doc. No. 82205316.
12. USHMMA, RG-50.585*0023, Zdravka Zorić, oral history interview, September 28, 2007.
13. Damjanović, "Le Camp de Sisak," Doc. No. 82205316.

SLAVONSKA POŽEGA

In July 1941, the Ustaša opened a transit camp for Serbs and Slovenes at Slavonska Požega (today: Požega), located 143 kilometers (89 miles) southeast of Zagreb and nearly 227 kilometers (141 miles) northwest of Belgrade. The establishment of this camp followed a massive population transfer agreement between the German authorities and the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), signed on June 4, 1941. NDH agreed to admit Slovene expellees from German-occupied territory in Slovenia, while at the same time expelling Serbian inhabitants from NDH territory to German-occupied Serbia. Consequently, Slavonska Požega was substantial in size: a report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) in the 1970s conservatively estimated that nearly 9,500 detainees passed through it.[1] The fragmentary Ustaša documentation on which this estimate was based, given the murder of prisoners inside and en route to the camp and the passing through of unregistered Serbian expellees, belies that estimate.

The camp consisted of military structures built by the Royal Yugoslav Army, including barracks, a former arms depot, and a military vehicle park surrounded by a wall and barbed-wire fence. The accommodations were inadequate to handle the throngs of expellees, creating disastrous overcrowding.

The commandant, Satnik Ivan Stiper, and his adjutant, Nadporučnik Emil Klajič, oversaw a guard force that consisted of the 14th Ustaša Company. The company's strength varied between 130 and 223. A few Slovene prisoners worked in the camp administration.

The conditions in this camp were grim. Medical treatment was nonexistent, food inadequate, and illness rampant. Although Slavonska Požega was ostensibly a transit camp, the Ustaša guards took the opportunity to torture and, in many instances, kill prisoners. They committed many homicides, including the mass shooting of 785 prisoners from Derventa and Bosanski Brod (both located today in Bosnia-Herzegovina) on August 26, 1941. One former prisoner recalled his family being sent to Slavonska Požega after refusing to convert from Serbian Orthodoxy to Catholicism. They were eventually deported to Serbia.[2] A Slovenian child prisoner passed through Slavonska Požega with his family, but was subsequently confined to the Ustaša camp at Tenje, nearly 87 kilometers (54 miles) northeast of Slavonska Požega.[3]

The Slavonska Požega camp closed on October 22, 1941. The Ustaša administration continued to process loot taken from the expellees until mid-November 1941.

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Slavonska Požega camp is Miodrag Bjelić, *Sabirni ustaški logor u Slavonskoj Požegi 1941. godine* (Belgrade: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the Slavonska Požega camp can be found in VaB and ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien). USHMMA holds a number of testimonies by former Serbian and Slovenian prisoners of Slavonska Požega, including RG-50.586*0129, oral history interview with Mirko Sekulić, August 14, 2010; RG-50.592*0015, oral history interview with Leon Bratina, February 26, 2009; and RG-50.586*0046, oral history interview with Tomo Lučić, July 7, 2007.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Pero Damjanović (ISI), "Le camp de rassamblement de Slavonska Požega," April 29, 1976, Doc. No. 82205300.
2. USHMMA, RG-50.586*0046, Tomo Lučić, oral history interview, July 7, 2007.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.592*0015, Leon Bratina, oral history interview, February 26, 2009.

TENJE

In April 1942, on the orders of the local administrator, Stjepan Hefer, the Ustaša erected a camp in Tenje (or Tenja), a small village located approximately 7 kilometers (more than 4 miles) southeast of Osijek and 218 kilometers (136 miles) east of Zagreb. The camp was built on the site of the Mursa Mill factory, which formerly belonged to Žiga Mautner and Žiga Wolner (or Volner). Tenje served exclusively to hold Jews from Osijek and its environs. It was often called the Jewish settlement in Tenje (*židovsko naselje u Tenji*) and was occasionally described as a "ghetto."[1]

The chief of the Ustaša police in Vinkovci, Ivan Tolj, appointed Ustaša Poručnik Franjo Apel as the commandant of the Tenje camp. From mid-June 1942 until its dissolution more than two months later, a Ustaša unit from Osijek guarded the camp under the command of Poručnik Mirko Appelt. Dorojnik Ljudevit Čapić served as Appelt's deputy.

The first Jews were sent to the camp in May 1942. Approximately 200 men and women, members of a Jewish work brigade, erected the camp's first buildings, including the kitchen and an office for their overseers. By mid-June, the majority of Jews from Osijek and other communities in Slavonia (Croatian: Slavonija) were brought to the camp, which by then was surrounded by barbed wire. The prisoners performed various kinds of labor, which initially had to do with construction of the camp. At first, Jews regarded as important to the Osijek economy were exempt from imprisonment at Tenje, but were forced to live in Osijek in a factory building in prison-like conditions.

By June 1942, 2,000 Jews had been dispatched to Tenje. At the beginning of July an additional 1,000 were brought to the camp from various cities in Slavonia, including at least 118 from Vitrovitica and 81 from Donji Milhoja. The camp's population reached at least 3,000.

The prisoners elected Žiga Wolner—the owner of the factory on which the camp was built and a former member of the council of the Osijek Jewish community—as camp leader. The chief of the labor brigade was a veterinarian, Lew Kister. The architect Hinko Bauer headed the "internal police" in Tenje.[2] In addition, there was a kind of welfare organization in which Milan Feliks from Donji Miholjac, Bela Strauss from Podravska Slatina, and Maks Kohn from Đakovo were active. After arriving in the Tenje camp on July 19, Dragutin Glasner from Đakovo also assisted in the aid organization. These prisoners occupied an elevated position in the camp.

For as long as possible, the Jewish community in Osijek supported the prisoners in Tenje. Yet, despite this aid, the living conditions continued to be appalling, given the large number of prisoners and the guards' brutality. The population of Osijek and the surrounding area knew about the Tenje camp's existence.

On July 27, 1942, Slavko Klain (or Klein) and Julio Sternberg, from the executive committee of the Osijek Jewish community, were notified that Tenje was to be dissolved and the prisoners deported to Nazi Germany as forced labor. The first of two transports from Tenje to Auschwitz took place on August 15, 1942. The transport included 1,000 prisoners, of whom 600 were children. According to historians Jaša Romano and Zlata Živaković-Kerže, the labor service commandant of Jasenovac III (Ciglana), Ljubo Miloš, arrived at Tenje in August 1942 and requested specialists. Miloš promised that they and their relatives would not be deported. A few hundred applied and were sent to the Jasenovac camp on August 18, where they were murdered shortly afterward. On August 22, 1942, the second transport from Tenje was dispatched to Auschwitz; it included some Jews from the Loborgrad camp. The Ustaša closed the camp at the end of August 1942.

As far as is known, Jews were not murdered in Tenje. Instead, it served as a transit camp for the transport of prisoners to Auschwitz and Jasenovac. However, very few of the prisoners survived the killing centers. One of the few who did so was Dragutin Glasner, who wrote a detailed testimony after being liberated from Dachau.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tenje camp are Zlata Živaković-Kerže, "Od židovskog naselja u Tenji do sabirnog lagora," *ScSl* 6 (2006): 497–514; Federation of Jewish Communities of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, *The Crimes of the Fascist Occupants and their Collaborators against the Jews in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: N.P., 1957); Jaša Romano: *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve Genocida i Ucešnici Narodnooslobodilačkog Rata* (Belgrade: Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Prilog proučavanju terora u tzv. NDH: ženski sabirni logori 1941-1942. godine," *Popr* 4 (1985): 1–38; and Mirko Peršen, *Ustaški logori* (1966; Zagreb: Globus, 1990). The Tenje camp is briefly mentioned in Marija Vulesica, "Kroatien," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9:331–336. An older report on Tenje is Ravijojla Odavić, "Sabirni logor Tenje," Martin

Kominski, ed., *Slavonija u narodnooslobodilačkoj borb* (Slavonski Brod: Historijski institut Slavonije, 1967), pp. 209–211.

Primary sources documenting the Tenje camp can be found in AS, collection DK; HDA, collection ZKRZ; JIM-bg; and AŽOO, which contains a report by survivor Dragutin Glasner, "O logoru Tenje i o logoru u Đakovu" (1945). ITS has a brief report on the Tenje camp in 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. FJCY to ITS, "Tenje bei Osijek, März 1942–Sept. 1942," March 13, 1946, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204863.
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Hinko Bauer (DOB 1908), Doc. No. 1420017.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Dragutin Glassner [sic Glasner], (DOB September 24, 1905), Doc. No. 22363955.

FINLAND

Soviet men, women, and children leave a concentration camp in Petrozavodsk (Äänislinna), circa 1944.
USHMM WS #79141, COURTESY OF THE RUSSIAN STATE DOCUMENTARY FILM & PHOTO ARCHIVE.

FINLAND

During World War II, Finland fought against the Soviet Union, first alone in the Russo-Finnish War of 1939–1940 (the Winter War) and then as a German ally between 1941 and 1944 (the Continuation War). From 1944 to 1945, Finland fought against the German forces deployed in Northern Finland (the Lapland War), pursuing the retreating German troops into Norway.

Finland was long part of the Swedish Empire, but Russia incorporated it as a Grand Duchy after the Russo-Swedish War of 1808–1809. With the collapse of the tsarist regime, Finland declared independence in December 1917. A civil war took place in 1918 between the radical wing of the Finnish Social Democratic Party (*Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue*, SDP), called the Reds, supported by Soviet Russia, and the bourgeois establishment, the Whites, aided by the army of Imperial Germany. The war ended in a victory for the Whites, and Finland became a parliamentary republic, with emphasis on the rule of law. Nevertheless, throughout the interwar period Finland remained an embattled democracy riven with unresolved conflicts. The Finnish radical nationalists considered the national awakening incomplete without both a definitive crushing of the Far Left and the creation of a Greater Finland to incorporate all the Finnic nationalities into a single state. The Far Left, in contrast, was able to tap into powerful feelings of resentment that the experience of the civil war and Soviet backing helped create. Both of these extremist positions enjoyed considerable support and at times destabilized moderate mainstream politics. Finland also suffered from its exposed position as a neighbor to the Soviet Union, with which it shared a 1,300-kilometer-long (nearly 808 miles) border. Throughout the interwar period Finland and the Soviet Union viewed each other with much suspicion and hostility.

The most difficult domestic political problem facing interwar Finland was the incomplete process of reconciliation with the losing side in the civil war. The Finnish Communist Party (*Suomen Kommunistinen Puolue*) was founded in Moscow in 1918, and with support from the Soviet Union and organizations of immigrant Finnish workers in the United States, it participated in Finnish politics throughout the 1920s under several different cover organizations. The republic fought back with increased police control, charges of treason, and legislation designed to curtail the personal liberties of those suspected of subversive activities. On the basis of such legislation, the communists were forced out of the political arena, as the government banned almost all kinds of leftist-oriented organizations in 1930. With the escalation of the European crisis into war in 1939, such legislation also enabled the government to take several hundred people into "preventive detention" because it considered them security risks for one reason or another, usually for suspected communist activities or sympathies. The government even went so far as to try to force leftist detainees to fight Soviet forces in the autumn of 1941 (see the entry on Detached Battalion 21).

ENTRY INTO THE GERMAN ALLIANCE

By the 1920s Finnish secret cooperation with the Estonian General Staff had made it possible for the heavy Finnish and Estonian coastal batteries to close the Gulf of Finland from north and south from the passage of Soviet war ships. From 1935 on, both the Finnish and Estonian general staffs implemented secret intelligence cooperation with the German OKW/Abwehr. In August 1939, however, the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) awarded Finland to the Soviets. When the Finns refused Stalin's demands for concessions, the USSR invaded in late November. In the ensuing Russo-Finnish War, Finland was able to check the Soviet assault at first, but was eventually forced to sue for peace. The resulting Moscow Peace Treaty of March 12, 1940, stripped Finland of large tracts of its eastern territories and gave the Soviet Union the right to build a naval base in the town of Hanko on the southern coast. An uneasy peace followed, with the Finns embittered and suspicious of Soviet motives and intentions. Finland therefore reacted quickly and favorably to Nazi Germany's overtures for closer relations in the spring of 1940.

Gradually, Finland was drawn into the plans for Operation Barbarossa, becoming in due course "the only democracy to fight for Hitler," as the German propaganda rhetoric stated. In September 1940, Finland granted Germany the right to use Finnish territory for troop transports between the Reich and German-occupied northern Norway. Next, the Germans sounded out Finnish military and political leadership for their willingness to participate in military action against the Soviet Union. By June 1941, when Operation Barbarossa began, the Finnish leadership was fully committed to fighting the Soviets and mobilized the Finnish armed forces. Starting in July 1941, the Finnish Army enthusiastically joined the German offensive against the Soviet Union. To achieve a more efficient allocation of forces, the two allies divided the Finnish-Soviet border into two operational sectors—Finnish and German—with the Finnish Army operating across the southern half of the border and German troops under the Army Command Norway (*Armeeoberkommando Norwegen*) manning the northern half. Even though the northern half was under German operational control and a minor part of the Finnish forces were subordinated to German command, the Finnish civilian administration also continued to function in this area.

The new conflict was quickly named the Continuation War, implying that it was nothing more than a resumption of the hostilities started by the Soviet Union in 1939 and that it was being fought for the same purposes: to reclaim Finland's lost

territories and to make it safe against further Soviet aggression. By the end of 1941, the Finnish troops had reclaimed the areas lost in the Winter War and, supplied with German fuel and equipment, pushed deep into Soviet Karelia. The frontline became established on the outskirts of Leningrad, running from there along the Svir (Syväri) River between Lakes Ladoga (Laatokka) and Onega (Ääninen), and toward the north between the northernmost tip of Onega and Lake Seesjärvi. North from there, the Germans took over the front all the way up to the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

FINNISH CAMPS FOR SOVIET CIVILIAN INTERNEES

Between 1941 and 1944, Finland became an occupying power and had to deal with substantial numbers of enemy civilians. With the advance of Finnish troops into Soviet Karelia in the fall of 1941, about 85,000 Soviet civilians remaining in the area came under the authority of the Finnish occupation administration. Prewar planning had already envisaged the separation of these civilians according to ethnicity. In late 1941, as ideas about the area's permanent annexation came to seem realistic, the Finnish leadership contemplated a postwar deportation of the "non-national" population from the area. The Finnic nationalities (Karelians and Vepsians) were considered both more trustworthy and more suitable postwar inhabitants for the area, and so were allowed to remain in freedom. Those deemed unreliable and unwanted (Russians and other non-Finnic Soviet nationalities), numbering about 26,000, were placed in thirteen concentration camps (*keskitysleiri*) in an effort to pacify the area and reduce security risks. Six concentration camps for Soviet civilians were located in Äänislinna (Petrozavodsk), and additional concentration camps were located at Alavoinen (Il'inskiy), Kinnasvaara, Kolvasjärvi (Kolvasozero), Miehikkälä, and Pyhäniemi. Äänislinna and Vilga housed labor camps for detained Soviet citizens; Kinnasvaara also had a prison that held Soviet detainees. The concentration camps for civilians continued to operate until the end of the Finnish occupation.

In Äänislinna, the inmates were housed in relatively good buildings, which eventually were surrounded with barbed wire fences. The rations in the camps were meager although they were sufficient to keep the inmates alive. However, the clothing and health care were substandard. A total of 4,279 (18.1 percent) of the inmates perished in the camps in the occupied territory in Karelia between 1941 and 1944, primarily due to disease. The death rate soared in July 1942, probably as a result of infected drinking water in a couple of the camp wells. The total number of inmates shot dead was 18. In response to particularly negative attention in Switzerland and Sweden and among the Western Allies, the occupation administration changed the name of the camps to transit camps (*siirtoleiri*) in 1943. However, this was merely a gesture and had no substantial meaning.

In the Miehikkälä camp, the conditions were better. Only 138 (0.6 percent) of the internees perished.

Some Finnish authorities initially developed ideas to deport the Russian population in the occupied territory to areas further east after the expected collapse of the Soviet Army and government. However, at no point was there any authoritative and coherent transfer plan, but merely suggestions. According to these whims the cleansed areas in Karelia would then be populated by Finland´s Ingrian protégés from the area south of Leningrad, which was occupied by German forces. Due to diverging views among the Front Commanders, supply difficulties, a lack of transportation capacity, and Soviet perseverance, these plans were never carried out. The accumulating German military setbacks also increasingly made the Finnish General Headquarters careful about and more susceptible to Allied signals. Thus the original transfer intentions were quietly shelved.

As Soviet forces advanced in the summer of 1944, Finnish units withdrew entirely from the occupied territory in Karelia. They left the internees with some food in the abandoned camps. In Soviet and Russian literature the Finnish occupation administration in Soviet Karelia between 1941 and 1944 has regularly been described in a quite hostile manner. However, although the basic needs of the internees were largely neglected and the camp administrations often adopted an indifferent and harsh attitude to the detainees, they did also provide scarce supplies and an opportunity to stay alive in a war-torn area. The Finnish authorities also eventually made at least some efforts to improve the living conditions in the occupied territory, although no noteworthy improvements were made in the camps. Soviet citizens in the region were categorized into two main groups. The "national" groups with a Finnic background, including those loyal to Finland, benefited to some degree from Finnish support. Meanwhile, a considerable portion of the local population continued to hold Soviet views, although they lived in miserable conditions and among growing Finnish suspicion. Still, there is no commonly accepted consensus on the occupation 65 years after its end.

FINNISH CAMPS FOR PRISONERS OF WAR

The Finnish administration of POWs had been established during the Winter War, and the lessons learned then served as the model for prisoners' treatment during the Continuation War. However, almost immediately the system to house and feed the prisoners proved obsolete and underresourced. During the Winter War only a modest number of prisoners—not exceeding 6,000—fell into Finnish hands, and prisoner mortality stayed at a low level, roughly 2.3 percent. In the new conflict Finnish troops took the offensive and so captured prisoners in much greater numbers. The camp system, planned to house some 25,000 prisoners, was flooded with well over 50,000 by late 1941. The Finns placed some POWs into POW companies and other field units, while others went into twenty-nine camps and seven military hospitals between 1941 and 1944.

Most of the POW camps, numbered 1 to 24, 31 to 34, and 51, were located inside Finland's 1940 borders. Some of the camps were transferred from one site to another, and others

were merged. A multiple place name for a camp indicates its movement. Where applicable, the Russian name is given in parentheses: 1: Köyliö; 2: Karvia; 3: Huittinen, Ruokolahti, and Laihia; 4: Säräisniemi; 5: Orimattila, Soutjärvi (Shyoltozero), Jessoila (Essoila), Äänislinna (Petrozavodsk), and Kitee; 6: Tuusula and Viipuri; 7: Karkkila, Lohja, Mustio, and Hanko; 8: Kolosjoki, Jäniskoski, Ivalo, Köyliö, and Säkylä; 9: Ajosaari and Hanko; 10: Värtsilä; 11: Valkeakoski; 12: Kurkijoki; 13: Kirvu; 14: Isokyrö, Sortavala, Helylä, and Riitasensuo; 15: Peräseinäjoki and Suomussalmi; 16: Impilahti, Matkaselkä, and Ilmajoki; 17: Rautalampi, Koveri, and Aunus (Olonets); 18: Kälviä; 19: Kiuruvesi and Oulu; 20: Paavola and Räisälä; 21: Liminka, Aholahti, and Riitasensuo; 22: Pori; 23: Orivesi; 24: Riitasensuo, Vaasa, and Mustasaari; 31: Karhumäki (Medvezhyegorsk); 32: Vuolijoki; 33: Muolaa; 34: Valkjärvi; and 51: Latva. The military hospitals, numbered 28, 58, 63 to 66, and 69 were 28: Kokkola; 58: Kannus and Raudaskylä; 63: Valkeala; 64: Viipuri; 65: Lappeenranta and Raudaskylä; 66: Äänislinna (Petrozavodsk); and 69: Helylä.

Problems in the camps mounted quickly. Accommodations were insufficient, and the conditions were crowded and often below minimum standards, as the headquarters initially expected merely a summer or at the most also an autumn campaign. During the summer months this situation was still bearable, but the onset of winter brought a high number of prisoner deaths caused by exposure to the elements and unsanitary conditions. The practice of using prisoners as forced laborers in often hazardous work, such as logging, without adequate gear, clothing, or proper rations, made the situation worse. The worst problems, however, were created by inadequate nutrition, harsh treatment, and general stress. The rations issued to the prisoners were sufficient only on paper as the internal food distribution was uneven in practice, in large part because the camp officers, truck drivers, and guards continually stole from the food deliveries. The result was a process of slow and steady exhaustion and malnutrition, which contributed to the onset of illnesses. Typhoid fever, dysentery, and influenza claimed many prisoners. The bulk of the POWs perished due to such diseases. In a fifth of the cases the cause of death was malnutrition. The daily rations that the Finnish headquarters issued were sufficient for survival, but within the POW community the strong, smart, and unscrupulous stole some of the other inmates' rations, and as a consequence the weak, submissive, and apathetic POWs tended to perish.

In total, Finnish troops captured roughly 70,000 prisoners, with the vast majority taken in the early phase of operations, before the fall of 1942. At least 19,085 died, primarily because of disease, accidents, starvation, and violence between the prisoners. Some 1,200 prisoners were shot dead in various incidents; their deaths were usually reported as "shot while attempting escape." Thus, the overall mortality rate of POWs in Finnish custody nearly reached one third. In a practice already during the Winter War, however, the Finns divided the prisoners into categories according to nationality. This categorization had consequences: the Finnic prisoners received the most lenient treatment, and the ethnic Russians suffered the worst, with a mortality rate higher than 33 percent. The period from the fall of 1941 to the early fall of 1942 was the time of the worst suffering. After 1942, the situation in the Finnish camps improved markedly, when the conditions started to attract international attention, and confidence in an ultimate German victory in the war began to fade.

GERMAN PRISONER OF WAR ADMINISTRATION IN FINLAND

The agreement between the Finns and Germans regarding the division of Finnish territory into Finnish- and German-controlled theaters of war resulted in the introduction of German POW administration into Finnish territory by the summer of 1941. The German Army operated two POW camps in the operational area of AOK Norwegen, out of which the AOK Lappland was cut in February 1942 and renamed AOK 20 in the summer of 1942. The main camp (*Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlager*, Stalag), Stalag 322, was established on Norwegian territory in Elvenes, just across the Finnish-Norwegian border (today: Norwegian-Russian border). The smaller German-run camp, Stalag 309, became operational in July 1941 in Salla, Finland, after the area was retaken from the Soviets.

The German war effort in the North was characterized by its failure to achieve similarly impressive territorial gains as in the southern sectors of the Eastern Front. The German advance soon bogged down in the face of dogged Soviet resistance, extremely difficult terrain, nonexistent infrastructure, and harsh climate. As a result, the German troops in the North took only an estimated 9,000 prisoners throughout the conflict and failed to occupy any significant population centers. Prisoner labor, however, proved to be vital for the maintenance of the army in Arctic conditions, so much so that the Germans brought 21,000 Soviet POWs to the north from camps elsewhere in German-occupied Europe. The Finnish and German authorities also exchanged numerous smaller contingents of POWs as the former claimed Finnic POWs who were in German hands and the latter in particular wanted Volkdeutsche, Balts, and Jews in Finnish custody. This practice had direct consequences on prisoner treatment, because the prisoners formed a source of labor too valuable to be wasted by reckless or outright murderous treatment. Overall, the mortality rate of Soviet prisoners in German custody in Finnish Lapland and northern Norway may have reached 20 percent, thus clearly lower than found elsewhere in German-dominated territory in the East or in Finnish camps.

The locally maintained principle of conserving the prisoner workforce did not extend to those prisoners branded by the Nazi regime as ideological or racial enemies, however. The German takeover of military operations in Finnish Lapland also meant the introduction of both the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) and the secret military police (*Geheime Feldpolizei*, GFP) into the area. In addition, in late June 1941 the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA) complemented the killing squads (*Einsatzgruppen*)

destined for the Eastern Front with a similar unit designed to handle the ideological and racial war of extermination in the far north. The official but unwieldy name given to this unit was the "Deployment Command of the Security Police and SD with Army Command Norway, Headquarters Finland" (*Einsatzkommando der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD beim Armeeoberkommando Norwegen*, *Befehlsstelle Finnland*); the name was soon shortened in unofficial contexts to Einsatzkommando Finnland.

FINNISH COLLABORATION WITH THE RSHA AND PARTICIPATION IN THE HOLOCAUST

At the outbreak of the war in 1939, Finland had a Jewish population of roughly two thousand people. Finnish Jews were an urban minority, concentrated in the three largest cities of Helsinki, Viipuri, and Turku. The new Finnish republic extended citizenship rights to Jews in 1918, after which the Jewish minority quickly became naturalized. The Finnish Jews were generally engaged in the retail trade and most spoke Swedish as their native language. Although antisemitism was present within right-wing circles in Finland, the small size of the Jewish community and its near exclusive concentration in a few cities did not give antisemitism traction as a nationwide political theme.

Shortly before the outbreak of war, the small Finnish Jewish community grew, when several hundred Central European Jewish refugees from German-controlled areas were allowed into Finland (with some reluctance); most came after the German annexation of Austria in 1938. Their existence was much more precarious than that of the Finnish Jews. As aliens, they faced the risk of deportation should they attract the attention of the authorities responsible for the control of foreigners in Finland, most importantly the Finnish security police (*Valtiollinen poliisi*, Valpo). Finnish legislation regarding deportation and the right of asylum was vague, contradictory, and nonbinding, giving the authorities wide leeway in enforcing the law. Another factor that made the situation of these Jewish refugees even more precarious than that of non-Jewish aliens was that the Valpo had cultivated a close relationship with the German security police since 1933. In 1942, the Valpo deported twelve people identified as Jews to the custody of the German security police, either in Germany or in German-occupied areas. The deportees were, however, not formally handed over on ethnic grounds, but as suspects and minor criminals. Also a few family members, wives and children, chose to voluntarily join their deported husbands. Nine of these people lost their lives, two survived the war in German concentration camps, and the fate of one is unknown.

Valpo officials cooperated secretly with the Einsatzkommando Finnland until this unit was disbanded in late 1942. The Finnish military authorities also turned over a total of 521 POWs suspected of being active communists to Einsatzkommando Finnland, among whom at least 47 prisoners were identified as Soviet Jews. Although documentation is fragmentary, the most likely fate for all the prisoners in this group was that they perished in one way or another.

According to orders sent out by the RSHA in late June 1941, specific units (*Kommandos*) were to be set up to examine the prisoners entering German camps and ferret out those considered to be the mainstays of the Soviet state and system: Soviet officials, active communists, Red Army political commissars, and any and all Jews. Such work became the main occupation for Einsatzkommando Finnland. An exact count of its victims is not possible, given the lack of documentation. Available eyewitness statements describe "hundreds" of killings in the vicinity of Stalag 309. Extant contemporary photographic evidence from the site shows two open, partially snow-covered mass graves containing approximately 15 victims each.

The surviving evidence in the Valpo archives makes clear the way in which security police officials in both Helsinki and Berlin saw the world, as well as the nature of the conflict that Germany and Finland were fighting against the Soviet Union. The most conspicuous shared feature between the Finns and their colleagues in the RSHA was anticommunism, expressed in their mutual readiness for radical solutions not only to suppress the communists in their respective countries but also to bring about the destruction of the Soviet regime using any means necessary. Their correspondence reveals many instances of the officials' acceptance of the propagandistic explanation of a Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy behind the Soviet regime. Insofar as Jews could be considered an active mainstay of this conspiracy, they could and should be annihilated. Yet antisemitism itself cannot be demonstrated to have been a primary driving factor in the actions of the Finnish security police. There is no evidence that the Finns shared the exterminatory vision of genocide held by their colleagues in the RSHA, and the death rate of the Jewish Soviet POWs in the Finnish camps was 19.5 percent, that is, lower than the general toll. One of the reasons for this was that the Jewish parishes were allowed to support their compatriot inmates with some food and clothing deliveries.

POSTWAR JUSTICE

Finland signed an armistice with the Soviet Union in September 1944 and thereafter, at the Allies' request, fought a campaign to drive the retreating German troops from Finnish Lapland. The armistice treaty also stipulated that an Allied Control Commission be set up in Finland to oversee the fulfillment of the armistice terms. The Finnish leadership feared that this commission, headed by Joseph Stalin's close aide Andrey Zhdanov, would form a conduit for large-scale Soviet meddling into Finnish affairs. To prevent such Soviet encroachment, the Finnish government set up a governmental body to investigate war crimes for subsequent prosecution. Three thousand investigations were opened and about 1,400 cases tried by Finnish courts, resulting in roughly 700 jail sentences. The charges almost exclusively concerned killings or mistreatment of POWs, with imprisonment being the typical sentence. Soviet pressure nevertheless led to a parallel judicial process

in which members of the 1941–1943 Finnish government were tried for "crimes against peace," that is, for instigating an offensive war against the Soviet Union. The charges and verdicts reflected the Nuremberg Main Trial rhetoric. However, members of the Finnish security police and military authorities were never investigated for their collaboration with Einsatzkommando Finnland. The whole matter was successfully buried in the archives, and the only Valpo official to stand trial was wartime chief Arno Anthoni for his part in deporting Jews from Finland. Anthoni was subsequently acquitted and was given generous compensation for his detention time, thereby concluding the Holocaust-related public reckoning in Finland.

SOURCES Recent works useful for understanding the historical context of Finland during World War II, the Finnish camp systems, Finland's relations with Nazi Germany, and Finnish complicity in the Holocaust are Laura K. Ekholm, *Boundaries of an Urban Minority: The Helsinki Jewish Community from the End of Imperial Russia until the 1970s* (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2013); John Gilmour and Jill Stephenson, eds., *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy: The Consequences of the German Invasion for the Scandinavian Countries, Then and Now* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); Tiina Kinnunen and Ville Kivimäki, eds., *Finland in World War II: History, Memory, Interpretations* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Simo Muir and Hana Worthen, eds., *Finland's Holocaust: Silences of History* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Oula Silvennoinen, *Geheime Waffenbrüderschaft: Die sicherheitspolizeiliche Zusammenarbeit zwischen Finnland und Deutschland 1933–1944* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2010); and Oula Silvennoinen, "Finland, the *Vernichtungskrieg*, and the Holocaust," in Marie Louise Seeberg, Irene Levin, and Claudia Lenz, eds., *The Holocaust as Active Memory: The Past in the Present* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), chap. 8. On POWs and interned Soviet civilians, see Lars Westerlund, ed., *POW Deaths and People Handed over to Germany and the Soviet Union in 1939–55: A Research Report by the Finnish National Archives* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008); Lars Westerlund, ed., *Sotavangit ja internoidut: Kansallisarkiston artikkelikirja / Prisoners of War and Internees: A Book of Articles by the National Archives* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008), which includes a contribution by Reinhard Otto, "Soviet Prisoners of War on the German Lapland Front 1941–44," pp. 64–113; and Lars Westerlund, ed., *Talvi-, jatko- ja Lapin sodan sotavanki- ja siviilileirit 1939–1944: Käsikirja—The Finnish POW and Internee Camp Handbook, 1939–1944* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the POW and civilian internment camps under Finnish direction can be found in various collections of KA, as found in the following two entries.

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[*Editor's note*: The *Encyclopedia* does not generally cover prisoner of war camps run by regimes aligned with Nazi Germany, because those regimes usually did not persecute prisoners of war on ideological grounds. So, despite the fact that conditions in the Finnish camps for Soviet POWs were harsh, and the death rates high, the editors decided not to include individual entries on Finnish POW camps.]

Camps in Finland
Arctic Ocean
Norway
Lake Enara
Kolosjoki
Ivalo
Sweden
Räisälä
ROVANIEMI
Finland
White Sea
Front Line (appx)
Gulf of Bothnia
OULU
Suomussalmi
Paavola
Liminka
Matkaselkä
Säräisniemi
Vuolijoki
Gulf of Onega
Kokkola
Raudaskylä
Kannus
Kälviä
Jäniskoski
Kiuruvesi
Mustasaari
Isokyrö
VAASA
Laihia
KARELIA
Karhumäki
Ilmajoki
Rautalampi
JOENSUU
Kovero
Peräseinäjoki
Värtsilä
Kitee
Karvia
Riitasensuo
Aholahti
Kangasjärvi
Säämäjärvi
Äänislinna
Lake Onega
Helylä
Orivesi
PORI
Baltic Sea
Kurkijoki
Ajosaari
Sortavala
Impilahti
Soutjärvi
Huittinen
Ruokolahti
Koveri
Köyliö
Valkeakoski
Lappeenranta
Säkylä
Aunus
Orimattila
Lake Ladoga
Valkeala
TURKU
Karkkila
Muolaa
Lohja
Riihisyrjä
Jalkala
Hartonen
Tuusula
Soviet Union
Viipuri
Mustio
HELSINKI
Metsäkylä
Hanko
LENINGRAD
Gulf of Finland
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
0 50 100 150 200 miles
kilometers 0 50 100 150 200
N W E S
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

ÄÄNISLINNA

Äänislinna (today: Petrozavodsk, Respublika Kareliya, Russian Federation) was the site of six concentration camps (*keskitysleiri*) and one labor camp (*työleiri*) during the Finnish occupation of Soviet Karelia. Äänislinna is 538 kilometers (more than 334 miles) northeast of Helsinki and almost 300 kilometers (186 miles) northeast of Leningrad (today: Saint Petersburg). Each concentration camp was assigned an Arabic numeral, 1 through 6, and all had alternative Finnish or Russian names, which reflected the names of the sites later converted into camps. In numerical order, they were "Rooster Hill" (*Kukonmäki*); "Northern" (*Severnaja*); "Ski Factory" (*Suksitehdas*); Golikovka; "Red Village" (*Punainen kylä*); and Perevalochnaya. The Finnish authorities used these concentration camps and the labor camp, also numbered 1, to hold Soviet citizens of occupied Karelia during the period from the Finnish invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 to their withdrawal during the Soviet counteroffensive of June 1944. Collectively, the Äänislinna camps held as many as 25,000 Soviet citizens during the war. As a propaganda measure, the Finnish authorities reclassified these and other Karelian concentration camps as "transfer camps" (*siirtoleiri*) in 1943.[1]

The East Karelia Military Administration Headquarters (*Itä-Karjalan Sotilashallinnon Esikunnalle*) oversaw the Äänislinna and other Karelian concentration camps. The Äänislinna camps had a succession of commandants and guard commanders, all Finnish Army officers. The first commandant was Luutnantti T. A. Mäntykivi; he was soon followed by the Äänislinna city commandant, Kapteeni M. Simojoki. Among the later commandants was Majuri, later Everstiluutnantti Rolf Schildt (December 1942 to March 1943). From the time of Schildt's reassignment until the camp's evacuation, the commandant was Kapteeni J. E. Mättö. Each camp had its own staff, with Finnish Army lieutenants serving as commanders.

Soviet children in a concentration camp (Finnish: Äänislinna) with a sign that reads: "Entrance to the camp and conversation with the children prohibited under threat of being machine-gunned." 1944
USHMM WS #70209, COURTESY OF THE IMAGE WORKS.

The inmates were housed in relatively habitable buildings, which the Finns eventually surrounded with barbed wire. Several of the Äänislinna camps held children. One of those child prisoners was Tat'iana Kiseleva (née Mironova), who was born in camp 3 in 1943 and who provided testimony from her mother about her life in the camp.[2] Some imprisoned families lived together in the Äänislinna camps, as was the case for Valentina Andreyeva, whose grandparents died in captivity.[3] As recounted by historian Gunnar Rosén, medical facilities were woefully inadequate in the Äänislinna camps.

Based on a fragmentary survey of Finnish archival holdings, there were at least 3,635 deaths recorded in Äänislinna concentration camps 1 through 6. The survey was unable to determine a specific camp in 152 death cases. For the remaining 3,482, there were 127 deaths at camp 1, 227 at camp 2, 824 at camp 3, 266 at camp 4, 1,250 at camp 5, and 788 at camp 6. Among the confirmed cases, at least nine deaths were attributable to shootings (*ammuttuja*) by guards.[4]

After the Red Army overran the Äänislinna complex in June 1944, Soviet war photographers took a number of propaganda photos of the inmates, particularly the children.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camps at Äänislinna are Jukka Kulomaa, *Äänislinna: Petroskoin suomalaismiehityksen vuodet 1941–1944* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1989); Gunnar Rosén, *Suomalaisena Itä-Karjalassa: Sotilashallinnon ja Suomen Punaisen Ristin yhteistoiminta 1941–1944* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1998); and Lars Westerlund, ed., *Talvi-, jatko- ja Lapin sodan sotavanki- ja siviilileirit 1939–1944. Käsikirja—The Finnish POW and Internee Camp Handbook, 1939–1944* (Helsinki: Kansallisarkisto, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the camps at Äänislinna can be found in KA, collections I-Kke; IK-s (T 2926/7, T 5659/124 to 139, and T 9727); and SPRSo. Additional documentation can be found at USHMMPA, which holds several photographs from one of the Äänislinna camps. VHA holds a testimony by a child survivor of Äänislinna camp 3. A published testimony is available in Jussi Konttinen, "Former Detainee Laments Lost Childhood," *HelsSan*, January 23, 2005.

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NOTES

1. For the signage, see USHMMPA, WS #70207, Soviet children in a concentration camp, 1944 (Courtesy of Novosty Press Agency).
2. VHA #27353, Tat'iana Kiseleva testimony, February 8, 1997.
3. Konttinen, "Former Detainee Laments Lost Childhood," *HelsSan*, January 23, 2005.
4. Westerlund, ed., *Talvi-, jatko- ja Lapin sodan sotavanki- ja siviilileirit 1939–1944*, pp. 237–246.

DETACHED BATTALION 21

As part of the preparations for the Finnish offensive against the Soviet Union, the Finnish government interned approximately five hundred communists, members of the Finnish-Soviet Union Peace and Friendship Society (*Suomen-Neuvostoliiton rauhan ja ystävyyden seuran*, SNS 1), leftist dissidents, and other people of the political Left in May and June 1941. Most of the internees were men, with only a few women. A similar detention policy had been carried out earlier during the Winter War of 1939–1940. The interned leftists were neither prosecuted nor tried, and were initially placed in different prisons under "preventive detention" (*turvasäilö*).

Of the interned leftists, 288 men were drafted into a new frontline unit, Detached Battalion 21 (*Erillinen Pataljoona*, Er.P) Er.P 21, in September 1941. Led by right-wing, unscrupulous, and brutal commanders, this unit was created to deploy the leftists in combat against Soviet units—their ideological compatriots. The ultimate intention was instructional in a political sense, because the leftist soldiers might have to shoot at and kill their putative Soviet comrades out of pure survival instinct. Thus, they would be forced to make an impossible choice in light of their political convictions and would suffer and become morally confused. It seems clear that the Finnish General Headquarters and the Finnish government supported and encouraged this strategy. Er.P 21's commander was Everstiluutnantti Nikki Pärmi.

The deployment of the unit in the fall of 1941 to the front at Onkamus (today: Onga-Muksa), northwest of Lake Onega, was unsuccessful. Although some of the leftist soldiers were killed in action, approximately 80 of them took the opportunity either to defect to the Soviet side or desert from the unit. What is known is that 42 of the deserters and defectors ended up in Soviet custody. After the Finnish commanders realized that their original intentions had failed, the remaining 200 leftists were hastily transferred to a labor company in a fortification construction battalion (*Linnoitusrakennuspataljoona*, Lin.RP). This company or parts of it passed through a set of miserable camps in occupied Soviet Karelia in the remaining years of the war. The main camps, of which little information is available, as the camp archives were destroyed in 1944, were Kangasjärvi (today: Kangasyarvi), Säämäjärvi (today: Syamozero), Koveri/Kovero (today: Kovera), Hartonen, Jalkala (or Yalkala; today: Il'ichevo), Riihisyrjä (today: Krasnoznamenka), and Metsäkylä (today: Molodezhnoye). The camps at Hartonen, Jalkala, Riihisyrjä, and Metsäkylä were located in the Kivennapa township (today: Pervomayskoye, Leningradskaya oblast').

At the end of September 1941, the disarmed members of the battalion were transported to Kangasjärvi, a small border village in occupied Karelia (Finnish: Suojärvi), located 352 kilometers (219 miles) northeast of Helsinki and more than 225 kilometers (140 miles) north of Leningrad (today: Saint Petersburg). They were housed in a ramshackle and crowded farmhouse in an impoverished town. The conditions were harsh, characterized by poor rations, insufficient clothing, cold weather, and severe discipline. The Kangasjärvi camp operated from September 26, 1941, until January 8, 1942, when the battalion was transferred eastward to Säämäjärvi, about 55 kilometers (34 miles) west of Äänislinna. The poor rations reduced the prisoners to eating frogs, snakes, lizards, cats, dogs, and horses.

In mid-September, the men were transferred to the Koveri camp, located about 18 kilometers (11 miles) north of Aunus (today: Olonets). This site housed lumberjacks before the war, but about 200 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were held in the camp during the Finnish occupation. Approximately 170 detainees of Er.P 21 were initially confined to Koveri, but members of the battalion who had previously been separated from the unit on labor details were sent to this facility as well. Koveri proved to be the harshest and longest lasting camp, closing only after the Finnish withdrawal from Soviet Karelia, on June 18, 1944. One of the Koveri internees, Viljo Suutari, published a novel based on his camp experiences, which dramatized the harsh living conditions in the Er.P 21 camps, principally Koveri. As a union official and radical leftist, he had been taken into custody by Finnish police authorities in the war years and had been dispatched to Er.P 21.[1]

In September 1941, 25 internees were separated from the others and transferred to the Isthmus of Karelia to dig graves and clear mines near the southern part of the front. These men were held in custody in Puhtola, Kellomäki, and Pero in the fall of 1941. In November, the men were sent to Hartonen, and in December they went to Jalkala. The camp in Metsäkylä was open for about six months in 1942, and the men were transferred there in the summer. Finally, the detainees rejoined their comrades in the Koveri camp in September 1944.

The Finnish authorities withdrew from occupied Soviet Karelia in June 1944. At Koveri, the guards burned the barracks and force-marched the inmates 260 kilometers (almost 162 miles) northwest to Värtsilä, Finland. From there they were taken by train to Parkano, located almost 388 kilometers (241 miles) west of Värtsilä, and marched to the Karvia prison. With a few exceptions the men were released when the armistice between Finland and the Soviet Union was declared.

The camps for leftists and other suspects did not have the formal status of a concentration camp (*keskitysleiri*). They were more like an unconventional penal unit operating in the field. Nevertheless, the camp inmates regarded these detention sites as oppressive concentration camps because of the very poor living conditions, heavy labor, political persecution, and ruthless administration. After the war, the first camp commander, Kapteeni Arvo Kartano, was sentenced to prison for a few months. The second commander, Luutnantti Kosti-Paavo Eerolainen, eventually fled to Sweden out of concern for his personal safety.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the internment camps affiliated with Detached Battalion 21 are Eeva-Kaisa Ahtiainen, *Mies ja pirut: Nikke Pärmin elämä* (Helsinki: Otava, 2005); Pentti Koivumäki, *Monumenddaalinen Nikke Pärmi* (Kuopio: Kustunnuskiila, 1988); Jussi Niinistö, *Suomalaisia vapaustaistelijoita* (Helsinki: Nimox, 2003); and Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomen*

vankeinhoidon historiaa Osa 4: Vangit—vankilat—sota. Suomen vankeinhoitolaitos toisen maailmansodan aikana (Helsinki: Valtion painatuskeskus, 1987).

Primary sources documenting the Detached Battalion 21 internment camps can be found in KA, grouped in several collections: EK-Valpo (ko 578–584); Er.P 21 war diary (6843–6863); personal archive of Finnish President Juho Kusti Paasikivi, folio v: 55; records of Lin.RP (T-13274–13276); and Lin.RP war diary (18478–18484). At KanArk there are several relevant collections, including documentation on political detention (Poliivan, 1919–1944, folder 3 E); assistance from the Social Affairs Ministry (SM, folder 4); compensation documentation for political prisoners and political detainees (Pvtkk, folder 5); and an unpublished manuscript by former internee Väinö L. Sievänen, "Kivikkoinen tie. Käsikirjoitus" (1985). KuKau holds T. Ahlo, "Pärmin pirujen sotatie. Erillinen Pataljoona 21: vaiheet jatkosodassa vv. 1941–1944" (unpublished MSS, early 1970s). As far as is known, the archives of Kangasjärvi, Säämäjärvi, Koveri, and other internment camps were destroyed in the fall of 1944. There are several testimonies and a novel published by former Er.P 21 internees: Allan Asplund, *Upplevelser i finska koncentrationsläger* (1949; Helsinki: Suomen Rauhanpuolustajat, 2012); Nestori Parkkari, *Suomalaisessa keskitysleirissä vv. 1940–1944* (Helsinki: Kansankulhuuri Oy, 1955); Viljo Suutari, *Leiri: Kertomus pienistä ihmisistä, jotka taistelivat elämästään* (Helsinki: Söderström, 1967); Taito Tiihonen, *Mielipidevanki vuosimallia 1904: Suomalaisesta keskistysleiristä yhteiskunnalliseksi vaikuttajaksi: Muistelmat* (Helsinki: Vavo, 1990); and Harry Vuorinen, *Myrskyn silmässä: Poliittisen vangin päiväkirja jatkosodan ajalta 1941–1944* (Helsinki: Suomen rauhanpuolustajat, 2006).

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NOTE

1. Suutari, *Leiri.*

FRANCE/VICHY

Barracks at the Gurs internment camp, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #24845, COURTESY OF RENE KARSCHON.

FRANCE/VICHY

Following the military defeat and Armistice of June 22, 1940, French president Albert Lebrun appointed World War I hero, Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain, as president of the Council (*Président du Conseil*). On July 10, 1940, the two chambers of the French Parliament vested full power (*les pleins pouvoirs*) in Pétain, voting 569–80 in favor, with 20 abstentions. The Third Republic was dead, and the Vichy regime was born. A few weeks later, the German authorities promulgated their first ordinance against the Jews; French measures soon followed in the form of decrees and laws to intern foreigners in general and Jews in particular. But internment camps on French soil were not solely the result of German occupation. The German occupation, together with the implementation of antisemitic policy by the new collaborationist Vichy regime, transformed the country once famed for human rights into a territory where Jews, Roma (*nomades* or "Gypsies"), foreigners, political opponents, and resisters were considered enemies. As a result, more than 76,000 Jews were deported from France to killing centers in the East (including more than 11,000 children) and over 86,000 resistance fighters and political prisoners were sent to German concentration camps during the war. Before being deported, they were gathered and interned in various, mostly French-run, detention sites.

THE "NATIONAL REVOLUTION"

The Vichy regime's ideological program was called the "National Revolution" (*Révolution Nationale*), and it largely combined far-right ideas with a personality cult centered on Pétain. As historian Robert O. Paxton highlights in his book, "the National Revolution was not Hitler's project."[1] It departed from most republican values, replacing the old republican motto of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" (*Liberté*, *Egalité*, *Fraternité*) with "Work, Family, Fatherland" (*Travail*, *Famille*, *Patrie*). The new motto better reflected the Vichy regime's desire to return to traditional values.

The National Revolution also aimed to restore a traditional morality based on social order and Catholic values. Family stood among its pillars. Glorifying motherhood and providing financial incentives to fathers of large families were means to halt the already declining French birthrate. Of course, nobody would have dared point out the hypocrisy in the support given by Pétain, the childless husband of a divorcée, to this family policy.

A large propaganda apparatus was developed to portray the persona of Marshal Pétain in every way: his likeness was placed on posters, stamps, sculptures, coins, brochures, and leaflets. In approximately two weeks, the Propaganda Center of the National Revolution (*Centre de Propagande de la Révolution Nationale*) printed 510,000 posters and 10 million postcards.[2] At school, French children learned a new song that glorified the new leader: "Marshal, we are here!" ("*Maréchal, nous voilà!*").

The National Revolution challenged the power of the French Parliament and rejected the multiparty system. Its program repudiated the Third Republic and former premier Léon Blum's socialist government, the Popular Front (*Front populaire*). The Vichy regime perceived France as morally decadent because of the political choices it made over the previous decade that supposedly led to military defeat.

Economic depression and military defeat stimulated xenophobia. In 1930, foreign workers made up only 7 percent of the French population, but during the 1930s a large flow of refugees sought asylum in France for various reasons.[3] Such refugees included Spanish Republicans seeking asylum after the victory of Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War; Jews from Eastern Europe fleeing antisemitic persecution; and starting in 1933 and increasingly after 1938, Jews from Central

Vichy leader Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain (right) greets Prime Minister Pierre Laval, November 1, 1942.
USHMM WS #22790, COURTESY OF KLARSFELD ARCHIVES.

Europe. The Vichy government and its National Revolution program used the large immigration flows to stoke discontent and anger and focused on finding scapegoats, which included "parliamentarism," the Left, cosmopolitanism, foreigners, and, above all, the Jews. The Vichy government promoted an exclusionist state policy that led to the promulgation of the first Statute of the Jews (*Statut des Juifs*), on October 4, 1940. It is important to note that the Germans never had to pressure the Vichy government into implementing the National Revolution program.

THE "UNDESIRABLES": TARGETS OF VICHY PERSECUTION

One of the features of the French camp system during the long period of its existence (1939–1946) was that internment came by administrative decree, not by a court judgment. The "undesirables" (*indésirables*) who were the targets of Vichy persecution included Spanish Republicans, Germans and Austrians (including Jews) considered as "enemy aliens" after September 1939, Jews from elsewhere, Roma, and, even later, collaborators. Resisters and political prisoners (including many communists) constituted a separate category of internees. Soon after the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of August 23, 1939, the first to be arrested were communists, who were sent to some of the Third Republic camps, followed soon by British and French prisoners of war (POWs) after the Fall of France. Those deemed political enemies by the German and Vichy authorities, or as enemies under circumstances of war, were followed by others who were targeted simply because of who they were.

Before the war, the Jewish population in France was estimated at between 300,000 and 350,000 people. Half of that population consisted of French Jews and the other half of recent immigrants. Between March 1942 and August 1944, approximately one-third of the Jews who lived in France were deported—a large majority from Drancy after spending from a few days to several years in what became a transit camp. Before being deported, many had lived in one or several internment camps or facilities after being arrested either by the German authorities or the French police. Jews were not the only targeted group because of who they were, but in France they were the only victims of Nazi genocidal policy planned with the active political collaboration of the Vichy regime.

The Roma were also sent to French camps. Because the Roma traveled and sometimes crossed borders, the French authorities could not easily keep track of them until the law of July 16, 1912, mandated that the Roma carry an anthropometric card (*carnet anthropométrique*) that showed their distinguishing features.[4] Although they were marginalized and sent to camps by Vichy authorities in France (where some remained until May 1946), a systematic genocidal policy was not implemented against them, either by Vichy or the German authorities, in contrast to actions and policies in Eastern Europe.[5] And, unlike in other occupied countries in Western Europe, the Auschwitz Decree (*Auschwitz Erlass*) of December 16, 1942,

French police lead a column of Jewish men during a deportation action, May 14, 1941.
USHMM WS #70740, COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE. MUSEUM (CHAMPIGNY-SUR-MARNE).

was not implemented in France. The French Roma who were arrested in former French territory of the departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais were deported to Auschwitz from territories governed by the German authorities in Belgium. Convoy Z (*Zigeuner*: German for "Gypsy") left the German-run Mecheln (Malines) camp in Belgium for Auschwitz on January 15, 1944.[6] The main internment camp for Roma in France opened in Montreuil-Bellay on November 8, 1941. According to historian Marie-Christine Hubert, approximately 6,000 to 6,500 Roma (men, women, and children), accounting for most of the Roma population in France, were interned in 30 different French camps between 1940 and 1946.[7]

THE OCCUPYING AUTHORITIES AND THE CAMPS OF FRANCE

With German occupation came the division of France into two zones: the Occupied Zone (*Zone occupée*, ZO) and the Southern Zone (*Zone nonoccupée*, ZNO). French camps in the Occupied Zone, even those administered by the French police, were under strict German control from the outset. For example, it was at the Germans' behest that the French police established the camps for Roma. In contrast, Vichy exercised autonomy in the operation of camps in the South until November 1942.

Soon after the Armistice, the Germans ordered a canvass, beginning in July 1940, of camps throughout France by the Kundt Commission. The task of this Franco-German commission, chaired by the German diplomat Ernst Kundt, was not only to repatriate those who wished to return to the Reich but also to identify potential arrest targets for the Nazi regime. A journal kept by a French member of the commission gives a survey of Third Republic camps already in existence at the time of the Armistice.[8] Because the Vichy regime closed many of these camps and reorganized others, most of these sites are

not covered in this volume. Only those camps that continued to exist under Vichy, such as Gurs, are covered in separate entries here. An exception is the camp at Château du Sablou, a site that closed at the end of 1940, with its inmates scattered among other Vichy camps in France and French North Africa.

After the Fall of France, under the legal pretext that the belligerents had not yet signed a peace treaty, the German authorities used the large number of French prisoners of war as hostages to secure good behavior among the French. One of the side effects of this situation was a labor shortage in France, which helped drive Vichy's deployment of foreigners, Jewish and non-Jewish, as unpaid labor. In the summer of 1942, Vichy premier Pierre Laval negotiated the partial repatriation of French POWs in exchange for the deployment in the Reich of conscripted civilians, the Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO). In Vichy propaganda this policy was called the Relief (*Relève*). The German authorities set a ratio of three civilian conscripts for labor service in the Reich in exchange for the repatriation of one French POW. The drafting of Frenchmen into the STO, as well as the concomitant transfer of many non-Jewish prisoners from Vichy camps into the STO, proved unpopular and helped stimulate support for the French Resistance.

In the Occupied Zone, the German authorities ran their own networks of camps. The Wehrmacht had set up temporary POW camps (*Frontstalags*) in 1940 and 1941. On behalf of the Wehrmacht, a network of labor camps was established under Organisation Todt to erect the Atlantic Wall. These sites are covered in later volumes of this series. Except for the Natzweiler (Struthof) concentration camp in German-annexed Lorraine, the Nazi SS and police ran the other camps on French soil. Compiègne-Royallieu or Royallieu, a barracks built in 1913, was used by the SS police as the principal camp for the transfer of French resisters and political prisoners to camps in the Reich. Initially called Frontstalag 122, it remained in existence as a police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) for the transit of Jews until 1944.

In the Occupied Zone, the German authorities exercised close supervision over the French police and, after November 1942 in the Southern Zone, the French-run camps. It was common for a departmental prefect to seek permission from the commander of the local German field headquarters (*Feldkommandantur*, FK) to secure armaments for camp guards. It was very common for an FK to demand that a French camp hand over a certain number of prisoners as hostages to be shot in reprisal for resistance activities.

In some instances, the German authorities temporarily took over French camps and ran them as transit camps (*Durchgangslager*). Such was the case during critical phases of the deportations of Jews from Drancy, Beaune-la-Rolande, and Pithiviers. The German phases of these camps' histories are covered in a subsequent volume of this series.

In the wake of Operation Torch in November 1942—the combined British-U.S. invasion of French North Africa—the Germans and Italians expanded their occupation of France into the Southern Zone. Fascist Italy occupied southeastern France, mainly the departments of Basses-Alpes (today: Hautes-Alpes) and Alpes-Maritimes, including the strategically important city of Nice. Vichy considered the expanded Italian occupation an affront to French sovereignty, and the local French police meticulously documented Italian-run sites on their soil. The Italian-run network of camps and residential assignment centers continued despite Vichy opposition. These camps are covered in the section on Italy in this volume. After Italy's Armistice with the Allies in September 1943, these sites were closed, and the German authorities conducted round-ups of Jews in these departments, especially in Nice.

THE VICHY CAMP SYSTEM

Today, our knowledge of French camps is continually being enriched by new publications made possible by expanded access to French archival collections related to the Holocaust. Interest in this topic dates back to the 1970s. Over the last 20 years, many monographs have been published about major camps in France. The expanded access of the archives also coincided with the historic statement by French president Jacques Chirac on July 16, 1995, acknowledging the Vichy regime's responsibility in the Holocaust. Two years later, the French government created the Study Commission on the Spoliation of the Jews of France under Jean Mattéoli (*Mission d'Étude sur la Spoliation des Juifs de France*, *Mission Mattéoli*). Divided into research teams, the commission studied the seizure of Jewish property in France. Two teams focused on French camps and published final reports.[9] More recently, our knowledge has been deepened and our understanding of the multiple facets of the camp system more accurate due to the opening of the International Tracing Service (ITS) collection.

Some preliminary remarks are necessary when studying French camps. First, the French internment camp apparatus did not start with World War II or with the German occupation. The history of camps in France must be studied over a longer period because "continuity" is the keyword. The complexity of the camp system in France resided mostly in its long-term existence. Some sites hosted various categories of inmates over the years without changing the camps' administrative status.

Second, a very broad definition of "camp" is necessary to understand the entire spectrum of the internment system. Camps in France ran the gamut from the "classical" internment camp to temporary detention sites, such as a stadium, the latter including sporting complexes in or near Paris (Colombes Stadium, Roland-Garros, and the Vélodrome d'Hiver or Vel d'Hiv). Such sites served as convenient detention centers for very brief periods of time. Documenting such temporary facilities can be most challenging. In between those extremes were many categories, such as groups or groupings of foreign workers *Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs), confinement centers (*Centres de Séjour Surveillés*, CSS), and centers of assigned residence (*Assignation à résidence*). Less common

forms of detention sites also existed, such as the detention of former French political leaders in a disused fort in the Pyrenees Mountains and a secret prison for certain political prisoners deemed particularly dangerous.

The process of internment did not begin with the Vichy regime, and many camps did not close after Liberation, but instead remained open under the Provisional Government (*Gouvernement Provisoire*). Nevertheless, the basic postulate when studying the history of the French camp system is that the political motivations and the policies of the late 1930s must not be compared with the repressive policy under Vichy. Just because camps existed under the late Third Republic, the Vichy regime, and the Provisional Government did not mean that those camps were identically administered or, above all, used for the same purposes.

The government of Radical Socialist Édouard Daladier used administrative decrees (*décrets-lois*) that facilitated the expulsion of foreigners to create various "concentration camps" to canalize and above all control the influx of such "undesirables." The most significant decree was issued on November 12, 1938. It provided for the internment of undesirables for national security reasons in specialized centers (*centres specialisés*). The first internment camp in France opened in February 1939 in Rieucros.[10] Among the first foreigners to be interned in France were "enemy aliens" taken into custody after the declaration of war on September 3, 1939. Germans and Austrians, even antifascists and anti-Nazis, were interned, together with the large wave of Spanish Republicans who crossed the border with France at the beginning of 1939.

Vichy did not need to modify the Third Republic internment law for the control of refugees, but expanded it.[11] For example, the law of September 27, 1940, on "the situation of excessive numbers of foreigners in the national economy" (*la situation des étrangers en surnombre dans l'économie nationale*) led to the creation of the GTE grouping. Foreign men aged 18 to 55 were subject to obligatory labor in GTEs for as long as circumstances required, if they met two criteria: they were unemployed and were unable to return to their country of origin. The law's primary objective was to use available and conscriptable laborers, mostly in agriculture, forestry, and industry. Given the labor shortage, the GTEs furnished a cheap solution to labor shortages. They replaced the "companies of foreign workers" (*Companies de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE) created after the law of April 12, 1939, that stated that refugees, who benefited from the right of asylum in France, were obliged to perform labor service equivalent to military service.

It is difficult to estimate the number of GTEs under Vichy; it could be as high as one thousand. Very often the available documentation, scattered among French departmental and local archives, indicates only the name of a town or village, unit number, unit strength, and economic function. There was a distinction between a group of foreign workers and groupings of foreign workers—the former referred to the individual labor unit, whereas the latter was an agglomeration of such units answerable to the regional and departmental prefects. The coverage of the GTEs in this chapter is therefore selective.

The administration of GTEs reflected some continuity between the policies of the Third Republic and of the Vichy regime toward foreigners, refugees, and aliens. In terms of labor deployment, the camps operated under the auspices of the Industrial Production and Labor Ministry (*Ministère de la Production Industrielle et du Travail*), but the prefects who depended on the Interior Ministry for food and supplies decided what categories of people to intern.[12] In 1941, Vichy transferred men, mostly Jewish and Spanish, from internment camps to GTEs. Some such forced labor battalions were entirely Jewish and were often labeled "Palestinian" (*Groupements Palestiniens des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GPTEs). The status of GTEs radicalized when Vichy allowed the Germans to use some laborers in Organisation Todt (OT). During the summer of 1941, both Jews and non-Jews were recruited for OT, but in August the Jews were sent back to camps in the Southern Zone.

There were major differences among the GTEs. The living conditions depended mostly on location but also on the camp administration. Some prisoners received a small salary, whereas others were never paid, but received a "bonus." In GTE No. 828 in Tombebouc (Lot-et-Garonne Département), the internees worked in a quarry, whereas in GTE No. 664 in Mauriac (Cantal Département), some of the internees worked on bridges and roads and others for the water and forests administration (*Eaux-et-Forêts*).[13] The Mauriac case shows how a single GTE often served multiple, simultaneous functions. Indeed, some GTEs operated over a wide territory with multiple worksites.

Under the Third Republic, the War Ministry oversaw the GTE camps. This arrangement continued until October 1940 when the camps were brought under the authority of the Interior Ministry. In theory, the camp system depended on multiple administrative layers: the General Directorate of the National Police (*Direction Générale de la Police Nationale*, DGPN) within the Interior Ministry, the regional and departmental prefects, and the General Inspectorate of Camps (*Inspection générale des camps*, IGC).

Not all camps were in place when the war broke out; some were built soon thereafter. Construction of a camp fell under the responsibility of the department in control. Most likely, local construction workers such as builders, plumbers, and bricklayers were hired in the nearby area. This situation raises the question of the extent of local awareness of the French camps. The camps were not hidden and were difficult to ignore by the French population, who did not really protest against the incarceration of men who were foreign or stateless or were considered enemies. The public's perception started to change, however, when entire Jewish families were rounded up during the summer of 1942.

The camp system in France changed over time, adapting to the evolving political situation, territorial occupation, and makeup of the incarcerated populations. The camps and facilities handled different, sometimes overlapping, categories of

prisoners and served varying purposes. Over the course of the war, some camps harbored different categories of people, and their administrative status changed accordingly, depending on who was targeted due to political circumstances. In most cases, the camp regime got harsher when Jews were held as prisoners.

For example, the camp of La Lande located in Monts was first a reception camp for foreigners (*camp d'accueil pour étrangers*) and then gradually evolved into an internment camp for Jews before that status became official. After the major roundups in the summer of 1942, La Lande served as a transit camp. From October 1942 to January 1944 it was transformed into a camp for female political prisoners.[14]

The Vichy authorities reopened Les Milles (Bouches-du-Rhône Département) in November 1940 and designated it as the only camp for men attempting to immigrate overseas, whereas women who wanted to leave France had to stay in two hotels in Marseille (Le Bompard and Le Terminus du Port).[15] After the United States entered the war, immigration became almost impossible, and in the summer of 1942 Les Milles became an internment camp for Jews who were eventually deported via Drancy.

Gurs was another example of a camp whose population changed over the years. It was not only a way station before deportation to killing centers in German-occupied Poland but was also considered a concentration camp. The inmates suffered from atrocious living conditions that facilitated epidemics; more than 1,100 Jews interned there died of contagious diseases.[16]

The administrative internment camps (*camps d'internement administratif*) were camps that interned various categories of prisoners as decreed by administrative measures taken by the Vichy regime. The generic appellation of such camps and arrest categories changed over time, covering a large variety of facilities, including confinement centers (CSS), special collection centers (*Centre Spécial de Rassemblement*), accommodation centers (*Centre d'hébergement*), internment camps, and concentration camps. The German authorities ruled these camps in the Occupation Zone, and Vichy ran those in the Southern Zone.

The "collection camps" (*camps de rassemblement*) were not always camps, but sometimes remote facilities whose structure provided an accessible venue to gather people for short periods of time before transferring them to a real camp. Such locations could be stadiums like the aforementioned Colombes, the disused military installations around Fréjus (Var Département), or the abandoned factory at Montluçon (Allier Département).[17]

When there was no camp immediately available to house internees, prisons were used to house inmates before their transfer. Such was the case in Pau and Foix, to cite only two cases. When prisoners were too sick to remain in a camp, they were sometimes sent to hospitals; some elderly internees were transferred to retirement homes. For Jews, however, such accommodations did not mean that they were free or no longer subject to deportation.

There were approximately 30 centers of assigned residence in the Southern Zone, which were created at the end of 1940 after the October 4, 1940 Statute of the Jews. Prefects were responsible for identifying and assigning eligible Jews to residence centers. To qualify for residence, the inmates had to be able to support themselves financially. If not, they were assigned to labor battalions. Those confined to such centers were not allowed to leave the territory and remained under police control. There were two categories of people in those centers: those previously free and those in GTEs or camps who had sufficient means to pay for their upkeep. Hotels not used in wartime very often served as residential centers. Some people from the Gurs camp were sent to hotels in the Creuse region.[18]

The French internment system obviously changed greatly after war began. Once the United States entered the war, emigration from Europe became virtually impossible. This situation directly affected the Vichy regime because Jewish prisoners hitherto expected to emigrate from France were no longer able to do so. Thus Vichy had to deal with the Jews already interned in camps in the Southern Zone. In early December 1941, representatives of the local police, the camp administration, the Police of Territory and Foreigners (*Police du Territoire et des Étrangers*), and several dignitaries in charge of foreigners and immigrants in the Southern Zone met. The goal of this meeting was to develop policies to implement measures toward Jews who entered French territory after January 1, 1936, and who were to be sent to GTEs or other camps.[19]

Liberation did not put an end to the camp system. The Provisional Government continued to use camps extensively to punish collaborators or those who organized or benefited from the black market.[20] The Roma remained in detention until well into 1946.

VICHY COLLABORATION IN THE "FINAL SOLUTION"

The structure of the "Final Solution" in France was complex because it was implemented both by the Germans and the Vichy regime. Pétain and his acolytes were so convinced that the German Reich would ultimately triumph that they chose to do everything possible to position France in a prominent place in the future German-led Europe: collaboration was considered an effective path to that goal.

The administrative division of French territory reflected the division of labor between German and French authorities. The Occupied Zone fell under the German military commander-in-chief in France (*Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich*, MBF) whose headquarters was established at the Majestic Hotel in Paris under General der Infanterie Otto von Stülpnagel, whereas the Vichy government had the responsibility for the Southern Zone. However, German ordinances were applicable only in the Occupied Zone, whereas decrees and laws promulgated by Vichy applied to both zones on condition that they did not contradict German ordinances. The administrative roles were thus well defined on paper, and the pres-

ence of Otto Abetz as German ambassador gave the illusion that the Reich treated France with some political respect, as opposed to a defeated and occupied territory. Yet very quickly, the Germans replicated and adapted the whole structure to implement the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question" in France. Most "experts" relating to the Jewish Question who had played an early role in Nazi Germany came to occupy key positions in France. For example, SS-Standartenführer Helmut Knochen of the Security Police and Security Service (*Sicherheitspolizei Sicherheitsdienst*, Sipo-SD) represented Reinhard Heydrich in Paris in 1940 within the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA). Herbert Hagen and Kurt Lischka were Knochen's assistants. SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker represented Adolf Eichmann (who also answered to Heydrich in the RSHA).[21] As early as 1940, an SD office led by Knochen opened in Paris and was placed directly under Heydrich. Dannecker was appointed head of the Department IV J (Jewish Affairs) of the Sipo-SD in Paris from 1940 to 1942 and became the principal architect of the Jewish Question until his replacement by Heinz Röthke in the summer of 1942. As one of Eichmann's trusted lieutenants, Dannecker went on to oversee deportations of Jews from occupied Greece and elsewhere.

In a little over a week in the autumn of 1940, the German and Vichy authorities determined the fate of the Jews in France. When the German authorities promulgated the first anti-Jewish ordinance on September 27, 1940, imposing a Jewish census in the Occupied Zone, they also targeted foreigners (mostly Jews) who found refuge in France. From that moment on, any foreign male aged between 18 and 55 was subject to deployment in a GTE. A few days later the first French Jewish law—the October 4, 1940, Statute of the Jews—was promulgated, which began the exclusion of Jews from French life. The following day, Vichy issued a decree that authorized the internment of foreign Jews in special camps and made it applicable in both zones—sending a clear message to the Germans regarding Vichy's intentions toward foreign Jews. The Vichy regime's eagerness to gain control over refugees, with the intention of their eventual expulsion, and its aversion especially to foreign Jews escalated anti-Jewish policy, both Vichy and German.

At the request of the German authorities, the Vichy government created the General Commissariat on the Jewish Question (*Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives*, CGQJ); the Germans saw this agency as instrumental to implementation of the "Final Solution." Its task was to prepare and implement antisemitic policy, and it played a major role in the "aryanization," the seizure of Jewish property. When the CGQJ began operation in March 1941, Xavier Vallat became its first general commissar. Vallat, a member of the far-right and monarchist French Action (*Action Française*) party, was notorious for making this statement when Blum became premier in 1936: "for the first time this ancient Gallo-Roman land will be governed by a Jew."[22] Despite his antisemitic beliefs, Vallat, a World War I veteran, did not hesitate to criticize

Xavier Vallat (left), April 19, 1941.
USHMM WS #07456, COURTESY OF THE ETABLISSEMENT DE COMMUNICATION ET DE PRODUCTION AUDIOVISUELLE DE LA DEFENSE.

German policy toward French POWs, and thus tensions existed with the German authorities. The even more ferocious antisemite, Louis Darquier, replaced him in May 1942.

The persecution and, later, the deportation of Jews required the silencing of public opposition, if not favorable public opinion. To convince the French of the necessity of removing Jews from their territory, propaganda was crucial. To that end, the German propaganda staff requested in May 1941 the creation of a propaganda apparatus: the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question (*Institut d'Étude des Questions Juives*, IEQJ). Financed by the German Embassy and Dannecker's office, the IEQJ's main task was to disseminate antisemitic propaganda, and its major accomplishment was the organization of the exhibit, "The Jew and France" (*Le Juif et la France*), that opened in Paris in September 1941.

The first roundup of foreign and stateless Jews took place in Paris on May 14, 1941. The French police issued a summons for the Jews to report to one of five locations for a "status check" (*examen de situation*). Those who still believed that France was a country of asylum and human rights obeyed the order, and they ended up being held in five facilities: the Napoléon Barracks (4th arrondissement); the Minimes Barracks (3rd arrondissement); 52 Édouard-Pailleron Street

Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, May 1942.
USHMM WS #07444, COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE.

(19th arrondissement); 33 Grange-aux-Belles Street (10th arrondissement); and Japy Gymnasium (11th arrondissement). On that day, 3,430 Polish, 157 Czech, and 123 stateless Jews were arrested and sent from the Austerlitz train station to the French-run internment camps of Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande.[23] Between that first roundup and the ones that followed, there were some long periods without a hostile raid that gave the Jewish population some room for hope and a period of adjustment. The fact that until July 1942 only foreign Jewish men were arrested may have led members of the French public to believe that there might have been some reasons for these arrests, especially in the context of strident antisemitic propaganda that demonized Jews as the worst enemy and blamed them for the country's defeat and economic collapse.[24]

France was the only country in Western Europe where Jews were deported from a zone not under direct German occupation. When the deportations started in 1942, Karl Oberg implemented Heydrich's orders as Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höherer-SS und Polizeiführer*, HSSPF). In June 1942, the General Secretary of Police (*Secrétaire général à la Police*), René Bousquet, reached the decision to hand over to the Germans 10,000 stateless Jews from the Southern Zone.[25] Oberg negotiated with Bousquet to organize the roundups, while the French gendarmes were in charge of the camp at Drancy. The "Bousquet-Oberg Accords" in August 1942 aligned the French police with the German authorities and gave them broad autonomy. Those accords represented the peak of French police collaboration with the enemy.

In the late summer of 1942, Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, then head of the CGQJ, reminded Premier Pierre Laval that the French authorities had agreed to hand over 32,000 Jews to the Germans. But the July roundup in Paris and its surroundings had come up short. To fulfill the quotas, Darquier proposed the arrest of stateless Jews in the Southern Zone and, if necessary, the denaturalization of all Jews who acquired French citizenship after January 1, 1927.[26] Laval went even further: on July 4, 1942, he proposed that during the arrest of Jewish families in the Southern Zone, children under 16 be taken as well. Evoking "humanitarian considerations," Laval's argument was that "children should remain with their parents."[27]

On August 7, 1942, the first transport of 1,003 German Jews from Gurs in the Southern Zone arrived at Drancy. Three days later, all of these Jews were deported to Auschwitz (convoy 17).[28] Only one person from that convoy was alive in 1945.[29] More transfers from the Southern Zone followed: on August 9, 1942, 1,106 Jews from Gurs, Le Vernet d'Ariège, Récébédou, and Noé arrived at Drancy.[30] On August 12, an additional 782 Jews from Récébédou, Noé, Rivesaltes, and Les Milles arrived there.[31] On August 14, 538 Jews from Les Milles arrived at Drancy,[32] and on August 25, 1,184 Jews from the GTEs in the Pyrénées-Orientales, Récébédou, and Noé arrived there.[33] Those transfers emptied the camps in the Southern Zone of most foreign Jews before the major roundup of August 26, 1942, the counterpart of the infamous Vel d'Hiv roundup in the Occupied Zone on July 16.

The last transport of Jews (convoy 77) departed Drancy on July 31, 1944, and the camp was liberated in August 1944, when it still housed 1,386 prisoners.[34]Approximately 3,000 Jewish people died in French internment camps, mostly in the Southern Zone.

SOURCES Important general studies on the Vichy regime and the Jews include Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order 1940–1944* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Michael Robert Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); Diane Afoumado, *L'affiche antisémite en France sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Berg International, 2008); Vicki Caron, *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933–1942* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during the Second World War* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press; published in association with USHMM, 2001). On CGQJ, see Laurent Joly, *Vichy dans la "solution finale:" Histoire du Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives 1941–1944* (Paris: Grasset, 2006). Over the years, the number of secondary sources describing

Vichy camps has multiplied, especially publications that explore individual camps using the rich collections found in local archives. For studies on individual camps, please refer to the following essays. The most comprehensive and general study of French internment camps is the Ph.D. thesis by historian Denis Peschanski, later published as *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). Additional useful studies are Christian Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deustchland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.-Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Jean-Marc Dreyfus, "Indésirables—indesiderabili: Les camps de la France de Vichy et de l'Italie fasciste," *ChrAll* 15:1 (2011): 144–146. The Mattéoli Commission reports can be found at www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-matteoli.htm. On the Kundt Commission, see Christian Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le Journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet–août 1940)," in Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990). In addition to Grandjonc and Grundtner, important regional studies of French camps include Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: Les internés juifs des camps français (1939–1944)* (1991; Paris: Poche, 1999); Paul Lévy and Jean-Jacques Becker, eds., *Les réfugiés pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Confolens, France: CERHIM, 1999); and Vincent Giraudier, *Des indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Valence, France: Peuple libre, Notre temps, 1999).

In general, the publications of Serge Klarsfeld are required reading when studying the persecution of Jews in France. Among his books, the following is one of the main resources for French camps: *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001). In the earlier cited Cohen, Malo, and Arnoldson anthology, see also Klarsfeld's essay, "La livraison par Vichy des juifs de zone libre dans les plans SS de déportation de juifs de France," pp. 133–154. Another important study by Klarsfeld is *Vichy-Auschwitz: Le rôle de Vichy dans la solution finale de la question juive en France, 1942* (Paris: Fayard, 1983).

On the GTEs, a useful article is Sarah Farmer, "Out of the Picture: Foreign Labor in Wartime France," in Sarah Fishman, ed., *France at War: Vichy and the Historians*, trans. David Drake (Oxford: Berg, 2000). Other studies focus on the Roma in French internment camps. See Emmanuel Filhol, *Un camp de concentration français: Les Tsiganes alsaciens-lorrains à Crest, 1915–1919* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2004); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes En France: Un Sort à Part, 1939–1946* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Emmanuel Filhol, *La mémoire et l'oubli, l'internement des Tsiganes en France, 1940–1946* (Paris: Centre de recherches tsiganes; Harmattan, 2004); Marie-Christine Hubert, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France 1940–1946," *ChrAll* 12:3 (2008): 153–163; and Denis Peschanski, Marie-Christine Hubert, and Emmanuel Philippon, *Les tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS, 2010). On anti-foreigner legislation, see Danièle Lochak, "Les étrangers sous Vichy," *Plein droit*, 29–30 (November 1995), available at www.gisti.org/spip.php?article3834. On the IEQJ, see Joseph Billig, *L'Institut d'étude des questions juives, officine française des autorités nazies en France: Inventaire commenté de la collection de documents provenant des archives de l'Institut conservés au CDJC* (Paris, CDJC, 1974); and Stéphanie Dassa, Valérie Germon, and Cédric Gruat, "L'Institut d'étude des questions juives: Raison d'État et passion antisémite franco-allemande sous l'Occupation," *MJ* 179 (2003): 120–176.

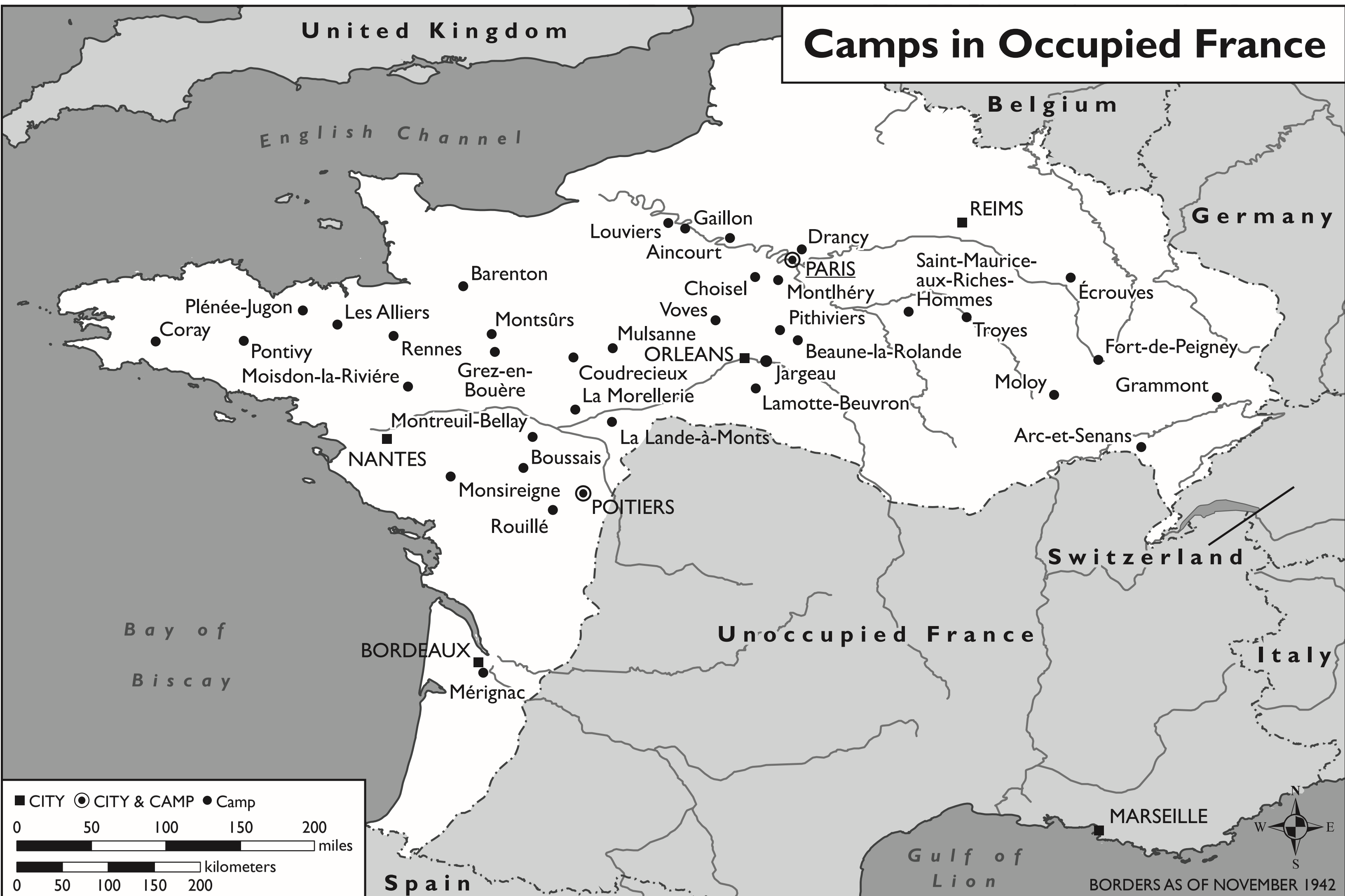
One general primary source collection of importance for documenting French camps gathers inspection reports by the French National Police from AN (Police Générale), available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M. Most of the French departmental archives collections contain primary documentation on camps. USHMMA has collected copies of most of those collections in microform or digital form. All start with the reference RG-43 followed by additional numbers. They are cited in the notes of the following essays. In addition to local French sources, the ITS is invaluable not only for those who are searching for information about the fates of individuals but also for anyone who is interested in gaining a broader picture of the camp system. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

Diane F. Afoumado

NOTES

1. Paxton, *Vichy France*, p. 142.
2. Afoumado, *L'affiche antisémite en France sous l'Occupation*, p. 71.
3. Paxton, *Vichy France*, p. 169.
4. Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 195.
5. Filhol and Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France*.
6. Letter from Ministère de la Santé Publique et de la Famille, Administration des Victimes de la Guerre, Brussels, ITS 1.1.24.1 (Mecheln/Malines), folder 9, Doc. No. 1270043.
7. Hubert, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France 1940–1946," *ChrAll* 12: 3 (2008): 159.
8. Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt," in Grandjonc and Grundtner, eds., *Zones d'ombres 1933–1944*, pp. 213–226.
9. Klarsfeld, Delahaye, and Afoumado, eds., *La spoliation dans les camps de province*; *Les biens des internés des camps de Drancy, Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande*.
10. Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 15.
11. Lochak, "Les étrangers sous Vichy."
12. Farmer, "Out of the Picture," p. 252.
13. Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 25.
14. Klarsfeld and André Delahaye, et al., *Fiches typologiques par lieu d'internement*, p. 48, available online at www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/.
15. Ibid., p. 13.
16. For lists of deceased Jews buried at Gurs, ITS, 1.1.9.11, folder 1, Doc. Nos. 11186770–11186975.
17. On Montluçon, VHA #22210, Simon Grinbaud testimony, November 5, 1996; and Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer*, p. 180.
18. Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 51.

19. Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs en France 1940–1944*, pp. 167–168.
20. Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 16.
21. Joly, *Vichy dans la "solution finale,"* pp. 110–111.
22. Ibid., p. 53.
23. Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs en France 1940–1944*, p. 69.
24. Afoumado, *L'affiche antisémite en France sous l'Occupation*.
25. Klarsfeld, "La livraison par Vichy," pp. 132–154.
26. Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, p. 130.
27. Ibid., p. 108.
28. For the complete list of those transported in the convoy, see ITS, 1.1.9.1, List Material B.d.S. France, folder 32, Doc. Nos. 11180464–11180496; ITS, List Material Drancy, 1.1.9.9, folder 4, Doc. Nos. 11187973–11188030.
29. Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs en France 1940–1944*, p. 392.
30. Ibid., p. 394.
31. Ibid., p. 398.
32. Ibid., p. 401.
33. Ibid., p. 436.
34. Ibid., p. 1090.


Camps in Occupied France
United Kingdom
English Channel
Belgium
Germany
Switzerland
Italy
Unoccupied France
Spain
Bay of Biscay
Gulf of Lion
REIMS
Louviers
Gaillon
Aincourt
Drancy
PARIS
Choisel
Montlhéry
Voves
Pithiviers
Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes
Écrouves
Troyes
Fort-de-Peigney
Barenton
Plénée-Jugon
Les Alliers
Coray
Pontivy
Rennes
Montsûrs
Mulsanne
ORLEANS
Beaune-la-Rolande
Jargeau
Moisdon-la-Riviére
Grez-en-Bouère
Coudrecieux
La Morellerie
Lamotte-Beuvron
Moloy
Grammont
Montreuil-Bellay
NANTES
La Lande-à-Monts
Arc-et-Senans
Boussais
Monsireigne
POITIERS
Rouillé
BORDEAUX
Mérignac
MARSEILLE
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
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BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

Camps in Unoccupied France
Occupied France
Switzerland
Italy
Spain
Bay of Biscay
Mediterranean Sea
NANTES
POITIERS
BORDEAUX
MARSEILLE
Douadic
Évaux-les-Bains
Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux
Séreilhac
Nexon
La Meyze
Saint-Germain-les-Belles
Le Mont-Dore
La Bourboule
Soudeilles
Égletons
Saint Nectaire
Château du Sablou
Château du Roc
Rabes
Château-Doux
Chaudes-Aigues
Catus
Casseneuil
Château de Tombebouc
Buzet-sur-Baïse
Puy-l'Evêque
Caylus
Saint-Sulpice-la-Point
Villemur-sur-Tarn
Gaillac
Brens
Montech
Château de Bégué
Audaux
Gurs
Masseube
Lannemezan
Nay
Fort du Portalet
Eaux-Bonnes
Cauterets
Bagnères-de-Luchon
Aulus-les-Bains
Rivel
Noé
Le Vernet d'Ariège
Récébédou
Castres
Bram
Lacaune-les-Bains
Lamalou-les-Bains
Mallavielle
Rieucros
Saint-Georges d'Aurac
Tence
Le Cheylard
Chabanet
La Guiche
Fort-de-Vancia
Alboussière
Loriol
Montélimar
Ruffieux
Savigny
Sallanches
Annecy
Montmélian
Fort-Barraux
Modane
Prémol
Valbonnais
Sisteron
Reillanne
Saliers
Miramas
Les Milles
Chibron
Fréjus
Frontignan
Agde
Rivesaltes
Perpignan
Le Barcarès
Saint-Cyprien
Argelèrs-sur-Mer
Port-Vendres
Collioure
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
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BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

AGDE

The Agde camp was situated in the northeast part of the city of Agde (Hérault Département, Languedoc-Roussillon region in the Southern Zone) on National Road 110, at the present site of the René-Cassin school.[1] Agde is about 47 kilometers (29 miles) southwest of Marseille. The facility was built in 1939 by military engineers on land belonging to the Agde municipality to serve as a receiving center for Spanish Republican refugees. Intended for 15,000 to 20,000 people (though 24,000 internees were admitted in July 1939), the camp included close to 200 wooden barracks spread over approximately 30 acres near the Mirabel military installation. After the Fall of France, many of these Spanish refugees requested permission to travel to Marseille where they could then emigrate to Mexico, whereas others requested repatriation to Francisco Franco's Spain. From September 1939 to June 1940, the Agde center also housed a thousand Czech volunteers stationed on French soil to fight the Germans. In June 1940, it became the 16th center for recruitment of the Belgian Army, receiving more than 4,000 soldiers under the command of Colonel Burck. After Belgium's capitulation on May 28, 1940, the recruits were interned until August 1940.

Under the Vichy regime, Agde held almost 6,000 civilian detainees of 30 different nationalities, of whom 1,000 were Jews.[2] In November 1940, some German Jews were directed "provisionally" to Agde and Montelimar, rather than to Gurs in the Pyrénéés-Atlantique Département. According to administrative documents, as of the end of November 1940, the majority of these Jews had come to Agde via Belgium.[3]

After the Armistice, some 4,000 demobilized soldiers from French territories in North Africa were stationed at the camp in Agde, awaiting repatriation. In September 1940, the First Legion of Indochinese Workers, under Labor Ministry control and headed by Commandant Gérard, was based at Agde.[4]

Group portrait of *prestataires* (voluntary civilian foreign laborers) in the Agde internment camp. Most are Indochinese, with the exception of Karl Mayer, an Austrian Jewish refugee, June 19, 1941.
USHMM WS #27643, COURTESY OF EDITH MAYER CORD.

As of early 1940, Agde was divided into four camps. Camp I housed a group of 4,000 foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) from Indochina; Camp II held demobilized Czech volunteers; Camp III held GTE No. 227 of Spanish workers (about 200 people) and included a parking lot; and Camp IV detained civilians, with a maximum capacity between 5,000 and 5,200 prisoners.[5] Camp IV was further divided into four subcamps: Camps 1 and 2 held women and children younger than 12, and Camps 3 and 3a held men. Each subcamp had a commander, most of whom were army lieutenants. Commandant Bena oversaw the camp's overall administration along with its director, Capitaine Tassart (or Tassard).[6]

At first, French military authorities under Général Menard ran the camp with the support of the French police from its headquarters of Hérault. By 1940, Menard was attached directly to the Hérault headquarters. On October 25, 1940, Agde's administration was transferred to the Vichy Interior Ministry, and the camp assumed the title of "reception center for foreigners" (*Centre de rassemblement des étrangers*).

Conditions were harsh. The camp's barracks had leaky roofs, and an Interior Ministry report noted that in inclement weather the beds inside certain barracks became covered in snowdrifts.[7] Clothing supplies were insufficient, and many detainees continued to wear the ragged clothes and worn-out shoes in which they arrived.[8] The camp's finances were often tight, to the point that detainees occasionally went without food because contracted suppliers were not paid.[9]

Camp IV, the civilian camp, was evacuated on the order of the War Ministry on March 15, 1941. Under Commandant Gérard, the Indochinese workers of Camp I guarded it and provided labor for renovations.[10] More GTEs (Nos. 311, 317, 318, and 321) were sent to the camp during this period, including multiple groups of Spanish workers, 40 or so Belgians, and one group of German deportees, 60 percent of whom were Jewish.[11] GTE No. 430 was also attached to the camp from 1941 to 1943. As of May 3, 1941, there were 3,376 foreign workers at Agde.[12] Discipline was much more lax.[13]

Escapes were a consistent problem for Agde's administration. A set of reports from February 18 to 23, 1941, lists 21 escapees, most of whom either disappeared during the night or never returned to camp from authorized trips outside.[14] In a letter from the previous month to the Interior Minister, the prefect noted that the camp's guards were "powerless to stop this exodus."[15]

At least several dozen detainees were held in contravention of the law of December 9, 1941, which forbade the detention of foreigners and stateless Jews residing in France before 1936. Two survivor testimonies mentioned the efforts of the general secretary of the Hérault Prefecture, Camille Ernst, to make these detainees aware of their rights and to obtain their legal release.[16] A January 8, 1941, letter from an Interior Ministry representative to the sub-prefect of Béziers raised additional

concerns that women with French citizenship who were married to foreigners were wrongly detained with their spouses.[17]

After the Jewish roundups of August 26, 1942, the reopened camp served provisionally as a transit camp before deportation. After the Germans occupied the city of Agde on November 13, 1942, the camp was no longer active. The last prisoners were sent to Rivesaltes, Noé, and Drancy. In the autumn of 1943, the camp was dismantled, and in August 1944 its infrastructure was totally destroyed after the German retreat.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Agde camp start with Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). See also Irène Dauphin, "Le camp d'Agde (1939–1943)," in Jean Sagnes, ed., *Agde: 2600 ans d'histoire* (Toulouse: Editions Privat, 2006), pp. 118–119; and Michaël Iancu, "Le camp d'Agde" and "Les demandes de libération des Juifs internés au camp d'Agde," in *Vichy et les Juifs: L'exemple de l'Hérault* (Montpellier: Presse universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2007), pp. 145–183.

Most of the archival sources dealing with the Agde camp are held in ADH under the following classifications: 12W5, 12W6, 12W123, 12W124, 12W225, 12W754, 12W755, 12W772 (for the sub-headquarters of Béziers), 363W262-264, and 2W619–2W624. Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA under RG-43.103M, mostly focusing on the period from 1940 to 1941. Regarding the German Jews at Agde, see the internal note from DGSN to the vice president of the Council, Secretary of State Minister of Foreign Affairs (political supervision—Europe), November 28, 1940, at AN F7 15105. USHMMA holds two oral history interviews with Agde camp survivors: Fred Loewy (RG-50.030*0501) and Arnold Einhorn (RG-50.030*0306). VHA has 46 survivor testimonies that mention the Agde camp, including those by Joseph Benesch (#10567), Sigi Hart (#232), and Michael Taylor (#19695).

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NOTES

1. Rapport de l'Architecte Départemental, Objet: "Camp d'Agde," March 5, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M (ADH), reel 2, 2W623, p. 19 (USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623, with page); camp map, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623, p. 33.
2. "État numérique par Nationalités, des internés du Camp d'Agde, au 15 février 1941," February 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, p. 308.
3. Commissariat de l'Hérault, "Liste comprenant le nombre des étrangers internés entre le 1 octobre et le 15 novembre 1940," November 25, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, p. 356.
4. Rapport de l'Architecte Départemental, Objet: "Camp d'Agde," March 5, 1941.
5. Commissaire Spécial Chef de Service du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 5, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, pp. 406–409; on camp IV's maximum capacity, S-P Béziers to Maître des Requêtes au Conseil d'État de P/H, November 24, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, p. 401.
6. Commissaire Spécial du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 5, 1940.
7. Ibid.
8. Commissaire Spécial du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, p. 38.
9. Régisseur Comptable du Camp d'Internés d'Agde to P/H, January 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103/1/2W620, pp. 31–32.
10. Rapport de l'Architecte Départemental, Objet: "Camp d'Agde," March 5, 1941.
11. Gérard to P/H, May 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623, p. 44; for the list of GTEs, see Commissaire de Police d'Agde, "Effectif du Camp d'Agde," May 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623, p. 377.
12. "Effectif du Camp d'Agde," May 3, 1941.
13. Commissaire de Police d'Agde to S-P Béziers, May 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/2/2W623, p. 369.
14. Commissaire Spécial du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 5, 1940; set of escape reports, February 19–23, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, pp. 361–368.
15. Quotation from P/H to Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur, January 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, p. 372.
16. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0501, Fred Loewy, oral history interview, November 30, 2005; USHMMA, RG-50.030*0306, Arnold Einhorn, oral history interview, March 1, 1995.
17. Commissaire Spécial du Camp d'Agde to S-P Béziers, January 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.103M/1/2W620, pp. 35–36.

AINCOURT

Established in October 1940, Aincourt was the first "administrative internment camp" (*camp d'internement administratif*) for political prisoners in the Occupied Zone. The French police also classified Aincourt as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). It was located in the Seine-et-Oise Département (today: Val d'Oise), in a village of about 10 square kilometers (about 4 square miles) about 49 kilometers (30 miles) west of Paris. It was established on the site of a sanitarium that opened in 1933, comprising three pavilions for men, women, and children, which had been set up to cope with a resurgence of tuberculosis. As a detention site, the former men's pavilion, called Adrien Bonnefoy-Sibour, housed communist prisoners.

On October 5, 1940, the French police organized a roundup of syndicalists and former elected communists in the Seine area. Among the arrested were two parliamentary deputies, Pierre Dadot and Fernand Grenier; about 40 municipal advisors; and two veteran politicians responsible for the Unitary General Confederation of Labor (*Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire*, CGTU). The German occupation authorities sent 210 of these political prisoners to Aincourt, marking the beginning of the camp's operation. Resisters were arrested as well, as attested by the arrest on November 21, 1940, of 61-year-old Camille Guillaume, formerly an elected municipal official of Vigneux, who remained imprisoned at Aincourt until his death in February 1942.

When Aincourt was a sanitarium, it had space for 500 sick people, but it was overcrowded after it became an internment camp. The camp's population peaked at 679 prisoners in June 1941, when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union and the French police accelerated the roundups of French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*, PCF) members. A total of 1,156 prisoners passed through the camp in 1940 and 1941.

By authority of the Interior Ministry, Police Commissioner Andrey, hardly 30 years old and with a degree in law from Versailles, became Aincourt's first commander. According to Fernand Grenier, the initial impression that Andrey made on the prisoners at Aincourt was favorable, but it quickly changed with the imposition of collective punishment after the first escape attempt.[1] As one of Andrey's letters attests, he kept meticulous dossiers on the prisoners under his charge. He describes one prisoner this way: "This is one of the most dangerous elements and he possesses a certain ascendancy among all the communists of the region of Saint Cyr and of the Clayes-sous-Bois. His internment, far from diminishing his revolutionary violence, only aggravates it."[2]

Commissioner Andrey encouraged dissension among the prisoners. According to a study by historian Nadia Ténine-Michel, one faction, the "Gittonists," was centered around long-term prisoner Marcel Gitton and was estimated to comprise about 13 percent of the prisoner population in February 1942. This faction consisted of the collaborationist French Workers' and Peasants' Party (*Parti ouvrier et paysan français*, POPF). Another faction, making up 16 percent of the population, was associated with communist prisoner Marcel Capron and was classified as containing "fierce militants" in spite of their time in the camp.[3]

The majority of the prisoners had been living in the Paris suburbs. There were only a few Parisians and 12 Bretons. All were from the world of manual labor and from the metallurgical and building trades. Commissioner Andrey prohibited the prisoners from receiving visits, books, newspapers, and mail. The prisoners worked to keep the camp functioning: they had kitchen duties, handled maintenance work, did the laundry, and cut up firewood. The barracks could not accommodate the large number of arrested prisoners, and it was decided that the young people, ages 17 to 25, would sleep in the dining hall.

On the night of December 8, 1940, a bomb, presumably dropped by a stray aircraft from the Royal Air Force (RAF), broke many windows, forcing the prisoners to build fires nightly to keep warm. According to Grenier, the bomb also wounded two guards and one prisoner.[4] During the course of Aincourt's existence, there were at least three escape attempts, with successful escapes on August 15, 1941, and September 24, 1941. The latter escape prompted additional collective retaliation: an 11-hour room curfew, exclusive of lunch.

Between 1940 and 1942, the prisoners were transferred from Aincourt to Châteaubriant, Compiègne, and Rouillé. In April and May 1942, all the remaining internees were transferred to Voves. The women evacuated from Châteaubriant were temporarily sent to Aincourt, but were evacuated on September 15, 1942. Aincourt then became a center for training the Vichy paramilitary, the Mobile Reserve Group (*Groupe Mobile de Réserve*, GMR).

SOURCES Secondary sources on Aincourt include Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Nadia Ténine-Michel, "Le camp d'Aincourt (Seine-et-Oise) 5 octobre 1940–15 septembre 1942," *Le Parti Communiste française de la fin de 1938 à la fin de 1941* (conference proceedings, Paris, October 14–15, 1983); partially reprinted in "Aincourt," in Jean-Pierre Rioux, Jean-Pierre Azéma, and Antoine Prost, eds., *Les Communistes français de Munich à Châteaubriant (1938–1941)* (Paris: Presses de la FNSP, 1987), pp. 183–191; and Roger Colombier, *Aincourt, un camp oublié* (Paris: éd. Le Temps des Cerises, 2009). The Colombier book, by a militant syndicalist and retired railroad worker, is a collection of testimonies and archival holdings on the operation of Aincourt.

The principal archival documentation for Aincourt may be found in ADY in its ASO collection in several record groups: 1W66–67 (repression of communism); 1W70–71 (on Aincourt); 1W72 and 1W74–77 (arrests, releases, transfers); 1W272 (individual dossiers); and 300 W84 (general affairs and escapes). Also see APPP, in the carton, "Parti communiste," signature BA 1928, and in "occupation allemande," signature BA 2374. See also the Lebègue report (IGC) of February 20 1942, AN F7 150107; and the list of communist internees, AN AJ40 882. One may also refer to the writings of the communist deputy, Fernand Grenier, who testified about his time at Aincourt. See, for example, his *C'était ainsi (1940–1945)* (Paris: éd. Sociales, 1970).

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NOTES

1. Fernand Grenier, *C'était ainsi (1940–1945)*.
2. Andrey letter, February 19, 1942, as quoted in Roger Colombier, *Aincourt, un camp oublié*, pp. 70–71.
3. Ibid., p. 78.
4. Grenier, *C'était ainsi*, p. 31.

ALBOUSSIÈRE

Alboussière (Ardèche Département) is located between Valence and Lamastre, approximately 163 kilometers (101 miles) northeast of Montpellier and 190 kilometers (118 miles) northwest of Marseille. The Beauséjour Hotel in Alboussière was the site of an accommodation center (*centre d'hebergement*) operated by the Service of the Supervision of Foreigners or Social Supervision of Foreigners (*Service du Contrôle des Étrangers*, SSCE, or *Contrôle Sociale des Étrangers*, CSE). Its main period of operation extended between May 1943 and February 1944, when up to 100 inmates were registered at the site. The majority of inmates were elderly German Jewish refugees, most of whom had been previously detained at Gurs, Rivesaltes, and other camps in southern France. Fifty-seven of them were arrested on February 18, 1944, and deported to Auschwitz.[1]

The creation of the Alboussière center was the result of the efforts of the head of the SSCE, Gilbert Lesage. In March 1943, he proposed to the Vichy Interior Ministry that old and unfit Jews still interned in camps for "undesirables" be transferred into the care of the SSCE. On March 25, 1943, the Interior Ministry agreed to release elderly, indigent inmates, particularly from Gurs, as soon as the SSCE could absorb and house them.[2]

When the site at the Beauséjour Hotel in Alboussière opened in May 1943, it was designated as SSCE Center 20a. In July 1943, some 100 inmates were registered at the hotel and its annex. In September, there were 60 inmates: 54 Jews and 6 Spaniards. In October, there were approximately 80 inmates, most between the ages of 60 and 85 years old who arrived at Alboussière in ill health after years of detention in other internment camps. Among them was Caroline Strauss (née Wolf), a German Jew born on April 6, 1871, in Oestringen. After her arrest in Heidelberg in October 1941, she was interned at Gurs and finally at Alboussière, where she died on December 12, 1943.[3]

The Camps Commission of the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) oversaw the administration of the Alboussière accommodation center.[4] Camp director Louis Chéron lived on site with his wife. Doctors and nurses among the inmates provided medical care. Initially, the camp had the legal status of a public institution and thus received priority in the allocation of supplies. A local baker delivered bread. The loss of this preferential status in the summer of 1943 resulted in food shortages, and the inmates suffered chronic hunger. They also had to endure the cold in the winter because there was a shortage of fuel and only parts of the hotel were heated.[5]

Although most inmates at the Beauséjour Hotel were elderly, there were at least two young inmates registered at the site. Roger Misrahi was 13 years old when he arrived at the hotel along with his mother and his 11-year-old sister Suzanne on August 21, 1943. Their parents, classified by the French authorities as "stateless persons of Turkish origin," had been detained in a number of camps for "undesirables," including Rivesaltes, Gurs, and Masseube. Roger Misrahi later testified that the family's conditions improved significantly at Alboussière. He recalled, for instance, that rations were small, but better than in other camps. According to him, Louis Chéron and his wife treated the residents with decency. The family also enjoyed some freedom of movement within the village, and the children were allowed to attend the local school, where they received extra food.[6]

On February 17, 1944, Gilbert Lesage and other administrators assembled at Alboussière to inspect the camp. The German authorities arrived at the site at 6 P.M. the following evening to place the Jewish inmates under arrest. In addition to 57 Jewish residents of the Beauséjour Hotel, they also arrested two elderly French Jews registered at the Serre Hotel in Alboussière. Among those arrested was Benjamin Braumann, born May 16, 1875, in Unteraltertheim. A German Jew, he was first arrested on October 22, 1940, in Bruchsam. He was sent from there to Gurs, subsequently transferred to a camp at Marseille, and finally to the Alboussière center. From there he was deported on February 18, 1944, to the Drancy transit camp and finally to Auschwitz, where he perished.[7] Similarly, Eisig Rössler, a Polish Jew born in 1878 in Frystak, was arrested alongside his wife Deborah in Luchon in 1941. They were transferred to the Rivesaltes camp, then to Masseube, and finally to Alboussière. Both are believed to have been deported to the East, where they presumably perished.[8]

Based on Gestapo arrest lists, researchers have been able to establish a profile of the inmates present at the Beauséjour Hotel at the time of the February 1944 roundup. Nearly 70 percent were women. There were two inmates younger than 16, but 45 percent of the inmates were 60 years or older and 25 percent were 70 years or older. More than 65 percent of the inmates were German nationals, but Frenchmen, Turks, Greeks, and one Russian, one Hungarian, and one Romanian were also registered. Those deported from Alboussière represented nearly a third of the 205 victims of deportations from the Ardèche Département.[9]

According to camp director Chéron, approximately seven residents were able to slip out of the Beauséjour Hotel during the chaos of the February roundup and so avoided arrest. Among those who got away were Roger Misrahi and his mother. The Spaniards who still occupied the site were not targeted during this roundup. Only a few Jewish inmates remained at the hotel after the initial roundup, and after Liberation, refugees occupied the site well into 1945.

Although Lesage was honored as a Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem in 1985, the evidence whether he knew about the impending deportation or attempted to warn the inmates about it is inconclusive, according to historian Vincent Giraudier.

SOURCES Several secondary sources mention the Alboussière center. See especially Vincent Giraudier et al., *Des indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Valence: Peuple Libre & Notre Temps, 1999); Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2001); and Tal Bruttmann, "'L'Action Brunner' à Grenoble (Fevrier-Mars 1944)," *MJ* 174 (2002):18–43. René Nodot's memoirs detail the March 1943 negotiations between Lesage's representative and the Vichy Interior Ministry: *Resistance non violente 1940–1944: Mémoires* (N.P.: Centre Régional de Documentation pédagogique, 1978).

Primary sources documenting the Alboussière center can be found at AD-Ard. Selected records of the AD-Ard are available at USHMMA (RG-43.111M), including lists of names of Jews in the Alboussière internment center and records pertaining to the roundup of February 18, 1944, and subsequent arrests. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several German Jewish and Polish Jewish victims registered at Alboussière; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Documents pertaining to Lesage's activities can be found in the Fonds Lesage, CDJC. VHA survivor

testimonies citing Alboussière as a site of hiding include Marc Breuer, January 23, 1997 (#25024); Betty Factor, née Farb, August 16, 1998 (#46275); Sarah Montard, née Lichtsztejn, November 5, 1996 (#22211); and Renata Roz, née Roz, March 14, 1996 (#12070).

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NOTES

1. The names of the deported are available in the records of the Prefecture 1st Division 2nd Office available at USHMMA, RG-43.111M (AD-Ard), reel 4. The list of deportees is also reproduced in Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, pp. 435–436.
2. CDJC, Fonds Lesage, as cited in Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, p. 424.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Caroline Wolf (verh. Strauss), Doc. No. 52931210.
4. CDJC, Fonds Lesage, as cited in Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, p. 424.
5. Ibid., pp. 426–427.
6. Roger Misrahi testimony quoted in Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, pp. 428–429.
7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Benjamin Braumann, Doc. No. 52206665.
8. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Eisig Rössler, Doc. No. 50586445.
9. Giraudir, *Des indésirables*, p. 430.

ANNECY

Annecy is located at the northern tip of Lake Annecy in the Rhône-Alpes region of eastern France, about 34 kilometers (21 miles) south of Geneva. It is the prefecture of the Haute-Savoie Département, which borders both Switzerland and Italy. The town was a popular vacation destination and the site of summer camps for youth, including Jewish children, which continued to be operated by charity organizations during the early war years.[1] Eventually, resistance fighters and aid organizations such as the French Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE) organized several children's transports from Annecy and Annemasse to Switzerland. Several hundred children living in hiding in the area or in OSE facilities were saved this way.[2] The total number of camps or other sites of detention located in Annecy is not clear, although there is some evidence suggesting that several detention centers and internment camps for foreign "undesirables" and others operated there. These included an internment camp for a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), a residential center for foreign refugees, and the prison Saint François, among others.[3]

GTE No. 517 operated out of the Marquisats Hotel (*Hotel des Marquisats*) on Crêt-du-Maure Avenue. Nineteen Jews were registered at the site in March 1943 and 21 in May 1943. In May 1943, 63 women came to the site, of whom 53 were Jewish, mostly of German origin. Documentation is scarce and survivors' recollections are often sketchy. Many recall the stay in Annecy as only one in a long line of camps through which they passed.[4]

There were roundups and deportations of French and foreign Jews from the area throughout 1942.[5] The Italian occupation of Haute-Savoie from November 1942 until September 1943 temporarily disrupted these events.[6] However, deportation resumed with a major Gestapo-organized roundup in the area on November 16, 1943. At least four French Jewish children were among those deported to Auschwitz on November 20, 1943.[7] Their last known address was a so-called reception center (*centre d'accueil*) at a school at Les Marquisats, operated until then by the Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE). Félix Wodowski (age 6), Regine Wodowski (age 11), Marcel Zilberstein (age 7), and Raymond Heger (age 4) were moved from Les Marquisats to an assembly point at Chambery. They were deported from there to Auschwitz on convoy 62 on November 20, 1943.[8] In addition, a significant number of adults, many of them foreign Jews, were arrested during the November 16 roundup and subsequent ones.[9] It appears that the Gestapo used the Annecy school building as a temporary collection center for deportees during this period.[10]

Arrests and deportations of Jews living in Annecy continued throughout the first half of 1944.[11] When French resisters liberated the town that summer, a number of Jews were still living there, many of them having spent years in hiding. In the fall of 1944, several dozen survivors received monetary aid from the Committee for the Protection of Jews (*Comité general de defense de Juifs*, CDJ) and from other aid organizations.[12]

SOURCES A few secondary sources mention detention sites in Annecy, including Serge Klarsfeld et al., eds., *French Children of the Holocaust: A Memorial* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: l'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary sources documenting various aspects of internment and detention in Annecy are scarce. See UJRE, Fonds David Diamont, available in microform as USHMMA, RG-43.093M, reel 8. Among others this collection includes the names of at least 21 Jewish adults registered in Annecy in October 1944 who received financial aid from the organization; other records relating to refugee care in Annecy are contained in A-ICRC, available at USHMMA as RG-19.045M, reel 9; and UGIF, Commission du Camps, 1941–1943, available at USHMMA as RG-43.025M, reel 9. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about numerous Jews of various national origins registered at Annecy; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds photos and artifacts of several Jewish refugees who tried to cross the border at Annecy into Switzerland, some successfully. André Limot's collection (Acc. No. 2005.396). contains references to the family crossing into Switzerland. At least one family member, Renate Hirsch, was arrested and temporarily put into a camp in Annecy before successfully escaping into Switzerland. USHMMA holds oral history interviews with Eva Edmands (RG-50.030*0064, October 18, 1990) and Paula Blue (RG-50.030*0537, August 7, 2009), the latter detailing several instances of hiding and then detention in Annecy, crossing into Geneva, and internment in a Swiss refugee camp. Peter Feigl's interview reveals

Annecy as the site of youth summer camps into the early war period (RG-50.030*0272, August 23, 1995). VHA holds important background information on several camps operating in Annecy: Erika Brodsky, July 12, 1995 (#3945); Margot Walton, November 19, 1995 (#6692); Edith Hausman, July 2, 1996 (#16982); Esther Brawerman, May 2, 1997 (#30942); Marie Dora Beinglas, October 6, 1997 (#34773); Inge Nowakowska, August 19, 1997 (#35505); Renee Wiener, September 28, 1995 (#7199); Hanna Charney, December 4, 1995 (#9556); Benjamin Bennoun, December 6, 1995 (#9688); and Suzanne Ringel, October 1, 1996 (#20420).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0272, Paula Blue, oral history interview, August 7, 2009.
2. VHA #7199, Renee Wiener testimony, September 28, 1995.
3. See photographs in USHMMA, Acc. No. 2005.396, André Limot collection; ITS, 1.2.2.0, folder 4, Doc. No. 82155380; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Joseph Clarens, Doc. No. 51445750.
4. VHA #3945, Erika Brodsky testimony, July 12, 1995.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Frida Stocknopf, Doc. No. 52351138.
6. ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 7, Doc. Nos. 82198102ff.
7. Klarsfeld, ed., *French Children*, p. 1313.
8. Ibid.
9. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Hans Zigmann, Doc. No. 52853255.
10. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Jean Vuachet, Doc. No. 51380117.
11. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alfred Hanau, Doc. No. 51671271.
12. CAR, Haute-Savoie Bureau, Annecy, February 14-March 2, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.093M (UJRE), box 41, reel 8, pp. 2711–2714.

ARC-ET-SENANS

In the Franche-Comté region in the east of France, the Doubs Département authorities established an internment camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the old Royal Salt Works dating from the era of King Louis XVI (eighteenth century) in the big market town of Arc-et-Senans, which is located some 159 kilometers (99 miles) northeast of Lyon. On the 25 hectares (approximately 61 acres) of this property, seven living quarters served as the residences of the interned families, and an additional building housed the staff. In 1938, under the government of Premier Édouard Daladier, Spanish refugees were accommodated in the confines of the salt works, the property of the Doubs Département.

At the end of June 1941, at the request of the German occupation authorities from the southern part of the Forbidden Zone along the Reich border, the French departmental authorities established a camp in Arc-et-Senans for housing the internees then scattered throughout the region (from Moloy, Peigney, and particularly the Chaux forest). Part of this camp was to be a "collection camp" created for "nomads" (*camp de rassemblement de nomade*) from the east of France, which became operational in September 1941.

In November 1942, the registers noted 254 internees; in August 1943, 185 internees were counted. The reports of the prefect inspectors estimated nevertheless the possibility of accommodating 500 Roma in this camp.

Guarding the camp was particularly difficult, because only a wall of little more than 2 meters (6.6 feet) in height protected the property, and the sparse shrubs and bushes made escape possible. Moreover, it was nearly impossible to make modifications to the site because the Royal Salt Works gained the status of a "historical monument" in 1926 (but which was only officially ratified on February 20, 1940). According to historian Laurent Peltier, there were 127 escapes in all.

The prefecture of Doubs was responsible for the camp's administration; a chief of camp, Vernerey, a retired captain of the gendarmerie named by the prefect, ran the establishment. Assisting Vernerey was a brigadier-chief adjutant of the customs corps, Gravelle. Customs officers of the region guarded the camp, but in statements of regular reports remitted by the prefect of Doubs to Besançon, these ten men, unarmed, seemed not to be strict with the internees.

The dilapidated and poorly constructed facilities, the lack of medicine, and the poor hygiene in the camp resulted in numerous cases of illness (scabies, pharyngitis, infections, and the like), in spite of the establishment of the infirmary directed by Madame Veuve Le Picard. Between July and November 1942, 60 internees were transferred to a local hospital. However, no suspicious deaths were listed.

For the most part the internees worked outside the camp. A large unit of workers did forestry work as part of Organisation Todt (OT) in the vicinity of Champagnole (Jura). Others worked for the metallurgic union of d'Arc-et-Senans, a local soap manufacturer, a tree-cutting business, and a lumber mill. Others were employed at different tasks for maintaining the buildings and the adjoining estate.

On May 15, 1942, the camp officially became an internment camp. Its security was enhanced in response to complaints by inhabitants exasperated by the frequent escapes and what they considered to be the too easily granted leave authorizations.

On September 11, 1943, the camp closed with the transfer of 168 prisoners (of the remaining 190) to Jargeau. After the Liberation, it served as an administrative internment camp (in December 1944, it held 66 internees) before regaining its status as a historical monument and becoming a World Heritage Site.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Arc-et-Senans camp begin with Alain Gagnieux, *Chronique des jours immobiles: Les nomades internés à Arc-et-Senans, 1941–1943*, preface by Jacques Sigot (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011); Nathalie Lambert, "L'internement des tsiganes dans les salines d'Arc-et-Senans pendant la seconde guerre mondiale: 1941–1943" (unpublished MA thesis, Université de Franche-Comté, 2000; available at ADD, serial MM 2000/98); Laurent Peltier, "Le camp de nomads des Salines d'Arc-et-Senans; Juillet 1941–Septembre

1943," *ET* 13 (1999): 30–54 (the issue consists of a colloquy held at Arc-et-Senans); Peltier, "Le camp de nomades des Salines d'Arc-et-Senans" (1998; unpublished paper available at ADD, serial BC 1 5871); and Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2010).

Primary sources on this camp start with Rapport mensuel du chef de camp d'Arc-et-Senans, AN, AN 72 AJ 119; and ADD, serials 48 W 1–48 W 4. *ET* 13 (1999) includes interviews with former internees Felix Geneviève and a former guard, Brigadier Vienet.

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ARGELÈS-SUR-MER

Located 8 kilometers (5 miles) north of the Spanish border and 20 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Perpignan, the beaches of Argelès-sur-Mer (Pyrénées-Orientales Département) were the site of a major internment camp for "undesirable" foreigners. Some 100,000 inmates occupied the site between February 1939 and September 1941. Most were soldiers of the Spanish Republican Army and of the International Brigades (Interbrigades). Civilian refugees from the Spanish Civil War, many of them women, children, and the elderly, were also detained at Argelès. Some 7,500 inmates, including a sizable Jewish minority, were still registered there in September 1941 when the Vichy authorities liquidated the site. For many of the Jews, Argelès-sur-Mer became a way station to extermination camps in Eastern Europe, while thousands of the Spanish Republican internees died in concentration camps in Germany before the end of the war.

The French government opened the concentration camp (*camp de concentration*) at Argelès-sur-Mer to manage the massive refugee crisis resulting from the Spanish Civil War. In January 1939, an emissary of the Interior Ministry visited the Côte Vermeille and confirmed that the wide beaches outside of Argelès were a suitable location. Construction began on February 1, 1939, with the installation of barbed-wire fencing around an area that eventually would enclose 100 hectares (247 acres). There were no barracks or any other shelter when thousands of refugees arrived at the site after their weeks-long journey across the Pyrenees. They slept in holes dug in sand, under overturned vehicles, or in makeshift tents that offered little protection from the rough seaside climate. According to Remei Oliva, who was detained at age 21, the whole area stank of filth and smoke as people burned anything they could find for a little warmth. Many years after the war, Miquel Hijós recalled his bleak first impressions on arriving at Argelès as a 20-year-old: "People in wool caps, some with a blanket wrapped around their necks, desperately sad—they were like the living dead. There were thousands of people on the ground; you didn't know where to step. The first days were hell."[1]

Some 80,000 people quickly crowded the camp site that lacked even basic amenities. In addition to the cold and deprivation, inmates suffered physical abuse and violence at the hands of mounted soldiers, many of them Senegalese. Local gendarmes also served as guards. Although official figures are not available, mortality rates during the first month were extremely high, as people succumbed to hunger, cold, injury, and disease. A burial ground outside the camp, the so-called Republicans' Cemetery, soon filled with crosses. Luís Martí Bielsa, who was interned at age 19, later recalled, "In the mornings, the Spanish Red Cross came by carrying stretchers and looking around the whole camp for people who had died during the night. They carried them out, one after the other."[2]

Infectious diseases such as dysentery, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and scurvy ran rampant. The camp eventually had five infirmary tents, and there were several doctors among the inmates, but lack of the most basic medical supplies made any effective treatment impossible. Children, the elderly, and pregnant women were particularly vulnerable to illness. Inmates traumatized by war and loss suffered from untreated depression and other mental illnesses. Suicide became endemic among the inmate population as the weeks wore on and despair mounted.[3] Former inmate and Republican soldier Manuel Rausa recalled, "I saw many people die by my side, shot to death, lots of them. It wasn't a shock to see someone commit suicide or die of illness. We were already used to death."[4]

Under the auspices of the French Army, the inmates eventually started building huts and began organizing camp life. The site, which was about two kilometers (over a mile) long, was subdivided into a military section and a smaller civilian section, separated by a river. Each section was further organized into smaller areas. In the civilian section, people formed groups of about 100, each headed by a "company leader" who

Interior gate at the Argelès-sur-Mer internment camp, 1939–1942.
USHMM WS #62401, COURTESY OF ELIZABETH EIDENBENZ.

answered to the French authorities. In the military section, the Republican Army retained its structures and hierarchies, and inmates were grouped by battalions and companies. Soldiers practiced drills, raised flags, and played bugle calls. Many wore their uniforms and insignia and expressed their Republican pride and activism through participation in reading and discussion groups. Inmates also published two Republican journals that were painstakingly illustrated and copied by hand. There were several notable artists and political activists among the inmates, including Marcel Langer, a member of the Interbrigade who went on to become a hero of the French resistance in Toulouse before his execution in July 1943. Rubén Ruiz Ibárruri, son of the Spanish communist leader Dolores Ibárruri, was another inmate. He escaped from the camp and died in September 1942 near Stalingrad, fighting for the Red Army. The Yugoslav communist Peko Dapčević was also interned before becoming a hero during the Partisan uprisings in Montenegro as commander of the Partisan troops that liberated Belgrade in October 1944. The writers Diego Camacho, Joaquim Amat-Piniella, and Arthur Adamov and the philanthropist Vincente Ferrer Moncho were among the inmates.

Women constituted the majority of inmates in the civilian section. Their situation was particularly perilous. They endured rampant sexual violence and humiliation at the hands of the Senegalese guards and local gendarmes. Survivors testified after the war that inmates took to carrying rape whistles, which unfortunately provided little protection against the constant threat of sexual assault. An unknown number of pregnancies resulted from these rapes. Many of the children were born at a maternity home in nearby Elna, which was operated by the Swiss humanitarian Elisabeth Eidenbenz with the help of international aid organizations and private donations. According to her, altogether some 300 children were born there to mothers interned in the refugee camps in southern France.[5]

The Argelès camp closed temporarily in July 1939. A number of inmates then returned to Spain, where many were ultimately executed or incarcerated despite the amnesty issued by the Franco regime. Most inmates were transferred to other camps in France, however, only to return to Argelès when the French authorities reopened the site in October 1939. They were now deemed "enemy aliens," a category that included not only Spanish Republicans but also many refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria, including Jews and communists. Ukrainians, Poles, Belgians, and Hungarians were also among the inmates. The guards tended to assign different nationalities to different sections of the camp. One section was reserved for Jewish inmates. Altogether, some 14,000 men, 2,500 women, and 2,500 children were detained at Argelès during this period. They languished there during the extremely cold winter of 1941. Long after the war, many survivors still recalled the blinding sandstorms that made camp life unbearable. Mortality rates spiked once again.[6]

The camp at Argelès-sur-Mer was finally liquidated in September 1941. Many of the remaining Spaniards were transferred to concentration camps in Nazi Germany. An estimated 13,000 "Red Spaniards" (*roten Spanier*) ended up in German camps, where 10,000 died, 7,000 of them at the Mauthausen concentration camp alone. Many of the Jewish inmates were transferred from Argelès-sur-Mer to other internment camps in France before being transferred to camps in Eastern Europe.[7] After the internment camp was closed, the Vichy government used the site as a paramilitary youth camp (*Chantiers de la jeunesse française*).

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Argelès-sur-Mer camp include Anaya Minguez and Adrián Blas, *Los campos de Argeles, Sant Cyprien y Barcares 1939–1942: Arena, viento, frio, hambre, sudor, soledad y muerte de los republicanos españoles* (Fuenlabrada: Memoria Viva, 2012); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). Several documentaries describe the camp. See especially Dept. Explotació CPA, *Argelès Camp* (2009); and Felip Solé, *Camp d'Argelès* (Kalimago Films, 2010). Online sources include a description and analysis of Felip Solé's *Camp d'Argelès*, www.kalimago.com/camp.html, and of the International Center of Photography at museum.icp.org/mexican_suitcase/gallery_capa2.html, which reproduces some photographs of the famous Hungarian war photographer Robert Capa, who visited the desolate camp at Argelès-sur-Mer in March 1939. Additional online sources include "Die Hölle auf dem Strand/ 'un infern somber la sorra.' Die französischen Internierungslager von Argelès und Saint-Cyprien 1939–1940," which contains eyewitness accounts, photographs, site maps, and analysis, and is available at www.floerken.de /cyprien/cyprien.htm.

Primary sources documenting the Argelès-sur-Mer begin with AD-P-O (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.036M). The CNI of the ITS that is available in digital form at USHMMA contains the names of former Argelès inmates; an investigative report issued by the Kingdom of Belgium after the war is available at ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, pp. 455–474. There are also several oral history interviews with former Jewish inmates at Argelès-sur-Mer in VHA, among other archives. See, especially, Alfredo Vorshim, April 24, 1996 (#13865); Dave Korter, May 8, 1996 (#14998); and Egon Gruenhut, April 7, 1998 (#40167). A published contemporary account is Jaime Espinar, *"Argelès-sur-Mer" (campo de concentración para españoles)* (Caracas: Editorial "Elite," 1940).

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NOTES

1. Hijós testimony in *Argelès Camp*.
2. Bielsa testimony in *Argelès Camp*.
3. Oliva testimony in *Argelès Camp*.
4. Rausa testimony in *Argelès Camp*.
5. Eidenbenz testimony in *Argelès Camp*.
6. Oliva testimony in *Argelès Camp*.
7. VHA # 14998, Dave Korter testimony, May 8, 1996.

AUDAUX

The regional prefect of Toulouse, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz, established a center for residential assignment (*assignation*

à résidence) in the Gassion Castle in the village of Audaux at the end of 1941. The village was located in the Basses-Pyrénées Département (today: Pyrénées-Atlantique Département) 9.6 kilometers (6 miles) northwest of Gurs and 169 kilometers (105 miles) west of Toulouse. The detention site was the first of its kind, as defined by a November 1941 bill, which directed regional prefects in the Southern Zone to regroup "certain refugees," mainly foreign Jews, in places where "the people concerned shall bear the cost of their own housing and living expenses."[1] Local gendarmes served as the guards.

Because the extant documentation on the Audaux site is scant, there is little information on the number of detainees interned there.

On August 22, 1942, on an order from the Vichy Interior Ministry, the Toulouse prefect ordered the transfer of all foreign Jews to the much larger camp at Gurs, in preparation for their upcoming deportation to the "Occupied Zone before September 15."[2] As part of the coordinated removal of Jews from the Southern Zone, the Jews at Audaux were then dispatched to the Drancy transit camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Audaux are Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; Claude Laharie, *Le Camp de Gurs: 1939–1945, un aspect méconnu de l'histoire du Béarn* (Pau: Infocamp, 1985); and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994). Some information on the Audaux camp can be found at the website, Amicale du Camp de Gurs, www.campgurs.com.

Primary documentation on the Audaux camp is scarce. One reference can be found in ADAu 04 6 J, where the site was decreed a center for assigned residence. The center's closure is mentioned in AD-P-A. A published document on the deportation of foreign Jews from the Southern Zone can be found in Jeanne Merle d'Aubigné and Violette Mouchon, eds., *Les clandestins de Dieu: CIMADE 1939–1945* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1989), pp. 210–211, Doc. 2.

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NOTES

1. Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.

2. Quotation in Ministère de l'Intèrieur, Direction générale de la Police, à MM, les Préfets régionaux, August 4, 1942, reproduced in Merle d' Aubigné and Mouchon, eds., *Les clandestins de Dieu*, 210; see also reprise du rapport no. 1432/RG par le chef de camp (Gurs) au préfet, December 11, 1942, AD-P-A 64, classement provisoire M, p. 500/15.

AULUS-LES-BAINS

Aulus-les-Bains was located in the Ariège Département of the Midi-Pyrénées region, 91 kilometers (57 miles) south of Toulouse. This small spa town was chosen by the department's prefecture to become the location of a new center for residential assignment (*assignation à residence*), as of November 1941, to hold all the foreign Jews who lived in Ariège.[1] As such, it served as a regional center (*centre regional*). From regional-level correspondence from the fall of 1942, it is clear that the residential center at Cauterets (Hauntes-Pyrenées Département) answered to Aulus.[2]

The census noted that 686 Jews were assigned to the resort's hotels or to local homes. According to an undated report, most of these Jews were originally from Poland, who had immigrated to Belgium and subsequently found refuge in the Toulouse area.[3]

Most of the Jews at Aulus were then transferred to the camp at Le Vernet, especially after the roundup on August 26, 1942, when 174 Jews, mostly from Poland, were sent to Aulus. Those 174 Jews were then sent to the Drancy transit camp on September 1, before deportation to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on September 4, 1942, where only 26 survived. In November 1942, the dissolution of the Cauterets residential center brought more Jews into Aulus-les-Bains at the direction of the regional prefect, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz. Between January 9 and 11, 1943, a second roundup sent 266 Jews via Saint-Girons to Drancy.[4] Those who were not arrested during the roundup were moved to the Creuse Département.

Rabbi Samuel Kapel visited the Aulus center several times. Nehemia Halpern served as the local rabbinical delegate.[5]

A few Jews managed to escape by crossing the nearby Spanish border with the assistance of non-Jews. In 2005, three shepherds from Ariège—Jeanne Rogalle, her husband Jean-Baptiste, and her father Jean-Pierre Acgoua—were recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations for saving 13 Jewish refugees, including the Henle family from the Netherlands, on December 5, 1942.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the assigned residential center at Aulus-les-Bains are Frank Ristorcelli, "Assignés à résidence: Le cas d'Aulus (Ariège)," in Jacques Fijalkow, ed., *Les enfants de la Shoah: Colloque de Laucaune, 17–18 septembre 2005* (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 2006), 79–95; Frank Ristorcelli, *Aulus-les-Bains, Auschwitz* (Portet-sur-Garonne: éd. Empreinte, 2004); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and David Lilienfeld, *La vie quotidienne des Juifs en Ariège, 1940–1945* (Massat: Les 3 Chaises, 2011). Information on the rescuers at Aulus-les-Bains can be found at db.yadvashem.org/righteous/search.html?language=en.

Primary sources documenting the center for assigned residence at Aulus-les-Bains can be found in ADA (collections 5W117 to 120; some of which is available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.052M); AD-C (976W104, some of which is available at USHMMA as RG-43.109M); and AD-H-P

(12W67, available at USHMMA as RG-43.131M). Additional documentation can be found in CDJC, file CCXIX-128_001; file CCXIX-122_001; file CCXIX-129_001 (letter from July 14, 1942, sent by Halpern to Kapel); and file CCXIX-101_002. Ristorcelli, "Assignés à résidence," cites a number of survivor and rescuer testimonies in connection with the Aulus-les-Bains center for assigned residence, including those of Larissa Dachevsky and Jeanne Rogalle.

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NOTES

1. Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.
2. Préfecture Régionale de Toulouse, Cheneux de Leyritz, Objet: "Assignation à résidence au Centre régional d'Aulus d'Israélites se trouvant actuellement au Centre de Cauterets," November 25, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M (AD-H-P), 12W67, p. 391.
3. On the general situation of 375 Jews assigned to residence in Aulus-les-Bains, n.d., CDJC, file CCXIX-128_001.
4. AD-C, 976W104, as cited in Ristorcelli, "Assignés à résidence," p. 93.
5. Nehemia Halpern, Aulus-les-Bains, to Rabbi Kapel, Toulouse, July 5, 1942, CDJC, file CCXIX-122_001; and sous-préfet de Saint-Girons on Nehemia Halpern, "organisation du centre d'accueil des Israélites étrangers d'Aulus-les-Bains," August 13, 1942, CDJC, file CCXIX-101_002.

BAGNÈRES-DE-LUCHON

Bagnères-de-Luchon is located in the Haute-Garonne Département, in the Midi-Pyrenees region adjacent to the Spanish border, 114 kilometers (approximately 71 miles) southwest of Toulouse. Jews like Leo Bretholz, who fled Belgium with his parents, settled in Bagnères-de-Luchon after the 1940 invasion.[1] As early as the beginning of 1941, however, they had to leave the city and move to Bagnères-de-Bigorre (Hautes-Pyrénées Département), where Jews in the region were purportedly sent. The case of the Reicher family confirmed this pattern: The Reichers (Mendel, Liba, and their children Abraham, Moses, Isaac, and Elimelech-Max) had come from Anvers, Belgium, on September 2, 1940, and settled in Bagnères-de-Luchon; they left on February 21, 1941, when they registered their children at the local school in Broût-Vernet.[2]

After November 1941, the town was chosen by the department's prefecture to become a center for residential assignment (*assignation à residence*) for all foreign Jews in the department, who were assigned to the town's hotels. The exact number of assigned Jews is unknown, but there were at least 10 of them in Bagnères, according to a report from March 1942.[3]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the residential assignment center at Bagnères-de Luchon is Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources on the Bagnères-de Luchon residential assignment center can be found in CDJC, file XXXIII-11 (minutes of January 15, 1942, from the Carteret investigation, the Inspector to the Investigation and Control Unit in Bagnères-de-Luchon); and USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, Leo Bretholz interview (July 31, 1989, and September 27, 1989).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, Leo Bretholz interview, July 31, 1989, and September 27, 1989.
2. AFMD, l'Allier, based on ADH-G, 2961W46.
3. CDJC, file XXXIII-11: January 15, 1942, minutes of the Carteret investigation.

BARENTON

Located 83 kilometers (51 miles) northeast of Rennes in the Basse-Normandie region of northwestern France, the town of Barenton (in the Manche Département) was the site of an internment camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). The camp was located at an abandoned mine; hence the name by which it came to be known, "La Mine." Some 50 Roma were registered at the La Mine camp between April 11, 1941, and October 9, 1942.

A small number of Barenton inmates who were engaged in forced labor outside the camp were able to secure their release from the camp. The forced laborers had to move into segregated and guarded workers' quarters, however. By late 1941 the German authorities began to consolidate several of the smaller internment camps for Roma. After setting up a regional camp at Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire), La Mine was closed on October 9, 1942. Its inmates were transferred to Montreuil-Bellay, which soon became the largest internment camp for Roma in the area, housing several hundred inmates.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Barenton camp include Marie-Christine Hubert, "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), II: 59–88. Based on extensive archival documentation, Hubert's chapter provides valuable background information as well as detailed analysis and comparison of anti-Roma policies in the occupied and unoccupied zones of France. For a general overview see Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *Gypsies under the Swastika* (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire, 2009); Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France 1939–1946* (Paris: Éditions CNRS, 1994); and *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), which also mentions the camp at Barenton.

Primary sources documenting the Barenton camp can be found in AD-E-L, collection 16W162; and AD-M, collection 265W2.

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BEAUNE-LA-ROLANDE

The Beaune-la-Rolande camp (Loiret Département) was located in the town of Beaune-la-Rolande in the Southern Zone in the Centre Region, just over 89 kilometers (55 miles) south of Paris. Beaune-la-Rolande was a French-run transit and internment camp and deportation center for Jews (men, women, and children) north of the Demarcation Line and closely associated with the camp at Pithiviers, located almost 18 kilometers (11 miles) northwest of Beaune-la-Rolande. Eighteen thousand Jews were held in the camp; most of them were transported to Auschwitz, although some were deported to Compiègne and Drancy.

Beaune-la-Rolande was built during the winter of 1939 to receive Canadian troops and, after the Fall of France, was converted into a German camp for French prisoners of war. After March 1941 it became an internment center for Parisian Jews and was administered by the office of the Loiret prefect. The German authorities, under orders from SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker, took over operations at Beaune-la-Rolande in May 1942. The camp was closed in August 1943.

The first Jewish prisoners arrived at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande on May 14, 1941. They had received "green tickets" (*billets verts*) from the Paris police the night before, which instructed them to report for a "status check" on the order of Dr. Werner Best. More than 3,700 men reported as instructed, were immediately arrested, and were taken by train from the Austerlitz railway station (*Gare d'Austerlitz*) to one of the two camps.

The inmates at Beaune-la-Rolande stayed in the Château d'Eau barracks. The camp had two sections: one reserved for the internees and the other for the administrative services (police station, infirmary, administration, and kitchen).

As of October 4, 1941, there were 1,552 internees: 1,341 Poles, 73 Czechs, 26 Austrians, 2 Lithuanians, 1 Portuguese, 1 Saarlander, 1 Hungarian, and 107 French. During its first year of operation, the camp had at any given time between 1,200 to 1,500 Jews, even with releases, escapes, arriving convoys, and deportations.[1] However, the only prisoners released in 1941 from Beaune-la-Rolande were those who were gravely ill with a contagious disease or a terminal illness. At that time, 23 prisoners were proposed for release.[2]

Scale model of the Beaune-la-Rolande internment camp, by Aba Sztern and another inmate, March 1942.
USHMM WS #46160, COURTESY OF WILLY FOGEL.

The French Red Cross (*Croix-Rouge Française*, CRF) brought aid to the families of those interned at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande. This relief was provided by Madames Getting and Gillet.[3] In some cases the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) served as a go-between for the CRF and those in need.[4]

While in Beaune-la-Rolande prisoners performed forced labor both inside and outside the camp. Some of the chores, such as cooking and cleaning, related to the camp's operation.[5] A staff member in 1941 named Mademoiselle Monod was authorized by the commandant to gather together the internees for agricultural work; before they left for the fields she demanded their word of honor that they would not escape.[6] Monod also started the camp's "book hour" and managed the books in the camp's library.[7] Beaune-la-Rolande had a prisoner theater as well.[8]

According to documentation submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the doctors at Beaune-la-Rolande did a better job providing health care and had better morale than their counterparts at Pithiviers. The "Permanent Assembly of Social Workers of the Camps at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande" deemed the administration at Beaune-la-Rolande superior to that of its sister camp, a fact attributed to the exceptional commandant at Beaune.[9]

According to a 1942 camp report, the leadership of the Beaune-la-Rolande camp comprised the following positions: the camp commandant, the lieutenant of the gendarmerie, the manager Le Cuen, the manager Meuret, the accountant Senoist (in charge of managing the funds of the internees), the head of works Jacquet, and the head chef.[10] Beaune-la-Rolande's security force included 4 officers, 80 gendarmes, 43 customs officers, and 52 auxiliary guards, who were all armed with long guns and pistols.[11]At first Beaune-la-Rolande was an open camp, and the prisoners' families were allowed to visit.

After a few months under German control, the camp in September 1942 reverted to French control under the regional prefect and became an internment facility (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), primarily for non-Jewish communist prisoners.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Beaune-la-Rolande include Amicale des Anciens Déportés Juifs de France, *Ce fut le commencement . . . le 14 mai 1941: Pithiviers et Beaune-la Rolande/ Azoy hot zikh es ongehoybn . . . dem 14tn may 1941* (Paris: SIPN, 1951); I. Bachelier and D. Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret: histoire et mémoire, 1941–1943* (Orléans, France: Centre de recherché et de documentation sur les camps d'internement et la déportation juive dans le Loiret, 1993); David Diamant, *Le Billet Vert: La vie et la résistance à Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande, camps pour juifs, camps pour chrétiens, camps pour patriotes*

(Paris: Éditions Renouveau, 1977); Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz: La "solution finale" de la question juive en France* (1983; Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2001); Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Annette Wieviorka, ed., *Les Biens des Internés des Camps de Drancy, Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande* (Paris: La Documentation française, 2000); Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994).

Extensive primary documentation on Beaune-la-Roland can be found in USHMMA. Materials available on microfiche include RG-43.016M, AN Police Générale, reel 14; Selected Records from the Fonds Diamant (CDJC, collections CMXXVIII-CMXLII), RG-43.082M, reels 8 and 15; and RG-43.012M (AN), Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande index file. USHMMA materials covering Beaune-la-Rolande that are available digitally include AFSC, RG-67.007M, box 72–81, folder 16 of 140; and the ITS. CNI cards for some prisoners interned at Beaune-la-Rolande can be found in ITS, 0.1. A large number of ITS records on Beaune-la-Rolande can be found in 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco) and 2.3.5.1 (Belgian catalog on concentration and forced labor camps in Germany and German-occupied territory). USHMMA's relevant visual art collections include Acc. No. 2003.462, "Internment Camps in France in Art Collection," and RG-10.226, the "Ajke family collection, 1910–1999." VHA holds 56 testimonies that mention internment at Beaune-la-Rolande, including the one cited in this entry: Simon Barenbaum (#43487).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Beaune-la-Rolande," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370669.
2. "Beaune-la-Rolande qu'a Pithiviers," ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 10, Doc. No. 82198946.
3. Pillon, Directeur Général du Secours National, July 18, 1941. USHMMA, RG-67.007M (AFSC), box 72–81, folder 16 of 140, p. 197.
4. "Madame Getting, Comité d'Entre-Aide aux Internes Civils, Croix-Rouge Française," August 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 72–81, folder 16 of 140, p. 210.
5. "VI.—Travail," n.d. 1942, RG-43.016M (AN—Police Générale), reel 14, p. 3324.
6. "Le 'cirage' de l'Exposition," ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 10, Doc. No. 82198954.
7. Ibid.
8. VHA #43487, Simon Barenbaum testimony, May 13, 1998.
9. "Première visite à la Permanence des Assistances sociales des camps de Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande," ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 10, Doc. Nos. 82198945–82198946.
10. "VIX. Personnel," n.d. (1942), RG-43.016M (AN—Police Générale), reel 14, p. 3329.
11. "Le Régime," ITS, 2.3.5.1., folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370670.

BOUSSAIS

In the town of Boussais, a small abandoned chateau, Chatillon, which belonged to the Deux-Sèvres Département, briefly served as an internment camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Boussais is located 95 kilometers (59 miles) southwest of Tours. Under the Third Republic, it had served as a reception center for Spanish refugees in 1939 and later for the outflow of refugees after May/June 1940.

From November 1940 the camp contained Roma who stayed either in their horse-drawn carriages or in the chateau's rooms. There was no barbed-wire fence around the chateau, a sign of the freedom permitted to the Roma. Witnesses emphasized that the Roma there enjoyed a modicum of peace and the guarantee of a minimal food ration.

Under the direct authority of the police chief of Deux-Sèvres, the secretary of the mayor of Boussais assumed responsibility for the administration of the camp. The police of the neighboring town of Airvault regularly inspected the camp "as a matter of form."[1]

The transfer of the Roma to Poitiers in December 1940 brought an end to the Boussais internment camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources for the Boussais internment camp may be found in Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–133; and Marie-Christine Hubert, "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), 2:59–88.

The testimony of internee Charles Henrique is briefly summarized in Sigot, "Les Camps," pp. 107–108.

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NOTE

1. Testimony of Charles Henrique as summarized in Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 108.

BRAM

The Bram camp was located in the Aude Département, near Carcassonne about 142 kilometers (92 miles) southwest of Montpellier, on almost 5 hectares (about 12 acres) of requisitioned pasture land belonging to the owner of the Valgros Chateau, near the commune of Montréal. Also called the "camp of Pigny," Bram received an annual allowance of 15,000 francs for its operations starting February 5, 1939 (and conforming with a contract signed May 10, 1940).

Established on February 5, 1939, by prefectural order and completed February 16, the camp consisted of 165 wooden barracks in a trapezoidal shape (337 × 305 meters or 368 × 334 yards in width and length). The barracks were grouped into nine and one-half sections, labeled A through J, in addition to one for kitchen, sanitary, and administrative services on the pe-

riphery. A large passageway spanned the entire facility, with a watchtower at its center. A barbed-wire fence, 2.5 meters (eight feet) high, topped the exterior fence enclosing the area. Under the direction of Andre Cazes, engineer of the Ponts-et-Chaussees (bridges and roadways) of Aude, 300 workers, assisted by as many Spanish refugees, constructed the camp.

The original purpose of the Bram camp was to gather up and house elderly people among the Spanish refugees coming from the overcrowded camps of Saint-Cyprien and Argelès-sur-Mer in the Roussillon region. In addition, Spanish leftists from the Communist Party of Spain (*Partido Communista de España*, PCE), Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (*Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña*, PSUC), and Unified Socialist Youth (*Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas*, JSU) were interned there. From February through the end of August 1939, more than 10,000 Spaniards passed through Bram (the population peaked on March 15, 1939, with 15,688 internees). The direction of the camp was in the hands of the Chef d'Escadron Ramel, supported by the mobile guards supervised by various officers of the 41st Infantry Regiment after May 24, 1939. The director seemed to have a good rapport with the prefectural authorities, and the camp's budgetary management received positive comments.

On July 20, 1940, one month after the Fall of France, the Spanish refugees were given the option of repatriation or continued internment at Bram. As of August 10, 1940, other foreigners in the Aude Département, whose temporary visas could no longer be renewed, likewise faced the choice of repatriation or internment at Bram. Among these foreigners were German and Austrian Jews. They formed a Group of Foreign Workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), whose principal task was maintaining the camp.

On September 23, 1940, after the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) expressed concerns about the poor conditions at Bram, the Minister of the Interior deemed the camp unsatisfactory, writing that Bram and Saint-Cyprien, were "considered the most defective, in view of their complete reorganization from the point of view of sanitary conditions and materiél organization."[1] During an inspection in the fall of 1940, Dr. Limousin, who was given permission by the French authorities to visit internment camps, pronounced Bram's sanitary conditions "mediocre."[2]

During the Bram camp's two years of operation, a total of 224 deaths occurred there, including about 40 children buried at first at the far end of the camp and then in a common grave in the Montréal cemetery. At the beginning of 1941, the camp was shut down for good.

SOURCES The Bram camp is discussed in Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); and Eric Lagarde, "L'organisation et l'accueil des réfugiés républicains espagnols dans le département de l'Aude" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Toulouse, 1984) (available in ADAu under 19 FI 1-196).

Primary sources on Bram can be found in AN F1a 4523 (inspection générale des services administratifs, compte-rendu des visites dans le camp de Bram); and F7 15095 (Compte-rendu de la visite des camps d'internés par le docteur Limousin, December 1, 1940). Detailed documentation can be found in ADAu in several collections: 6M22 (correspondance du commandant, août-novembre 1940); 6M26 (commissariat spécial de Carcassonne / 6M165 états statistiques des réfugiés en 1939 etc.). In particular, see ADAu, 6M161 (Rapport du commandant du camp au général commandant la 16e région, Note de service du 23 juin 1940, No. 558/2; Rapport du préfet de l'Aude pour le ministère de l'Intérieur, n.d. [a little later than February 27, according to Peschanski, p. 50]; and états statistiques des réfugiés 1939); 6M340, 6M17 and 6M158: lettre du préfet aux maires du département, 10 août 1940; 6M26 (Etat des dépenses, 28 octobre 1940). Some ADAu holdings can be found at USHMM as RG-43.039M. Brief mention is made of Bram in ICRC documentation, as found in Serge Klarsfeld with Jean Levy, eds., *Recueil de documents des archives du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge sur le sort des juifs de France internés et déportés, 1939–1945*, 3 vols. (Paris: FFDJF; New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, [1999]–2005).

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NOTES

1. Ministre secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur au cabinet militaire du chef de l'État, September 23, 1940, as quoted in Klarsfeld with Levy, eds., *Recueil de documents des archives du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge*, I: 71–72; also cited in Peschanski, *La France des camps*, pp. 230–231.
2. AN F7 15086, Compte-rendu de la visite des camps d'internés par le docteur Limousin, December 1, 1940.

BRENS

The camp at Brens was located in the Tarn Département in the Midi-Pyrénées region, 48 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Toulouse on the edge of the National Road (*route nationale*), near the bridge connecting the small towns of Gaillac and Lavaur. It was situated in an area known as "The Bank" (*Les Rives*) on 2 hectares (4.9 acres) at the edge of the Tarn River requisitioned by order of the prefect. Ten barracks were constructed in October 1939 on each side of a central walkway; sanitary facilities, a kitchen, and a large dining area were built near these barracks. At the western end, eight barracks were added as part of three housing groups, with sanitary facilities attached to each group. Between the two sections of the camp, an infirmary was constructed (finished in May 1942), as well as two administration buildings. The camp, which took the shape of a rhomboid, was gradually enclosed by barbed wire and guarded by three watchtowers and eight surveillance posts.[1]

The camp's capacity was estimated at 500 people. It was supposed to have served as a "receiving center for refugees" (*centre d'accueil pour réfugiés*)—first Spanish and then Belgians and Poles—displaced in the consecutive exoduses at the

beginning of World War II.[2] One thousand of these refugees were quickly transferred to this camp, but they had all left by September 1940.

In November 1940, the prefecture of Haute-Garonne and the Jewish Charity Committee of Toulouse (*Comité Juif de bienfaiscance de Toulouse*) decided to transform the receiving camp for refugees into a housing center for Jewish foreigners. The Jewish internees were prohibited from leaving the camp in January 1941 and were then transferred to the camps in Noé and Récébédou before being deported in March 1941. The preceding month, 150 refugees managed to escape from Brens. Sixteen hundred foreign refugees were registered during the whole period, of whom 400 were children. Half of the foreign refugees were Polish Jews.

According to Jack Hamburg, who was interned as a child at Brens, the accommodations were inadequate in all respects. The internees slept in three-tiered bunk beds, with straw as bedding, in barracks that were cold in winter and hot in summer; each day they received a watery soup and otherwise poor food rations. In the early summer of 1941, the French police ordered the foreign Jews to be evacuated from Brens, giving them only one hour to pack, according to Hamburg's account. The Hamburg family was dispatched to the much larger French internment camp at Rivesaltes.[3]

On December 31, 1941, the prefect of Tarn transformed the site into a "concentration camp for women" (*camp de concentration pour femmes*), the only such camp in the Southern Zone. On February 14, 1942, 319 women and children arrived from the camp in Rieucros (Lozère Département).[4] The number of inmates did not vary much: a peak was reached in July 1943 with 399 women present.[5] In April 1944, the number dropped to 153 women.[6]

The camp was under the administration of the prefect of Tarn, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz (between June 1940 and January 1944). The prisoners were under the supervision of mobile guards recruited from Lozère complemented by a contingent from the camp at Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe (Tarn). In 1943, 53 guards were on the official roster, but only 30 were active (the others were classified as sick, on leave, discharged, suspended, and, in one case, dismissed).[7]

The prisoners formed a heterogeneous group of 15 different nationalities and careers (militant communists, trade unionists, German and Polish Jews, revolutionary Spaniards from Argelès-sur-Mer, prostitutes, and common law prisoners). According to historian Denis Peschanski, who was able to identify 91 percent of the camp's registrants from that period, 15 percent of the women were communists, 30 percent were political prisoners, 37 percent were designated as common-law prisoners, and 18 percent were miscellaneous cases or were imprisoned for the commission of economic offenses. The proportion of prostitutes increased between September 1942 (with the arrival of 37 prostitutes from Toulouse) and April 1943, to the point where they comprised one-third of the prisoners. The other two-thirds were foreigners (of whom 14 percent were German, and nearly as many were Spanish and Polish).

Most prisoners were engaged in the trades of the camp: sewing, shoe repair, chair caning, and making artistic buttons, brushes, and brooms; 4 percent volunteered for work in Germany or with the Nazi construction organization, Organisation Todt (OT).[8]

In the camp, one barrack was reserved for cultural activities and leisure, arranged by the Protestant aid and assistance group, Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE), and the French Red Cross. Prisoners with expertise taught classes for other prisoners in subjects such as stenography, foreign languages, and drawing, according to a September 1943 report from the camp's director.[9] Elementary school-aged children of both prisoners and camp personnel (about 35 children) attended a school inside the camp.[10]

For the most part, relations between the different groups of prisoners were tense; in November 1942, the "political" prisoners asked to be separated from the other detainees. This request was not granted until March 27, 1943, when they henceforth occupied the five barracks farthest to the east. In September 1943, following the order of Marshal Pétain, the prostitutes were freed.[11]

In effect, the camp was more of a "transit" camp, because Peschanski estimated that, of the nearly 45 percent of the prisoners who were liberated, 23.5 percent chose repatriation and 4 percent escaped without being caught by the authorities.

Although Jewish women formed a minority of the camp population—up to August 1942 only 80 Jewish women were counted among the prisoners—their story left its mark, particularly given the violence that the deportations engendered. Anna Bauer and Paulina Grüber, who were actively engaged with the Jewish Social Committee of the Brens Camp (*Comité Social Israélite du Camp de Brens*), gave testimony and were in direct communication with the Jewish chaplains who were available through the efforts of Chief Rabbi Simon Fuks.

The women prisoners were not able to escape the edicts of the Vichy authorities. Initially three women were sent to the camp at Gurs on August 6, 1942; an additional three were sent to the camp in Récébédou on August 7, 1942, before being deported to Auschwitz five days later.

In the great roundup of August 26, 1942, in the Free Zone, 31 Jewish prisoners from Brens were handed over to the German authorities. The transfer of these prisoners on August 26 was the subject of a vigorous protest in the camp among the other internees, including non-Jews, who were vehemently opposed to the Vichy regime.[12] Fourteen more women were handed over to the Germans on September 21, 1942. With each successive transfer, the witnesses voiced similar anger.

On June 4, 1944, following the German takeover of control of the installations, the camp was closed, and the 150 remaining prisoners were transferred to Gurs.[13] On December 20, 1944, the camp reopened for the imprisonment of 273 female collaborators who were captured after July 1944 and their children.

SOURCES Secondary sources that discuss the camp at Brems include Mechthild Gilzmer, *Camps de femmes: Chroniques*

d'internées; Rieucros et Brens 1939–1944 (Paris: Autrement coll. "Mémoires," 2000); and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); the reader's attention is particularly drawn to Diana Fabre, "Les camps d'internement du Tarn: Saint-Sulpice et Brens," in Cohen et al., pp. 71–81; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the camp at Brens, on which this essay is based, are found in AN F1a 4589 on the general inspectorate of administrative services for the camps of Brens, Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe, and Castres, as well as the following collections from ADT (also found at USHMMA under RG-43.061M): 495-W-1-71; photographs of the camp by André Jean-Faure, 495-W-47; and ADH-P, archives de la Commission des camps des œuvres israélites d'assistance aux réfugiés, 6J15. The following testimonies evoke in detail life in the camp in the period when it was a concentration camp for women: Angelita Bettini, former internee of the Récébédou, Rieucros, Brens, and Gurs camps (discussed in Gilzmer); and Gertrud Rast (*née* Gräser), *Allein bist du nicht: Kämpfe und Schicksale in schwerer Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg Verlag, 1972). Survivor Jack Hamburg's testimony on Brens is found in VHA, #21984.

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NOTES

1. Capitaine Crayol to Chef d'Escadron, Commandant la Compagnie du Tarn, March 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 6, 495W5, p. 287 (USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W5, with page); camp map, April 20, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W5, pp. 289–290.
2. "Rapport sur le camp de Brens," December 15, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 346.
3. VHA #21984 Jack Hamburg testimony, November 1, 1996.
4. Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service des Renseignements Généraux du Tarn to P/T, February 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, pp. 350–351.
5. Chef de Camp, "Rapport mensuel du mois de juillet 1943," August 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 858.
6. Chef de Camp, "Rapport mensuel du mois de mars-avril," May 4, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 1172.
7. "Rapport de M. Lebègue, de l'Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement, sur le camp de Brens," April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, pp. 428–429.
8. Chef de Camp to P/T, September 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W4, pp. 218–219.
9. Ibid., p. 226.
10. "Rapport de M. Lebègue," p. 432.
11. Conseiller d'État, Secrétaire Général et la Police to Prefects of the Free Zone, August 25, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/7/495W45, p. 495.
12. Chef de Camp, "Rapport périodique des mois de juillet et août 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 652.
13. P/T to Interior Minister, October 6, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/6/495W7, p. 330.

BUZET-SUR-BAÏSE

Buzet-sur-Baïse was located in the Lot-et-Garonne Département in the Aquitaine region in the Albret countryside, at the confluence of the Garonne and Baise Rivers some 117 kilometers (72 miles) northwest of Toulouse. Created in June 1940 by order of the prefect, René Heureude, and situated near the castle of this small village of about 1,000 inhabitants, it served as a confinement center (*camp de séjour surveillé*) for foreigners in the department. The region had to contend with the influx of refugees from Alsace-Lorraine that followed the preventive evacuations of September 1939 and the Exodus of May/June 1940, organized by the authorities of the Third Republic, which ended in the Aquitaine region. In Buzet, a large part of the camp's infirmary section was made ready for elderly people and for those who were deemed "incurable," who were refugees from Bischwiller (Bas-Rhin). Among them were about 20 Jews.

Little information is known about the site, which closed on February 4, 1941. The internees were then transferred to the camp at Saint-Germain-Les-Belles (Haute-Vienne).

After the camp was shut down, a Group of Foreign Workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 310, occupied the center of the Buzet castle in March 1941, before the SS decided to make it a quartering station for their troops at Aguillon. Summary killings accompanied their presence, such as those of a family of local farmers and their employee who were presumably working for the Resistance, in April 1944. On June 22, 1944, the SS Deutschland Regiment murdered six French resisters and then five others between June 22 and July 13.

SOURCES The following secondary sources mention the camp at Buzet-sur-Baïse: Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, *Lot-et-Garonne: Terre d'exil, terre d'asile; Les réfugiés juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (Narosse: Albret, 2006); and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994).

Archival sources on this camp were found in two main places, ADH-V and ADL-G. From ADH-V, see 993W11, notes regarding services, reports and summaries, individual directives, names lists of prisoners, and correspondence (June 1940 to February 1941); and 993W20 regarding the transfer of the archives of the camps Buzet-sur-Baïse and Saint-Germain-les-Belles in Bordeaux to the prefecture of Haute-Vienne, dated March 1949. From ADL-G, see 1W347 on the creation, administration, and concentration of internees between 1940 and 1941.

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CASSENEUIL

Also called the "Train Station camp," "Sauvaud camp," or "Spanish camp," the Casseneuil camp was located in the Lot-et-Garonne Département between the Casseneuil railway station and the right bank of the Lot River, approximately 114 kilometers (71 miles) northwest of Toulouse. The camp's origins date to 1937, when the French Army and the Minister of War decided to build a national explosives factory on the grounds of Saint-Livrade, near Casseneuil, on farmland expropriated from local farmers.

Beginning in October 1939, a military camp complex was built to house the soldiers in charge of supervising and guarding the national arsenal. One of the camps was later designated as a detention site for the Spanish refugees who worked on the construction of the explosives factory. The camp was placed under the authority of the prefect of the department, who delegated its administration and management to Capitaine Henri Chassagnac, head of the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 536.[1] He was assisted both by an interior guard made up of local police and by an exterior guard supported by a Mobile Reserve Group (*Groupe Mobile de Réserve*, GMR), paramilitary units established by the Vichy regime; the GMR unit was called the "Black Guard" by the prisoners who feared them because of their involvement with the roundups. A military doctor, Dr. Griffier, was responsible for the camp's medical service, and according to historian Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, he helped prisoners organize several escapes.

The camp was surrounded by barbed wire. A large entranceway led to a group of 16 barracks, of which 10 were for the prisoners (5 for women and children and 5 for men). The women slept on cots, whereas the men slept on the ground or on straw. One barrack was for the camp commander and another for the administrative and housekeeping staff, one housed kitchen staff. A barrack served as a prison and another one as an infirmary. One barrack was for the priest delegation and Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE).

After the Armistice of June 1940, the camp became a detention center for foreigners living in Lot-et-Garonne, many of whom were Jewish. Jewish prisoners were held in a separate part of the camp enclosed by its own barbed-wire fence. In all, there were approximately 10 nationalities represented in the camp's population, among them Germans, Austrians, Czechs, Slovaks, Russians, Poles, Belgians, and stateless persons.

From the end of 1941, the Spanish refugees from Casseneuil were sent by the German authorities as part of the Organisation Todt (OT) to the Atlantic front to construct fortifications on the Atlantic Wall. After the Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO) was established in February 1943, Casseneuil also served as an assembly point for young workers from Lot-et-Garonne being sent to Germany.

Casseneuil became the headquarters of GTE No. 536 on January 17, 1942. A majority of the GTE laborers were Spanish, although 109 foreign Jewish workers were also attached to this group, including one doctor and approximately 10 employees of the national arsenal.[2] Most of the laborers worked on farms or local factories at Senchou and La Tréfilerie. Some were sent to work in Germany in response to OT recruitment drives that sought volunteers.[3]

On August 15, 1942, the Vichy Interior Minister designated Casseneuil as the department's "gathering center" for all foreign Jews, in preparation for the deportations that would take place later that month. Three hundred and eighty Jewish foreigners who had found refuge in Lot-et-Garonne were imprisoned at Casseneuil as part of the August 26, 1942, roundup, though the Commissioner of General Information had earlier expected that 700 Jews would be arrested. Casseneuil also held a number of prisoners, both foreign and French, who were arrested for crossing the Demarcation Line between the northern Occupied Zone and the Free Zone, which ran along the department's western border. Sixty-nine Jews were detained in a separate area at Casseneuil for this "misdemeanor."

Alerted by Gilbert Lesage (founder of the *Service Social des Étrangers* [SSE] and recipient of Yad Vashem's Righteous Among the Nations medal in 1985), Robert Gamzon of the French Jewish Scouts (*Eclaireurs Israélites de France*) told Grand Rabbi Hirschler of the impending deportations; the rabbi then obtained confirmation from Vichy of the pending deportation of foreign Jews. To verify the status and nationality of those subject to deportation, Rabbi Simon Fuks was sent to Casseneuil. Two Jews escaped from Casseneuil with the help of the medical head of Service of the Order of the Legionnaires of the sector.

When it came time for the deportation, some Jews on the department's list could not be found, which did not go unnoticed by the prefecture. "The ministerial instructions relating to the internment of foreign Jews could not be carried out in good conditions," the police superintendent wrote to the prefect on August 26, because it seemed that advance knowledge of the roundup had enabled many Jews to flee.[4]

On September 3, 1942, 284 Jews from the Casseneuil camp, including 34 children, were sent via convoy to Drancy before their deportation to Auschwitz.

Thereafter, the Casseneuil camp served as the gathering place and then the departure center for subsequent Jewish convoys from the region. Convoys of Jews were sent to Rivesaltes on September 9 (32 people), September 18 (50 people, most of whom were arrested crossing the Demarcation Line), and October 26, 1942 (10 people).[5] Two convoys totaling at least 50 Jews, some of whom were part of GTE No. 536, were sent to Gurs at the end of February 1943.[6]

In February 1945, the remaining foreigners detained at Casseneuil were transferred to Masseube (Gers) and Septfonds (Tarn-et-Garonne).[7] Before the camp was closed for good in August 1945, it was used temporarily to hold a group of Soviet prisoners of war who had been conscripted by the Germans to fight the French Resistance.[8]

SOURCES The following secondary sources contain useful information on Casseneuil: Sandrine Labeau and Alexandre

Doulut, *Les 473 déportés juifs de Lot-et-Garonne*, preface by Serge Klarsfeld (Paris: Après l'Oubli et Fils et Filles de Déportés juifs de France, 2010); Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, "De Casseneuil à Auschwitz," *Revue de l'Agenais* 1:2 (1994), 389–417; Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, *Lot-et-Garonne, Terre d'exil, terre d'asile: Les réfugiés juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (Narosse: Éditions d'Albret, 2006); René Montaut, "Les camps GTE de Casseneuil et de Tombebouc," in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994), pp. 207–209; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). Gérard Gobitz, *Les deportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996) discusses the roundup at Casseneuil.

Primary sources on the Casseneuil camp are found in ADL-G, 1W (Prefect Cabinet), 2W (files from the prefectural office for foreigners), and 912W (foreigners in the department between 1927 and 1968). Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA under RG-43.123M. Information on aid provided to detainees by the AFSC can also be found at USHMMA under RG-67.007M (Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950), Series IX (box 64, folder 60; box 65, folder 68; box 69, folder 23). In addition, there are several witness testimonies, such as by Jean Tepey, a Slovene prisoner at Casseneuil, and Frederic Lindenstaedt, who, with his mother and sister, was arrested on August 26, 1942, and locked up at Casseneuil and then at La Glondonne. There are also eight VHA testimonies with information on Casseneuil. An unpublished testimony is S. M. Bergmann, "From Antwerp to Geneva via Recebedou and Casseneuil: Memoirs of the Years 1940–1942," available at USHMMA Acc. 1997.A.0128. This entry also benefited from the writings of Rabbi Simon Fuks in his memoirs, *Un Rabbin d'Alsace: Souvenirs de Guerre* (Colmar: Jérôme Do Bentzinger, 2003).

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NOTES

1. "Rapport du Chef de Groupe Chassagnac, Commandant le Groupe Départemental 536 de T.E. sur la Visite de la Commission Todt dans son Département," August 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.123M (ADL-G), reel 10, 2W66, pp. 58–59 (USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W66, with page).
2. "État nominatif des travailleurs étrangers du groupe départemental 536 au 20 Janvier inclus 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W66, pp. 6–32.
3. "Rapport du Chef de Groupe Chassagnac," pp. 58–59.
4. Quotation from Commissaire de Police to P/L-G, August 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/7/1W300, 39.
5. P/L-G to P/P-O, September 8, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, p. 14; "Liste des Israélites dirigés sur le Camp de Rivesaltes le 9/9/42," September 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, p. 29; P/L-G to Intendant Régional de Police—Toulouse, September 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, p. 126; P/L-G to Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, pp. 138–139; P/L-G to P/P-O, October 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/1W301, p. 365.
6. "Exécution des instructions de M. le Préfet Régional en date du 19 février 1943," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W71, pp. 228–229; P/L-G, "Liste des travailleurs étrangers israélites faisant partie du convoy du 27 février 1943 à destination du Camp de Gurs," February 27, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W71, p. 232.
7. Délégué Départemental, Ministère du Travail to P/L-G, March 1, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W66, p. 35.
8. Commandant du Centre Rapatriement de Casseneuil to Nora Cornelissen, Délégué du Secours Quaker, May 22, 1945, USHMMA, RG-67.007M/IX/64/60, p. 72.

CASTRES

Castres (Tarn Département) is located 70 kilometers (more than 43 miles) northeast of Le Vernet d'Ariège and 49 kilometers (over 30 miles) southeast of Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe. Between April 3, 1941, and October 18, 1943, the former fortress at Castres served as a secret prison for the Vichy regime. Castres was subordinated to the Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe camp. At a given time, the site had the capacity to hold 47 male and 30 female prisoners in cells.[1] Women occupied the cells on the second floor. A large green door served as the only entrance, and a courtyard with well water was located inside the fortress's inner walls.[2]

Although the first 35 prisoners arrived from Saint-Sulpice on April 3, 1941, the Tarn Prefecture did not receive a grant of 30,000 French francs to refurbish Castres from the Vichy Interior Ministry until April 21, 1941.[3] From the start, the site was intended to hold dangerous or recalcitrant political prisoners, especially communists. The first secret prisoners to arrive at Castres were German exiles, who arrived in early October 1941. This group included Philipp Auerbach, a chemist.[4] The largest wave of secret detainees arrived in November 1942, when 40 International Brigade (Interbrigade) members from the camp at Le Vernet d'Ariège arrived. Among them were instigators of the February 1941 hunger strike at Le Vernet, including Yugoslav communist Ljubomir Ilić. The centers of confinement (*Centres de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) at Fort-Barraux and Rieucros similarly dispatched male and female inmates, some of French nationality, deemed troublemakers to Castres. Other Castres detainees included two French women who assisted, respectively, the British Special Operations Executive (SOE) and MI-9 (Escape and Evasion); three British male SOE operatives; four U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) personnel; one Royal Canadian Air Force pilot; and an Australian, presumably with the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF).

In an effort to maintain secrecy, the French authorities instructed prisoners to use former camp addresses in their correspondence: former Le Vernet prisoners were ordered to list their address as "Le Vernet, Barracks 21."[5] Former Saint-Sulpice inmates similarly used the parent camp's address. A post-Liberation census of Castres and its successor detention site, Gaillac, indicated that 146 prisoners were registered at Castres.[6] In what may be a further reflection of the site's

clandestine purpose, there were at least 44 additional prisoners, as author Johnny Granzow has shown. Using additional sources, he has accounted for at least 190 prisoners of 18 nationalities who passed through Castres. Among the previously unaccounted-for prisoners was Dr. Henri Martin, an extreme right-wing activist who broke with the Vichy regime early in the Occupation. Among the unregistered Jewish prisoners was Heinrich Epstein (or Ebstein). After being transferred to a succession of Vichy-run camps, Epstein was deported to Auschwitz from Drancy in January 1944.[7]

The German authorities in Toulouse periodically removed German and Austrian prisoners of interest. Granzow has estimated that at least 40 such prisoners were eventually taken to camps and prisons in the Reich. The International Tracing Service (ITS) documented the judicial murder of Kurt Granzow—German communist, Interbrigade member, and Johnny Granzow's grandfather—who was removed from the Djelfa camp in Algeria, held at Castres for two months in the fall of 1942, and then transferred to German custody. He was executed at Berlin-Plötzensee prison on September 10, 1943.[8] Other prominent German communists, such as Franz Dahlem and Auerbach, survived the war in a succession of Nazi concentration camps.

The camp's first chief guard, Andrien Andrieu, imposed a strict regime, with a communications blackout and strict censorship of any letters that reached the prisoners. For individual disciplinary infractions, he also meted out collective punishment, in the form of denying reading and writing privileges and decreasing rations. The result, described succinctly by the imprisoned German poet and communist, Rudolf Leonhard, was a life of "hunger and cold."[9] A number of inmates fell ill. Some arrived at the site already suffering from tuberculosis or chronic maladies. In 1943, after an inspection, the Vichy authorities dismissed Andrieu for stealing rations. His successor, a Swiss immigrant, garnered a reputation for strict but fair treatment of the prisoners. In 1945, Andrieu was tried and condemned for his behavior at Castres.

Despite the Vichy regime's attempts to maintain secrecy and impose strict discipline, word of Castres' existence got out and the prisoners undertook a series of mostly successful escape attempts. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) was informed about the site in correspondence by the commandant of Le Vernet, which mentioned the proposed removal of a prisoner to Castres.[10] The Boston-based Unitarian Service Committee (USC), which like AFSC was working in the Southern Zone before Operation Torch, similarly learned about Castres' existence and passed along this information. Former Le Vernet prisoners taking refuge in Mexico also spread word about the prison. In late August 1942, the *New York Times* briefly reported about the detention of Franz Dahlem and other exiled members of the Reichstag at Castres.[11]

There were three major escapes at Castres. The first, on February 11, 1943, involved nine prisoners fleeing with the assistance of their guard, Edmond Robert. Robert joined the escapees, who consisted of five French, two Belgians, one Canadian, and one American. The second escape occurred on June 30, 1943, when prisoner Gérard Brault fled with a guard, Maurice Rauschbach. The first two successful escapes did not involve any Interbrigade members.

The third escape, which took place on the night of September 16, 1943, involved the Interbrigade, whose members were carefully isolated from other prisoners. The escape committee furtively contacted a sympathetic local, Madame Desoullier-Podvoletzki, who communicated in letters using invisible ink.[12] Desoullier-Podvoletzki sent the prisoners area maps and arranged contacts with local maquis. Prisoner Franz Raab copied keys to open the cells and the prison's lone exit.[13] On September 16 at 7:00 P.M., the escapees lured the two guards on duty to a cell, overwhelmed them, tied them up, and then captured the head guard. As the shift changed, they subdued the two guards who relieved the captured guards. Altogether, 35 prisoners, including the two French women working for British intelligence, fled the camp.

Within less than a month after this escape, on October 18, 1943, the authorities at Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe closed Castres and removed its 30 remaining inmates to the secret prison at Gaillac. Castres remained a penitentiary for the rest of the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Castres camp are Johnny Granzow, *16 septembre 1943: L'évasion de la prison de Castres*, preface by Alain Boscus (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 2009); Granzow, "La prison de Castres de 1941 à l'évasion de 1943," *Arkeia* 4 (2001), www.arkheia-revue.org/La-prison-de-Castres-de-1941-a-l.html; Bettina Giersberg, "Die Arbeit des Schriftstellers Rudolf Leonhard im französischen Exil 1933 bis 1945" (Ph.D. thesis, Technischen Universität Berlin, 2005); Kelsey Williams McNiff, "The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d'Ariège: Local Administration, Collaboration, and Public Opinion in Vichy France" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 2004); Sibylle Hinze, *Antifaschisten im Camp Le Vernet: Abriss der Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Le Vernet 1939 bis 1944* (Berlin [East]: Militärverlag der DDR, 1988); Guylaine Guidet, *Femmes dans la guerre, 1939–1945*, preface by Jean A. Chérasse (Panazol: Lavauzelle, 2006); and George Gordon Young, *In Trust and Treason: The Strange Story of Suzanne Warren* (London: E. Hulton, 1959).

Primary sources documenting the Castres camp can be found in ADT, collections 493W46 and 493W49, available at USHMMA as RG-43.061M; AN (Police Générale), available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M; and BA-SAPMO. Additional documentation can be found in AFSC, Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950, Series VIII Marseille Office, Sub-series: Correspondence, box 54, folder 49 of 95, available at USHMMA in digital form as RG-67.007. CNI cards for some Castres prisoners dispatched to and/or murdered in the Reich can be found in ITS, 0.1, available in digital form at USHMMA. Published testimonies include Heinz Priess, *Spaniens Himmel und keine Sterne: Ein deutsches Geschichtsbuch. Errinerungen an ein Leben und ein Jahrhundert* (Berlin: edition ost, 1996); and Ljubomir Ilić, "Interbrigadiste dans les camps Français," in Karel Bartosek, Rene Gallissot, and Denis Peschanski, eds., *De l'exil à la Résistance: Réfugiés et immigrés d'Europe centrale en France 1933–1945* (Saint-Denis: Presses universitaires de Vincennes; Paris: Arcantere, 1989), pp. 131–142. A collection of testimonies translated into French, including

accounts by Priess and Leonhard, is Gilles Perrault, ed., *Taupes rouges contre S.S.*, trans. Jean-Pierre Ravery (Paris: Éditions Messidor, 1986).

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NOTES

1. P/Tarn à Chef du Gouvernement Ministre de l'Intérieur, Obj.: "Transfèrement à la prison de Gaillac des individus détenus à la prison de Castres," June 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frame 2509.
2. Suzanne Warren (née Warenghem), interview in Young, *In Trust and Treason*, pp. 147, 150.
3. Camp de Saint-Sulpice, Internés transfert à la prison de Castres, April 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M, reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frame 2521; P/Tarn, letter, January 10, 1942, ADT 506W193, cited by Granzow, *16 septembre 1943*, p. 17.
4. ITS, 1.1.5.3 (Individuelle Unterlagen Dachau), Philipp Auerbach, Fragebogen für Insassen der Konzentrationslager, April 20, 1945, Doc. No. 5451217.
5. Priess, *Spaniens Himmel und keine Sterne*, p. 183.
6. Commandant, Saint-Sulpice, "État des internés politiques des Maisons d'Arrêt de Castres et Gaillac, 1940/1944," February 5, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M, reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frames 2243–2258.
7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Heinrich Epstein (or Ebstein), Doc. No. 20128480.
8. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Kurt Granzow, Doc. No. 23238835.
9. As quoted in Perrault, ed., *Taupes rouges contre S.S.*, p. 166.
10. Typewritten copy of letter, Le Chef de Camp, Camp du Vernet d'Ariège, DGPN, à Préfet, IGC, Vichy, February 4, 1942, marked secret, USHMMA, RG-67.007 (AFSC), Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950, Series VIII Marseille Office, Sub-series: Correspondence, box 54, folder 49 of 95.
11. "Vichy seizes Jews: Pope Pius Ignored," *NYT*, August 27, 1942.
12. Interview with Castres escapee, Guido Nonveiller, February 2002, as cited by Granzow, *16 septembre 1942*, p. 81.
13. Priess, *Spaniens Himmel und keine Sterne*, p. 158.

CATUS

The village of Catus, located in the Lot Département, in southwestern France, is approximately 106 kilometers (66 miles) north of Toulouse. Immediately after the mobilization order in September 1939, a camp was created in Catus for the 17th French Military Regiment, and it remained operational until September 15, 1940. During that time, the camp was only for foreign recipients of the right of asylum (Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, people from the Saar, and others). Built on farmland, it held between 250 and 400 foreigners. During the invasion of France, the military authorities attempted to destroy all administrative proof that this internment camp existed.

After September 1940, the camp was moved to former stables in Villary, right next to Catus. It was managed by the Commissioner for the Fight against Unemployment (*Commissariat à la Lutte contre le Chômage*), under the authority of the Labor and Industrial Production Ministry. The ministry was in charge of implementing the September 27, 1940, law titled "The Situation of Excessive Foreigners in the National Economy" (*Situation des étrangers en surnombre dans l'économie nationale*).[1] The camp was designated the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 539, which consisted of Spaniards, Belgians, Luxembourgers, and Dutch. After 1941, it became GTE No. 554 and served the entire Lot Département. The director was an officer on leave from the French Army after the Armistice, Mr. Toussaint. Administratively, the Catus camp also oversaw the special internment center of Puy-l'Evêque (*centre spécial d'internement de Puy-l'Evêque*), located 25 kilometers (15 miles) northwest of Cahors.

At Catus, the number of detainees averaged around 1,000 and peaked in 1942 with 1,250 internees.[2] Among the prisoners were some transferred from the penal camp at Le Vernet (Ariège Département) to engage in forced labor. The prisoners mainly worked for forestry companies and for individual farm owners on farms located in all parts of the Lot Département. Their living conditions depended on the individual employer. Several times, the German authorities directly requisitioned laborers from Catus. For example, when the Organisation Todt visited the Lot Département on August 7, 8, and 10, 1942, its members came to Catus on the first and third days of their visit. On February 24 and 28, 1943, as well as March 1, workers were hired by a Franco-German commission seeking to recruit Spanish workers.

GTE No. 554 at Catus was dissolved at the end of 1944, following a prefectural order of September 7, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Catus are Martin Malvu and José Jornet, *Républicains espagnols en Midi-Pyrénées: Exil, histoire et mémoire* (Montpellier: PU du Mirail, 2005); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Catus camp can be found in AD-L: 1W925 (prefectural collection, which includes a file about the relations with Reich citizens, 1940 to 1943); 1180W6 (report from the chief of police and the chief of the Lot Département services, and general information); and 1W78 (notices and correspondence about the Puy-l'Evêque and Catus camps); and in ADA: 5W366 (prisoner transfers from Le Vernet to Catus).

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NOTES

1. "La loi du 27 septembre 1940," *JO* (Oct. 1, 1940), p. 5198.
2. AD-L 1W78.

CAUTERETS

Located near the Spanish border in the Hautes-Pyrénées Département, Cauterets was selected, at the behest of the regional prefect, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz, as the location of a center for assigned residence (*assignation à residence*) for foreign Jews. The small spa town, which is 24 kilometers (15 miles) south of Lourdes, was chosen because of its relative isolation and available premises. The designation of assigned residences followed the promulgation of a Vichy Interior Ministry memorandum of November 3, 1941.[1] According to official correspondence from the fall of 1942, the Cauterets center answered administratively to the Pyrénées regional residential assignment center at Aulus-les-Bain (Ariège Département).[2] The foreign Jews originated from Austria, Belgium, Germany, and Poland. They resided in a number of places in town, including villas such as La Pergola and La Prairie, rooming houses, and the Hôtel Sarthe and Hôtel du Tourisme.[3] The center held at least 100 foreign Jews between the spring and fall of 1942.

Survivor accounts offer descriptions of life in the Cauterets residential assignment center. The daughter of Jewish refugees from Berlin, Rachel Philipson-Levy lived with some of her family in Cauterets from August or September 1940 until early 1943. While there, she earned a diploma (*certificat d'études*) from a school in neighboring Argelès-Gazost. Her family refused to cross the nearby Spanish border because of the infirm condition of her grandmother.[4] By contrast, Leo Bretholz, a Jewish refugee from Austria, recalled his family being removed from the neighboring residential assignment center at Bagnères-de-Bigorre (Haute-Pyrenees), approximately 30 kilometers (18.5 miles) northeast of Cauterets, to the center in Cauterets, "probably in the springtime of '42." As he explained, "When we went to Cauterets, we, at that point, frankly, we felt confined." Indeed, he described their state as one of "forced residence" (*résidence forcée*). To supplement their otherwise meager rations, Bretholz's friend, Belgian refugee Joseph Frajermauer, raised vegetables. With others, Bretholz went on mountain hikes in the Pyrenees, where he glimpsed the Franco-Spanish border. Discouraging any thought of crossing were the border fence and the prospect of encountering the troops of Generalissimo Francisco Franco.[5]

The roundup of Jews at Cauterets for deportation by the local police took place on August 25 and 26, 1942. A list prepared by the mayor of Cauterets, Bartho Sallès, gave the names of 39 deportees, who were transported from the center to the Gurs camp. From Gurs, they were sent via the Drancy transit camp to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Sallès noted that the deportees were permitted to take around 35 kilograms (77 pounds) of luggage and that the property they left behind was under the mayor's protection.[6] Ten gendarmes conducted the arrests.[7]

Sallès' memorandum assumes additional significance, because survivor testimony and a local historian's account document his apparent role in warning the Jews at the Cauteret center about the deportation and perhaps helping some cross the border. Bretholz remembered that the mayor's timely warning enabled him and others to flee to the mountains. As he put it, "We never met the mayor. But what he did at the time was a great thing. He notified us and left it up to us . . . (effectively saying:) Do what you can. I just want you to know that this place is no longer safe for you." With three others, Bretholz hid in the mountains and maintained furtive contact with acquaintances in Cauterets. After returning to Bagnères-de-Bigorre some time later, Bretholz was arrested on December 6, 1942, charged with "abandonment of residence" at Cauterets, and held in the Tarbe jail, before escaping again.[8]

Leo Bretholz poses with Netty and Anny Frajermauer in the village of Cauterets, March 1942–October 1942.
USHMM WS #32109, COURTESY OF LEO BRETHOLZ.

A local historian of Cauterets, René Flurin, asserts that the mayor actually helped Jews cross the Spanish border. Flurin claims that Sallès did so especially after January 1943, when a ban was issued against foreigners who had not been granted special authorization by the German military authorities to stay on French soil. Before that, Sallès mainly relied on his life partner's son, Maurice Antoine, who organized border crossings until his arrest on September 30, 1942. Antoine stood accused of printing and broadcasting the letter of protest by the archbishop of Toulouse, Jules-Géraud Saliège, against the roundup of Jews in the summer of 1942.

The August roundup did not result in the center's immediate closure. As late as November 1942, 50 foreign and 4 French Jews continued to reside in Cauterets.[9] A number of Jews petitioned the authorities to continue to remain in the town. The poor health of Chana Frajermauer prompted her and husband Joseph to give affidavits to the Gendarmerie Nationale (GN), pleading to remain at Cauterets.[10] Such entreaties went unheeded, as Chénaux de Leyritz issued orders for the removal of individual Jews and families from Cauterets to Aulus-les-Bains.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the center for assigned residence at Cauterets are René Flurin with François Boyrie, *Histoire de Cauterets des origines à nos jours*, preface by Jacques Longué (Brioude: éd. Créer, 2006); and Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources on the center for assigned residence at Cauterets can be found in AD-H-P, collection 12W67, available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.131M. Two helpful survivor testimonies furnish additional information. The most detailed is by Leo Bretholz (USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, July 31, 1989, and September 27, 1989). Additional information about Cauterets and Bretholz's ordeal can be found in Leo Bretholz and Michael Olesker, *Leap into Darkness: Seven Years on the Run in Wartime Europe* (Baltimore: Woodholme House Publishers, 1999), pp. 137–142. In addition, there is the published testimony (in English and French) by Rachel Philipson-Levy, "An Odyssey Revisited," in Minna Aspler et al., *Witnesses Speak: An Anthology* (Montreal: Concordia University Chair in Canadian Jewish Studies and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, 2001).

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NOTES

1. Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.
2. Préfecture Régionale de Toulouse, Chénaux de Leyritz, Objet: "Assignation à résidence au Centre régional d'Aulus d'Israélites se trouvant actuellement au Centre de Cauterets," November 25, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M (AD-H-P), 12W67, p. 391.
3. "Liste de Israélites en résidence dans la commune de Cauterets (H.P.)," stamped September 17, 1942 USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, pp. 375–376.
4. Philipson-Levy, "An Odyssey Revisited," pp. 5–6.
5. Quotations from USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, Leo Bretholz oral history interview, July 31, 1989, and September 27, 1989; on Frajermauer, see Bretholz and Olesker, *Leap into Darkness*, p. 138.
6. Maire de la Ville de Cauterets, n.d., "Liste des Israélites étrangers résidant à Cauterets, conduits à Gurs le 26 Août 1942" (Duplicata, GN), USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, p. 358.
7. Département des Hautes-Pyrénées, Centre de régroupement Gurs, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, p. 62.
8. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0038, Leo Bretholz, oral history interview.
9. "Liste de Israélites en résidence dans la commune de Cauterets (H.P.)," stamped September 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, pp. 375–376.
10. GN, "Procès verbal constatant des renseignements sur des étrangers n'ayant pas rejoint leur nouvelle résidence assignées à Aulus, Ariège," November 6, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M, 12W67, pp. 380–381.

CAYLUS

The Caylus camp was situated in the Tarn-et-Garonne Département in the Midi-Pyrénées region on the site of a medieval fortress that formed the border between Rouergue and Quercy 75 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Toulouse. A military camp, called Espagots, had been established on this site in 1902, enlarged in 1920 after the acquisition of adjoining lands, and put into service (notably as a water conveyance) in 1927. It comprised brick barracks and a large infirmary.

From February 1939 to mid-1940, this new military site served to consolidate Spanish prisoners into the framework of a Company of Foreign Workers (*Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE), CTE No. 61. Following the outfitting of the military camp, this Spanish labor force contributed to the excavation of the medieval fortress, under military guard and under the control of General Ménard. During the Phoney War of September 1939 to June 1940, the political refugees were forced to contribute to the national armament effort and then were dispersed with the closing of the camp and demobilization. Some 10,000 men passed through the Caylus internment camp during that period.

In June 1940, after the Armistice, the Vichy government reactivated Caylus as an internment camp for foreigners living in the department, and it became the Group of Foreign Workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 866. Among the foreigners were numerous Polish Jews.

French military officers and enlisted men, acting as civilians, supervised the internees. The responsibility for the camp was left in the hands of the commander, Normand, aided by the head-adjutant, Gilles. However, with the arrival of the Nazis in April to May 1943, the site became a German military camp and subsequently a camp for the Waffen-SS "Das Reich" Division, starting in March 1944. From Caylus, "Das Reich" perpetrated numerous atrocities against civilians (mostly on June 1, 1944, when nine civilians were murdered as reprisal for the attack on the munitions depot at Capdenac at Lot). After the war, the site became an internment facility for German prisoners of war, before being turned over to the French Army, when it accommodated the Establishment Annex of the Commissioner for the Army (*l'Etablissement annexe du Commissariat de l'Armée de Terre*).

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Caylus include Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement

(1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Louis Olivet and André Arribaud, eds., *Cinquantenaire: Libération de Montauban et du Tar-et-Garonne* (Montauban: Commission départementale de l'information historique pour la paix, 1995).

Primary sources for the Caylus camp are limited, but documentation of GTE No. 866 may be found in ADT-G, 5 W 12 (Étrangers), copied to USHMMA RG-43.034M. Two survivor testimonies on Caylus in VHA are by Jacques Dodiuk (#32219) and Max Oling (#7423).

Eliezer Schilt
Trans. René Stolbach

CHABANET

The Chabanet camp in southeastern France was located in the Ardèche Département, on the 615 meter (2,018 feet) high Coiron plateau, above the towns of Privas and La Plaine du Lac, approximately 118 kilometers (73 miles) south of Lyon. It was established on a semi-abandoned farm. There were two dormitories that held about 50 straw mattresses; one was in the former stable and the other in the attic of the farmhouse. Chabanet began operating on February 25, 1940, under the supervision of the Privas military subdivision. When the camp closed on January 30, 1941, the internees were transferred to the Nexon camp in the Haute-Vienne Département.

Under the supervision of the Ardèche prefect, the regional French authorities tracked down potential security threats, especially communist activists. The authorities arrested many civilians, mainly communists, who had been hunted down in the adjacent departments: Gard, Vaucluse, Alpes Maritimes, Bouches du Rhône, Var, and Basses Alpes. One hundred communists were temporarily held in Chabanet, of whom 50 were activists in Ardèche.

Detainees were supervised and received an allowance to purchase food that was prepared in the communal kitchen. Tasks mainly focused on camp maintenance. The strongest prisoners cut wood and worked on local farms.

Among the internees were local leftist politicians and labor leaders. One was Pierre Marius Gabrielli (1906–1965), the general treasurer of the Departmental Union-General Confederation of Labor (*L'Union Départementale-Confédération Générale du Travail*, UD-CGT). Another important internee was Célestin Freinet (1896–1966), a teacher who had been charged with holding "Stalinist opinions." He was successively interned in Saint-Maximin (Var), Chabanet, Chibron (Var), and Saint-Sulpice (Tarn Département). Starting on October 29, 1941, he was placed under house arrest in Vallouise (Hautes-Alpes Département).[1] Another prominent communist prisoner was François Augustin Cresp (1897–1960), a La Seyne storekeeper and representative for the Var Département. According to a November 18, 1939, prefectural decree—under the late Third Republic—he was classified among the 30 "individuals who threatened national defense to be interned in Saint-Maximin Center."[2] On March 19, 1940, he was reclassified under this decree for his clandestine communist activities. A week later on May 26, 1940, he was transferred to Chabanet, then the Nexon camp (February 1, 1941), and finally in October 1942 to the camp at Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux (Haute-Vienne Département), before being released on March 30, 1943. Another well-known prisoner held at Chabanet was Elie Reynier (1875–1953), a history and geography professor at the Privas Normal School, the author of the three-volume *Histoire de Privas*, and a pacifist socialist activist and trade unionist.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Chabanet camp include Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000), Vincent Giraudier, "Un camp d'indésirables français: Chabanet, en Ardèche," in Vincent Giraudier, Hervé Mauran, Jean Sauvageon, and Robert Serre, *Des Indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, preface by Denis Peschanski (Valence: Peuple libre; Notre temps 1999), pp. 223–233.

The following archives hold relevant collections on the Chabanet camp: AN F7/13021; 13096; 13164; AD-Ard, Elie Reynier's collection, file 8 J; AD-V under signatures 2M4.II; 2M5.285; 2M6.25; 2M7.24.3; 2M7.32.3; 2M7.35.3; 4M46; 4M49.4.2; 4M49.4.3; 4M55.2; 4M59.4.1; 4M59.4.3; 4M59.4.4; 7M12.2; 18M14; 3Z2.5; 3Z2.6; 3Z2.9; 3Z2.20; 3Z4.29. Some documentation from AD-V is copied to USHMMA under RG-43.087M in digitized form. Published accounts by former prisoners include Elie Reynier's testimony in "Le Carnets du concentré," *MATP* 61 (Feb. 15, 1999), available at www.memoire-ardeche.com/cahiers/61.htm; and Elise and Célestin Freinet, *Correspondance: 21 mars 1940–28 octobre 1941*, edited by Madeleine Freinet (Paris: PUF Education et Formation, 2004). The arrest of Freinet and 21 additional communist suspects is mentioned in *LPN*, March 21, 1940.

Eliezer Schilt
Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. As quoted in *LPN*, March 21, 1940.
2. *JO* of November 19, 1939, as cited in Giraudier, Mauran, Sauvageon, and Serre, *Des Indésirables*, p. 3

CHÂTEAU DE BÉGUÉ

In the Southern Zone, near the township of Cazaubon (Gers Département) and located 126 kilometers (78 miles) southeast of Toulouse, a countryside manor, called the Château de Bégué, was used as an agricultural reception center (*centre d'accueil agricole*). Abbot Alexandre Glasberg, the Gers delegate to the Committee of Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés*, CAR) for Cardinal Archbishop Pierre-Marie Gerlier of Lyon, requested the creation of the camp in Cazaubon, among other sites, in early May 1942. The Vichy Interior Ministry authorized the request in mid-July. The Château de Bégué was outfitted and supplied that fall and officially opened in December.[1] This reception center was one of several orchestrated and operated by "the Glasberg team" (*l'équipe Glasberg*), which, most likely unknown to the Vichy authorities at the time, was also the front for a network of underground resistance activities to German and Vichy authorities; its establish-

ment was also an attempt to forestall the deportation of a number of internees living in nearby concentration camps.

Although Château de Bégué was intended to absorb at least 80 internees—primarily German and Austrian political prisoners, as well as French and Polish Jews, who were scattered in nearby accommodation centers (*centres d'hébergement*)—the reception center eventually accommodated at least 100. Château de Bégué received transfers from internment camps including those at Gurs, Récébédou, Rivesaltes, Noé, and Milles; this list is likely not exhaustive.[2] The internees were restricted to the manor and enlisted as agricultural laborers by the Vichy regime.[3] Some local Vichy organizations, such as the French Legion of Veterans of Gers (*Légion française des combattants du Gers*), protested the installation of the camp for antisemitic reasons.

Staffed by members of the French Resistance, the Château de Bégué quickly became active in underground activities. For example, able internees were trained for combat as well as retrieving supplies dropped by parachute (*parachutage*) by the Allies.[4] Because of his involvement in resistance activities, Alexandre Glasberg was denounced sometime in late 1942 and went underground. His brother Vila, operating under the alias Victor Vermont, served as camp director until he was arrested, either because of his own resistance activities or because the police mistook him for his brother. According to the Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracing Service (ITS), Vermont was dispatched to the Drancy camp and deported to Auschwitz on March 7, 1944, where he died.[5] A September 1945 report on the wartime activities at Château de Bégué notes that one of Vermont's successors, Gaston Luino, continued to organize resistance efforts at the manor (although this may have been the work of another director). After the D-Day invasion, Château de Bégué became an early site of self-liberation (*auto-liberation*). Internees from Château de Bégué subsequently joined the ranks of the maquis and other anti-Nazi groups in the remaining 10 months of the war.[6]

Yad Vashem honored Alexandre and Vila Glasberg on June 17, 2003, as Righteous Among the Nations.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Château de Bégué reception center at Cazaubon are "Le château du Begué à Cazaubon," July 2, 2012, *Jewishtraces*, www.jewishtraces.org, which describes the history of the reception center; Yad Vashem's Righteous Among the Nations database, www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous, which provides brief biographies of Alexandre and Vila Glasberg; Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994), which describes the relationship between reception centers like Château de Bégué and area concentration camps; and Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: Les internés juifs des camps français (1939–1944)* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991), which provides an overview of the so-called Glasberg team.

Primary sources for the Château de Bégué reception center can be found at ADGe under the former signature 1W618, regarding postwar reports on the center's wartime resistance activities; 1W619, regarding postwar reports on the refugee situation; and 1W661 and R1475, regarding the establishment and management of the reception center during the war. All of these collections are available at USHMMA as RG-43.130M. Additional information on Vila Glasberg can be found in the CNI of the ITS. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

Guy Aldridge

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-43.130M (ADGe), R1475.
2. USHMMA, RG-43.130M, R1475.
3. Ibid.
4. USHMMA, RG-43.130M, ADGe 1W618.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Victor Vermont, Doc. No. 49252562.
6. Ibid.

CHÂTEAU DE TOMBEBOUC

The camp at Château de Tombebouc was located in a medieval castle on top of a hill near the village of Allez-et-Cazeneuve in the Lot-et-Garonne Département, approximately 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) south of the nearby larger camp at Casseneuil. Allez-et-Cazeneuve is 213 kilometers (132 miles) southeast of Bordeaux. Before the war, the castle was modernized and used as an institution for patients with latent tuberculosis (*preventorium*). Like Casseneuil, Tombebouc served as a detention site for foreigners performing labor in the French groups of foreign workers system (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs), but on a much smaller scale.

Quartered at Tombebouc, GTE No. 308 was formed in 1939 in Montauban, the administrative center of the neighboring Tarn-et-Garonne Département, and was made up of mostly Germans and Austrians. It was relocated to Tombebouc at the end of 1940, at which time it was reorganized into a group of "Palestinian" (Jewish) foreign workers (*Groupe Palestinien des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GPTE). Many of these men were German refugees living in Belgium when the war began and were subsequently arrested by Belgian authorities and deported to France.

It is difficult to say how many men were detained in the castle at any given time because most were lodged in the towns where they had been assigned work and were only at the camp between assignments. According to the testimonies of Kurt Baum and Josef Kampler, both German Jews who served in GTE No. 308 after their transfer from the Saint-Cyprien camp (Pyrénées-Orientales Département), typical labor assignments were seasonal agricultural work on farms or in vineyards, or other manual labor such as bricklaying. Both men remembered being sent to the neighboring coastal Landes Département to dispose of World War I–era poisonous gas shells in an abandoned ammunitions depot, and Baum said that there were a number of accidents at this site because some of the bombs leaked gas. He and Kampler were both deported to the East during the roundup of Jews in August 1942.[1]

In mid-August 1942, most of the Jews in GTE No. 308 were recalled to Tombebouc. On August 23, 62 men were walked

under guard to Casseneuil to be deported to the Occupied Zone. Other members of the GTE, such as Kurt Baum, were not recalled to Tombebouc and were deported from other locations (in his case, from Casteljaloux where he worked in a sawmill). Documents from the departmental archives and witness accounts point to some men being able to escape during the chaos of the roundup; on October 19, 1942, a letter from the head of GTE No. 536 at Casseneuil to the prefect noted the recent apprehension at Casseneuil of one member of GTE No. 308, who escaped "around August 24."[2]

The group sent to Casseneuil departed the same day from the Penne-d'Agenais train station and arrived at Drancy on August 25. Most were subsequently sent to Auschwitz: according to Serge Klarsfeld, 57 were deported on August 31 on convoy 26. Others were sent on later convoys in early September.

After the August 1942 deportations, Tombebouc was reorganized as a reception center (*centre d'accueil*) for elderly foreigners under the administration of the French Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE); most of these elderly foreigners were considered unfit (*inaptes*) for labor.

According to historian Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, the first groups of foreigners arrived at the castle in March 1943 from Masseube (Gers) and Nebouzat (Puy-de-Dôme). During the summer and into the fall, small groups of detainees were also transferred from Gurs (Basses-Pyrénées), Mons (Puy-de-Dôme), and Sereilhac (Haute-Vienne).[3] By February 1944, there were 97 men at Tombebouc, of whom the two largest groups were 58 Spanish detainees and 26 Jewish detainees; there were also Germans, Austrians, Poles, Romanians, Turk, Russian, and Hungarian internees.[4] According to subsequent monthly reports in the departmental archives, the number of detainees remained between 90 and 100 during the rest of the camp's existence.

Living conditions remained rough: the château was overcrowded, heating material was insufficient, there was only one toilet, and there was no running water. After the intervention of Jewish leaders such as Grand Rabbi Hirschler and the regional delegate of the Jewish charitable organization, *l'Aumônier Israélite*, R. Sommer, Jewish detainees at Tombebouc received monetary and material assistance from various aid organizations. These charities included the branches of the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) in Agen and Villeneuve and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).[5] Conditions thus slightly improved during 1944. After the Liberation the remaining prisoners were transferred to Casseneuil.

SOURCES Secondary sources that include information on Tombebouc are Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, *Lot-et-Garonne, Terre d'exil, terre d'asile: Les réfugiés juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale* (Narosse, France: Éditions d'Albret, 2006); René Montaut, "Les camps GTE de Casseneuil et de Tombebouc," in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994), pp. 207–209; and Gérard Gobitz, *Les deportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996). Gobitz mentions the roundup at Tombebouc. Serge Klarsfeld's *Vichy-Auschwitz: La "solution finale" de la question juive en France* (Paris: Fayard, 2001) treats Tombebouc as part of the camp at Casseneuil, but includes information on the August 1942 deportation.

Primary documentation on the camp at Tombebouc can be found in ADL-G under classifications 1W84; 1W153; 1W298 (list of GTE laborers transferred to Drancy in August 1942); 2W4-16; 2W62 (reports from 1944); and 1825W5. Some of this material is held at USHMMA under RG-43.123M. Information on aid provided to detainees by the AFSC can also be found at USHMMA under RG-67.007M (Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950, Series IX, Box 63, Folder 14). VHA holds three survivor testimonies that mention Tombebouc, including those by Kurt Baum (#29790) and Josef Kampler (#16003).

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. VHA #29790, Kurt Baum testimony, May 15, 1997; VHA #16003, Josef Kampler testimony, July 8, 1996.
2. Quotation from Chef du Groupe Départemental 536 T.E. to P/L-G, October 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M (ADL-G) reel 7, 1W298, p. 67 (USHMMA, RG-43.123M/7/1W298, with page); list of 59 deportees, "Compagnie des travailleurs étrangers no. 308," n.d., RG-43.123M/7/1W298, pp. 64–66.
3. "État nominatif des hébergés au centre de Tombebouc," August 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W62, pp. 94–96.
4. "État numérique des étrangers hébergés, par nationalité, sexe et confession au 1er Février 1944," February 1, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/10/2W62, p. 65.
5. Sommer to Secours Quakers, August 14, 1944, USHMMA, RG-67.007M/IX/63/14, p. 8.

CHÂTEAU-DOUX

In the Southern Zone, on lands that belonged to the village of Altillac in the Corrèze Département of the Limousin region, located 156 kilometers (97 miles) northeast of Toulouse, a manor in the mountains was used for as a residential assignment center (*assignation à residence*); it was located 156 kilometers (97 miles) northeast of Toulouse. The center opened in accordance with a November 3, 1941, decree by the Vichy Interior Ministry providing for this type of detention.

On May 11, 1942, the Corrèze Prefecture, as directed by the regional prefect of Limoges, Antoine Lemoine, and the Corrèze sub-prefect, Fernand Musso, requisitioned all premises in this location. Its isolation and attractiveness made Château-Doux an ideal location for residential assignment.[1] The prefecture signed an operating agreement with its managers, Jean-Baptiste Boisserie and his wife, which leased the premises as a "hotel and restaurant."[2] Work necessary for the site's conversion delayed its opening by a few days. The prefecture estimated that the work would cost 50,000 francs. The hotel manager had to lay out this amount before recouping his investment through boarding fees.[3]

On June 15, 1942, Château-Doux received the first detainees who could afford the internment fees. The regulations stipulated their paying the host fees "each week in advance."[4] Boarding fees were 50 francs per person per day for what was called second class, and 80 francs for first-class accommodations. Moreover, the prefecture required a deposit of 10,000 francs to be paid on the detainee's arrival.[5]

The outrageous fees deterred potential candidates for residence, to the point that the rabbi of Corrèze, David Feuerwerker, wrote to the sub-prefect of Brive to explain this issue and suggested that the Jewish cultural association, the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF), be placed in charge of the site.[6] In response, the sub-prefect recommended that a certain number of Jews be sent to Château-Doux immediately.

Initially, the regional prefecture reserved for itself 15 places in the center and left the remaining 85 to the Corrèze Département. However, because of the difficulty in finding detainees who could afford the fees, the Corrèze Prefecture accepted 60 foreign Jews from the Haute-Vienne Département on July 20, 1942. These detainees were mostly women who had crossed the Demarcation Line, sometimes alone and sometimes with children, as well as elderly people.

In June 1943, there were 28 detainees—13 men, 11 women, and 4 children—in the camp, all but two of whom were Jews.[7] In August, Jews who had been "released from Gurs (Pyrenees-Atlantiques) . . . were admitted into Château-Doux upon a notice released by the Prefect of Corrèze."[8] On September 23, 1943, there were 45 tenants, including 44 Jews. They came from the Nexon camp (Haute-Vienne), groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs) from the region, and the Gurs camp (Pyrénées-Atlantiques). The majority of the tenants were sick female foreigners over 40 years old.

Jews from the Château-Doux center were deported on three occasions in 1942 and 1943. In August 1942, 23 people were arrested.[9] Additional deportations took place at least twice in 1943.

Local gendarmes were in charge of surveillance. The prefecture made sure that all Jews who violated the Château-Doux regulations were sent to the Nexon camp.

According to Féla Kamras, *née* Smolinska, a purportedly Polish Catholic woman who lived in Château-Doux and whose Jewish husband was held at the Beaune-La-Rolande camp, living conditions were bad: in second class, there were allegedly 10 detainees per room.

The center ceased operations on March 16, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the residential center at Château-Doux are Nathalie Roussarie, "Mise en place de la politique antijuive en Corrèze, 1940–1942: L'exemple du Château-Doux," in Jacques Fijalkow and Patrick Cabanel, eds., *Histoire régionale de la Shoah en France: Déportation sauvetage, survie* (Paris: Éd. de Paris-Max Chaleil, 2011), pp. 325–340; Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994).

Primary sources on the Château-Doux camp can be found in AD-Cor: 529W68–69, 2138 (prefectural collections on WWII and foreigners); AD-Au (6 J: Feuerwerker report); AN F7 16081 (about foreign Jews and refugees in France, 1941 to 1956: measures, correspondence, circular letters, rulings, decrees, comparative charts, and notes); AN 72 AJ 280 (about internment in France); and CDJC, CCCLXVI-57 (collection CGQJ: consisting of reports from March 28 to April 29, 1943, by Rabbi David Kozak to Rabbi David Feuerwerker regarding the activities, detainees, and related matters at Château-Doux); and CDJC, CCXIX-34_001 (collection FSJF: population of camps and reception centers on June 30, 1943).

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NOTES

1. Note from May 11, 1942, AD-Cor, 529W68.
2. According to terms of the May 28, 1942, convention in ibid.
3. AN F7 16081.
4. Circular letter from March 25, 1942, AN F7 16081.
5. AD-Cor, 529W69, cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 52.
6. AD-Cor, 529W69.
7. CDJC, CCXIX-34.
8. AN 72 AJ 280.
9. Report by Rabbi David Feuerwerker, AD Aude 6 J.

CHÂTEAU DU ROC

Château du Roc (Dordogne Département) is a small château located in the commune of Saint-André-d'Allas, almost 314 kilometers (nearly 195 miles) west of Bourdeaux and nearly 144 kilometers (more than 89 miles) northwest of Toulouse in the Southern Zone. The castle's Polish owner agreed to let the Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE) use it as a camp for foreigners during the war.[1]

The internees sent to Château du Roc were from camps such as Nexon, Gurs, and Douadic. From Château du Roc they were sometimes hospitalized in Périgueux or released.[2] They were typically older men and women from Germany, Austria, Spain, Russia, Poland, Greece, Romania, Ukraine, Hungary, and the former Sarre Département (the Saar).[3]

Survivor Adele Cantor provided a rich testimony about internment at Château du Roc. Born in Berlin in October 1895 she converted to Christianity when she married a Protestant. In 1940 the Gestapo deported Adele, who was widowed by then, and her mother to Gurs, where her mother died very soon thereafter. From there Adele was transferred to Douadic and then to Château du Roc. Compared to the previous two camps, she had only positive memories about Château du Roc, calling it "a true change for the better." She also described the castle as old and neglected, but "nevertheless, it was heaven."[4]

One of the many positive aspects of internment there was freedom of movement. The internees had permission to move

about the castle and surrounding countryside until 6 or 7 P.M. They made good use of this freedom to go on long walks through the surrounding park. Another positive feature was their accommodations. They lived in a brick building, and the rooms had large windows, a stark change from their time in semi-darkness in the barracks at Gurs and Douadic. Each room held six to seven people, each with his or her own bed and a narrow mattress and blankets. There was also some room for the internees to keep their belongings. The castle had a great hall, which was turned into a dining hall that held large tables for six to eight people each. Smaller tables were constructed for the internees' personal use as well.[5] Large rooms in the castle were converted into washrooms. During Cantor's first year each internee was allowed one hot shower per week. That later became impossible due to the lack of water. Plenty of wood was collected from the surrounding forests and used in the internees' rooms, the dining hall, and the communal stove for internees.

Cantor recalled that time passed quickly. They had various jobs to do, including tending to the vegetable garden and hauling water. When the pumps did not work, they had to take a 15-minute walk to the nearby village and carry the buckets on their backs.[6]

Château du Roc also had stables. The horses were used to pull wagons traveling to Périgueux to pick up parcels and larger quantities of food (such as potatoes) and bring them back to the castle.[7] When Cantor's group of internees arrived at Château du Roc they were examined for lice because they had not been checked at Douadic. Those infested were sent to the hospital in Périgueux where they stayed for one week; there they were well cared for by French nurses and fed excellent food. All their belongings were disinfected. However, one of the infested women was handled roughly by the authorities while being transported to the hospital because she took too long to get ready. Cantor recalled her saying, "There is no need to shout at me like that; even if I have lice I am still a lady."[8] Despite the care taken to rid the castle of lice, the serious problem with vermin was not ameliorated.[9]

In contrast to her experience at Douadic, Cantor recalled the Château du Roc commandant (from Alsace) fondly. He lived in the castle with his wife and well-behaved 13-year-old daughter. He tried to make life better for the internees and put an end to all stealing. Cantor described both him and his wife as "warm-hearted" and him as "cheerful and ingenious." He was a handyman who helped paint and repair the castle. He installed cupboards and stoves in the internees' rooms and was responsible for repairing the communal stove. Although lacking in variety, the rations were sufficient and consisted mostly of cabbage, carrots, and potatoes. On Sundays they were given meat. On Christmas and Easter they were given something special to eat as well as a gift.[10]

Both men and women used the communal stove, which incited so many arguments that one woman was finally put in charge. There was no community spirit, and quarrels frequently arose among internees. Except for the commandant, no one tried to make life easy for the others. Those who received parcels were envied by the others. Cantor said, "Despite some 'laudable' exceptions most people only thought of themselves."[11]

Cantor believed that "if it were not for [the commandant] none of the inmates of Château du Roc would have come out alive." He helped the ill, treating an old lady with a boil on her head and a young mother whose breasts were inflamed with open wounds. The commandant was also very musical, himself a composer, and every week he organized a musical evening for the internees. Among the internees were pianists and violinists, a singer, an accordion player, and a flautist who also played the trumpet. The commandant played the violin while his wife accompanied him on the piano. During the intervals the internees recited poetry, or a juggler (who was actually a law professor at the University of Heidelberg) performed. The commandant also organized a ball that occurred once or twice, and he invited the elite and the youth of the nearby village to attend; at these balls he played the dance music. Wine and cake were served, and he was delighted to see the internees enjoying themselves. The commandant's kindness did not stop there. He also helped the maquis, who often came to the castle asking for supplies.[12]

An important date in the castle's history was April 22, 1944. At 10 A.M., while many internees were preparing lunch, they heard that "the Germans (were) coming." They became very frightened and were ordered to go to the courtyard where German soldiers pointed their rifles at them. They were grouped according to nationality and stood for four hours waiting to be shot. The commandant intervened and spoke to the officer in charge, imploring him not to shoot the internees: "Just look at this collection, all old people, do leave them in peace." The Germans gave in and marched away. When the internees went inside they discovered that the Germans had ransacked their belongings,[13] taking every decent piece of clothing, money, and jewelry, including Cantor's little silver watch and wedding rings. The attack was kept a secret from the local community because the commandant feared that the discovery that the castle's internees escaped death would lead to another raid. However, a young Polish man who lived in the village betrayed them for a reward of 3,000 French francs. He was later shot in retribution by the maquis.[14] Despite the betrayal, the commandant continued to hide the internees in the castle until the Liberation.[15]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Château du Roc camp are Gérard Gobitz, *Les déportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942: Récits et documents concernant les régions administratives* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1997); Georges Frélastre, *Les complexes de Vichy, ou, Vichy les capitales* (Paris: Éditions France-Empire, 1975); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Analytical Franco-Jewish gazetteer, 1939–1945* (New York: Published with assistance of the American Academy for Jewish Research, the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation, and the Gustav Wurzweiler Foundation, 1966).

Primary source material documenting the Château du Roc camp can be found in AD-H-V, collection 1081W235 (Social register of foreigners, the camps at Douadic and Vernusse), available in microfilm at USHMMA as RG-43.047M, reel 9. The unpublished testimony by Adele Cantor, "Tears and Joys

of a War-Time Deportee" (1946), is available at USHMMA in the Renata de Gara Cafiero Collection, Acc. No. 2004.59.

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NOTES

1. Adele Cantor, "Tears and Joy of a War-Time Deportee," (1946), p. 27, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2004.59 (Renata de Gara Cafiero Collection).
2. "Entre à l'hopital de Périgueux," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M (AD-H-V), reel 9, p. 1063; and "Libéré par Prefectare Dordogne," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, p. 1085.
3. "Alonso Andreu Bartolome," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, pp. 1089–1094.
4. Cantor, "Tears and Joy of a War-Time Deportee," p. 20.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., pp. 20–21.
7. Ibid., p. 21.
8. Ibid., p. 22.
9. Ibid., p. 28.
10. Ibid., p. 22.
11. Ibid., p. 23.
12. Ibid., p. 24.
13. Ibid., p. 25.
14. Ibid., p. 26.
15. Ibid.

CHÂTEAU DU SABLOU

Château du Sablou (Camp de Fanlac) was located in southwestern France in a historic castle in Fanlac (Dordogne Département), located 32 kilometers (20 miles) southeast of Périgueux and 86 kilometers (53 miles) southwest of Limoges. During its existence from January 17 to December 30, 1940, it held approximately 300 to 400 internees.

Château du Sablou was a confinement center for "undesirables" (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé pour Indesirables*) and a site designated for the internment of Roma, who were charged with "nomadism." Its internees were nicknamed "Sablousards." Beginning on April 27, 1940, political suspects were also sent to Château du Sablou. The individuals had not necessarily committed any crime, but were arrested as a preventive measure and were so designated by the National Defense Minister and the Interior Minister. The suspects included communists, trade unionists, anarchists, and socialists from all over France, as well as those advocating for autonomy for the region of Alsace-Lorraine. Seventy-six percent of the internees were communists.

Among the internees at Sablou were some soldiers who had been demobilized in July 1940, after which they were transferred to monitored accommodation centers. Many found themselves in Fort-Barraux. After a review of August 5, 1940, French soldiers in these companies who were classified as suspicious or dangerous were immediately transported to Sablou, where they were interned as civilians. Sablou had a theater group, in which five of the Roma participated as musicians. A notable internee at Château du Sablou was the communist schoolteacher Louis Bouet, then 60 years old. Other famous internees included the author André Moine.

Internment at Château du Sablou was not comfortable. When the center opened in January 1940, the castle did not have proper accommodations for older men or the sick. Many internees were entirely cut off from their families, and the winter cold was brutal. A mobile army canteen prepared the meals for internees, but the food was poor. Half of the internees did not have eating utensils or bowls with which to eat their meals. Soup was served in large dishes and eaten by hand. Basic amenities like running water, furniture, and bedding were lacking. The only water source was in the nearby forest where the internees went, under escort, to fetch water for cooking. Laundry was done at a nearby river. Poor hygiene was rampant, and the camp had severe outbreaks of fleas, dysentery, and lice.

Some of the detainees provided labor for agriculture or forestry projects in the surrounding municipalities. The internees also helped in the camp canteen and carved canes, wove baskets, and struggled to sell them to families in the vicinity of Montignac to earn some money for a livelihood. The surrounding population, mostly swayed by Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain's propaganda, did not support the presence of the communists interned at Sablou and the relative freedom they enjoyed.

Initially the castle was under the authority of Commandant Saule, who was very strict, preventing internees from leaving the camp, communicating with their families, or working. Internee Alphonse Martin was held at Sablou in May 1940 and recalled that Commandant Saule gave them lessons in patriotism through bullying and insults. His successor, Commandant Daguet, who took charge after the Armistice of June 22, 1940, left more of a favorable impression on Martin.

Daguet was less strict, allowing the internees to leave camp, work on nearby farms, and in some cases meet with their families. Yet Daguet's flexibility naturally facilitated escapes, and many such cases were reported. Under Daguet, camp surveillance consisted of one detachment of the 41st Infantry Regiment under the War Ministry, composed of 40 men, both officers and enlisted men. Some of the camp guards were Senegalese. Two platoons of police replaced the army unit in November 1940.

In late October 1940, Château du Sablou was labeled a poorly run camp by the Vichy regime due to the high number of escapes. Of 273 internees, 12 were hospitalized at Périgueux or other establishments, and 18 internees had escaped by the end of October. On October 31, 1940, Special Commissioner Antz, who had a reputation for strictness, replaced Commandant Daguet and took control of the camp.

Report No. 663 of November 4, 1940, indicated that Special Commissioner Antz received a request calling for the release of internees who no longer posed a real danger to national defense or public security, who were victims of a false accusation, or who were suffering ill health or had been called home to deal with a family situation. At this point the camp held 275 internees. Following these releases, the camp held between 225 and 250 internees.

The camp was deemed too difficult to keep up and to supply because of its isolated location, and it was closed on December

30, 1940. Colonel Blasselle oversaw the closure and the transfer of 228 internees from Sablou to the Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp (near Limoges in the Haute-Vienne Département). At this stage there were 18 Sablousards hospitalized in Périgueux. They later joined the other internees at the Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp. Six of those who were hospitalized later succeeded in escaping.

On March 1, 1941, 155 internees left the camp and were driven to Pierre-Buffière, 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Limoges, where a special train was expected. They joined 90 internees from the Nexon camp and 21 from Saint-Germain-les-Belles, making a total of 266 political prisoners. When they arrived at Port-Vendres, they boarded the freighter *Djebel Nador*, which took them to Algiers en route to Vichy camps in Algeria. The Fort Caffarelli prison was their final destination. The internees from Sablou who remained in France were placed under house arrest in departments neighboring Dordogne.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Château du Sablou camp include Jacky Tronel, "Séjour surveillé pour 'indésirables français:' Le château du Sablou en 1940," *HistPén* 4 (2005): 68–93, available at http://criminocorpus.revues.org/1781; Vincent Giraudier, *Les Bastilles de Vichy: Répression politique et internement administratif, 1940–1944* (Paris: Éditions Tallandier, 2009); Jean-Louis Rouch, *Prolétaire en veston: Une approche de Maurice Dommanget, instituteur, syndicaliste, historien social et libre penseur, 1888–1976, Collection "Militants"* (Treignac, France: "Les Monédières," 1984); and André Moine, *Déportation et Résistance Afrique du Nord 1939–1944* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

Primary source material about Château le Sablou can be found at AN Police Générale, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 13.

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CHAUDES-AIGUES

Chaudes-Aigues (also Chaudesaigues), a spa resort and administrative town of its canton, was located in the Cantal Département, about as far removed from the railroad (25 kilometers or 16 miles away) as from any main city (21 kilometers or 13 miles southwest of Saint-Flour). Following a memorandum from November 3, 1941, the prefect of Cantal, François Francisque Coldefy, designated Chaudes-Aigues as a center for residential assignment (*assignation à residence*) for all foreign Jews in the area. Up to 72 Jews were to be assigned to Chaudes-Aigues and placed in various hotels and private apartments. The prefect's order followed a request from the General Delegation of the National Police (*Délégation générale de la Police Nationale*, DGPN) to local authorities to inventory all regional and departmental centers for residential assignment.[1] In a letter of December 29, 1941, addressed to the mayor of Chaudes-Aigues, Dr. Bremont, Coldefy attached a list of 69 Jews that the gendarmerie moved to Chaudes-Aigues. Apart from a family from Ytrac, the group originated from Aurillac. The foreign Jews from Ytrac and Aurillac consisted of 4 single individuals, 13 families with children, and 5 couples.[2] On July 3, 1942, a report from Coldefy stipulated that he assigned residences to 37 heads of families out of a group of 70 people, including a few French Jews from Paris, who had clandestinely crossed the Demarcation Line.[3]

The large number of Jews who would potentially come to join their "parents and friends" generated strong local reaction. On May 16, 1942, 124 legionnaires and inhabitants of Chaudes-Aigues petitioned the prefect "to remove from Chaudes-Aigues all unwanted Jews who could be placed in other towns, where they would be less troublesome." The signatures filled the verso of the page.[4] Contradicting the statements by the prefect of Cantal, the various gendarmerie reports, petitions, and letter from the mayor claimed that there were between 160 and 200 Jews in the town.

In a decree issued on June 1, 1942, Dr. Bremont responded by ordering that Jews kept "in forced residence in Chaudes-Aigues, and others" be granted access to food stores only from 10:30 A.M. to 12:00 P.M. and from 4:00 P.M. to 6:00 P.M.[5] In his report of July 3, 1942, Coldefy guaranteed that accommodations were sufficient to host summer visitors: that is, "swimmers" and patients taking rest cures. As for food supplies, he believed that the reduced hours of store access for Jews temporarily sufficed to contain local discontent. He entrusted the sub-prefect of Saint-Flour with finding another location for holding foreign Jews: the towns under consideration were Pierrefort, Condat, Neuvéglise, and Marcenat, where the sub-prefect of Saint-Flour tasked the local gendarmerie commander with listing the number of available housing units. On July 16, 1942, the sub-prefect suggested dividing the foreign Jews into groups of 25 and dispatching them to the towns of Saint-Urcize, Marcenat, Ségur, and Pierrefort.

From August 23 to 27, 1942, 35 foreign Jews were deported from Cantal. Another 20 foreign Jews were deported between January 5 and March 5, 1943, and sent to Gurs.[6] On April 23, 1943, the prefecture created a list of all foreign Jews to be "moved" and who would have to vacate Chaudes-Aigues within three weeks.[7] Chaudes-Aigues apparently remained a residential assignment center, however, until the Liberation in August 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Chaudes-Aigues center for residential assignment are Gilles Lévy, *L'Auvergne des années noires (1940–1944)* (Clermont-Ferrand: De Borée, 2000); and Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources documenting the residential assignment center at Chaudes-Aigues can be found in AD-Can, 1W213 (prefecture collection), available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.116M; and CDJC, LXXXIX-52 (CGQJ collection). The latter consists of a confidential note sent on December 3, 1942, from CGQJ in Clermont-Ferrand to the director general of the Investigation and Control Section of Vichy, regarding a Mr. Karminski, who was in confinement in Chaudes-Aigues (Auvergne) and had illegally obtained a three-month circulation pass from the gendarmes.

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NOTES

1. AD-Can, 1W213.
2. Ibid.
3. Report made by the Cantal prefect on July 3, 1942, AD-Can, 1W213.
4. Petition, May 16, 1942, AD-Can, 1W213, reproduced in CDJC, file XXXVI-28; also available at USHMMA, RG-43.116M (AD-Can), 1W213, pp. 260–261.
5. AD-Can, 1W213.
6. AN F1 CIII 114, as quoted in Lévy, *L'Auvergne des années noires*, p. 200.
7. AD-Can, 1W213.

CHIBRON

The Chibron internment camp operated between June 20, 1940, and February 14, 1941. It was located on a military field in the Signes commune (Var Département), approximately 36 kilometers (22 miles) east of Marseille and 21 kilometers (13 miles) northwest of Toulon, in the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region. At least 721 inmates, mostly communists, were imprisoned at Chibron as political enemies of the Vichy regime.

The remote and isolated site served as a military installation from 1935. After the beginning of World War II, refugees and evacuees were temporarily housed at Chibron. The last of these people were transferred from Chibron to Sisteron on September 23, 1940, and the site served thereafter as a camp for political prisoners. The inmates originated from 46 mostly provincial departments such as Bouche-de-Rhone, Var, and Alpes-Maritimes. Others were transferred from the areas around Paris and Lyon. Most of the inmates were men detained as communists, although some were classified as "militant extremists" or "unionists" in official documentation.[1]

According to inmate testimony, the camp conditions were particularly harsh throughout the fall of 1940. Accommodations and sanitary conditions were very poor and rations insufficient. The prisoners were also subject to harassment at the hands of a brutal camp commander who enforced extreme discipline. An inmate hunger strike and a visit by an inspector of the French Interior Ministry ultimately led to a relaxation of camp discipline.[2] Thereafter, the Marseille special police (*la police spéciale*) issued surveillance reports critical of the new conditions. Prisoners allegedly idled instead of doing their assigned logging work. Some used their considerable freedom of movement to walk to nearby towns and connect with communist liaisons, leading the mayor of Signes to issue a formal complaint in January 1941. The local police knew that the prisoners had political connections in Marseille and that a young courier delivered political materials into the camp. In addition, despite surveillance, a number of prisoners escaped each month: 6 in September, 12 in October, 6 in November, and 3 in December 1940 and 4 in February 1941. Many of these escapees were aided by fellow communists who provided them with papers and hiding places.

Unable to control the inmates, the local police and administrative authorities lobbied for the camp's liquidation. The site was closed after the remaining prisoners were transferred to several other camps on February 14, 1941. At least 401 Chibron inmates were moved to the camp at Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe (Tarn), where they were interned alongside political prisoners from the Rivel and Oraison camps. One hundred twenty-three inmates deemed "most dangerous" were sent to Fort-Barraux.[3]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Chibron camp include Jean-Pierre Rioux, Antoine Prost, and Jean-Pierre Azéma, eds., *Les Communistes français de Munich à Chateaubriant: 1938–1941* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1987), 166–169, which chronicles camp operations at Chibron in some detail. For a general overview, see Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), which also includes a specific reference to the Chibron camp.

Primary sources documenting the Chibron camp can be found in ADB-R, collections M6 III 11064 and M6 III 11051; ADV, collection 7M12 2; and AN, collections F9 5575 and F9 5578. A relevant postwar report commissioned by CHSGM, authored by Victor Masson, is available at IHTP. For inmate testimony, see André Moine, *La deportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972), 41–44.

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NOTES

1. ADV, 7M12 2.
2. Moine, *La deportation et la résistance*, pp. 41–43.
3. Ibid., p. 44.

CHOISEL

Based in the commune of Châteaubriant in the Yvelines Département (today: Loire-Atlantique Département), the Choisel camp was located on the Fercé Road, immediately north of Châteaubriant, along an important railway junction toward Nantes about 31 kilometers (19 miles) southwest of Paris. Opened as a prisoner of war (POW) camp for French POWs in June 1940, Choisel was situated on a rocky field atop a small hill on property once belonging to René Orain. The authorities gave Orain 24 hours' notice to vacate the property; all he was able to take were his family and animals. The POWs erected wooden barracks on the site. Among the buildings were a sick room and a chapel. The camp managers commandeered the house next door, which belonged to the Hogrel family, and used it for offices and as the checkpoint. The officer POWs were later confined in the St. Joseph School or in the adjoining castle.

The Loire-Inférieure prefect, Claude Vieillescazes, oversaw the camp. He assumed this position in August 1940 and nominated Mr. Moreau as camp director. The French gendarmerie was in charge of guarding the camp.

Until January 14, 1941, Choisel was one of four camps that received the 45,000 POWs from the Battle of France. As a POW camp it was known as Camp C, an appellation that carried over after its redesignation by the prefecture as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). By March 1941, Roma

(Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) gradually replaced the POWs, together with common-law prisoners (black marketeers, procurors, and prostitutes), as well as workers from arsenal factories and sailors from Bretagne. Finally, political detainees arrived in May 1941. There were 54 communists from the Paris region who had been held either in the Poissy or Clairvaux prisons. Tensions among the different categories of detainees forced the administration to separate the political from the nonpolitical prisoners. The authorities placed the political detainees in two isolated barracks known as Camp P1.

One of the political prisoners was Guy Môquet, the son of the communist parliamentary deputy, Prosper Môquet. Arrested on October 13, 1940, at the Gare de l'Est train station in Paris, he was charged with violation of the September 26, 1939, decree banning communist organizations. He arrived in Choisel on May 16, 1941, where he stayed in Barrack 10.

Four leaders of the French Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Française*, PCF)—Fernand Grenier, Léon Mauvais, Eugène Hénaff, and Henri Raynaud—managed to escape from Choisel during the night of June 18, 1941.

On July 7, 1941, 339 Roma and 75 "undesirable" common-law prisoners were transferred to the La Forge camp in Moisdon-la-Rivière. During the month of July, women began to arrive in Choisel. On August 21, 1941, all the detainees became "hostages" (*otages*), as defined by the new German order on hostages, as promulgated by Karl-Heinrich von Stülpnagel, the military governor (*Militärbefehlshaber*).[1] As of September 1, 1941, there were no Roma left in the camp.

On September 16, 1941, 87 men from La Santé prison and 46 women from La Roquette prison arrived in the Choisel camp. Seven days later, the intellectuals of the camp were isolated in Barrack 19.

Starting on October 20, 1941, the German authorities organized reprisals against the resisters. In response to the murder of Lieutenant Colonel Hotz by three communists in Nantes, 27 Choisel hostages were killed on October 22. Among them were 17-year-old Guy Môquet, Jean-Pierre Timbaud, and Charles Michel. At that same time, 21 other hostages were killed in Nantes and Paris. Môquet's last letter famously entreated his family to be brave in the face of his death: "I am going to die! What I ask of all of you, you in particular Mommy, is to be courageous."[2]

On December 15, 1941, nine hostages were murdered: Adrien Agnes, a 42-year-old technical agent at Stains city hall; Louis Babin, a 52-year-old doctor from Arpajom; Paul Baroux, a 31-year-old teacher from Longueau; Raoul Gosset, an electrician from Aubervilliers; Jacq Fernand, a 23-year-old doctor from Huelgoat; Maurice Pillet, a 39-year-old carpenter and the secretary of the building trade union (*Confédération Générale du Travail*, CGT); René Perrouault, a 45-year-old secretary of the chemical industry trade union; Georges Thoretton, a 25-year-old worker from Gennevilliers; and Georges Vigor, a 27-year-old metalworker from Paris.

In the spring of 1942, eight additional hostages were executed. Among those young prisoners, two were shot on March 7, four on April 23, and the last two were shot on April 29.

Between May 1 and May 11, 1942, the camp was emptied as part of a reorganization of the internment regime: on May 1, the "undesirable" men were sent to the Rouillé camp; on May 4, the foreign Jews were sent to the Pithiviers camp; on May 7, the political detainees were sent to the Voves camp; on May 9, the black market prisoners were sent to the Gaillon camp; and on May 11, the "undesirable" political female detainees were sent to the Aincourt camp.

After the liberation of Châteaubriant by the U.S. Third Army on August 4, 1944, the camp was used temporarily to hold collaborators.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Choisel camp are Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Journal de la Mée, ed., *Telles furent nos jeunes années: Le Pays castelbriantais sous l'occupation*, 2nd ed. (Châteaubriant: ed. Les dossiers de La Mée, 2009).

The following archives hold documentation on the Choisel camp: ADL-A, classifications 1694W17 (attacks against the German army and reprisal measures); 1694W35 (internees for black marketeering); 1694W37 (operation: instructions and correspondence between the Kommandatur and Choisel camp); 1694W39 (monthly reports, camp map, report on the internee surveillance); 1694W40 (reports on the "undesirable" internees); 1694W41 (list of the internees' names and origins between April and October 1941); 1694W42 (internees' files, 1940–1944); 1694W43–1694W54 (individual files in alphabetical order); 1694W55 (correspondence between internees and their families); 1694W56 (reports on escapes); 1694W57 (reports on release proposals); 1694W58 (reports on the 1942 transfers); 1699W128–1699W131 and 2102W65–2102W76 (on the utilization of the camp after the Liberation, 1944–1948); and 10W35 (reports on living conditions, various correspondence between 1944 and 1945, and the internment in Choisel camp or in Nantes prison). The Stuelpnagel decree on hostages is reproduced in 1588-PS, IMT, *TMWC*, 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949), 27: 364–373. Guy Môquet's letters, including his last, are held in the Môquet-Salkay collection at MRN/CDDP, C-M. His last letter is required reading in French secondary schools and may be found at clioweb.free.fr/dossiers/1prov/mrn-moquet.pdf.

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NOTES

1. 1588-PS, Der Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich, an die Chefs der Militärverwaltungsbezirke A, B, C und Bordeaux den Gross-Paris, die Feld- und Kreiskommandanten, Erlass, Betr. Geiselnahme, August 23, 1941, *TMWC*, 27: 364–373.

2. As quoted in Journal de la Mée, ed., *Telles furent nos jeunes années*, p. 44; the original is located at MRN/CDDP, C-M, and reproduced at clioweb.free.fr/dossiers/1prov/mrn-moquet.pdf.

COLLIOURE

The camp was housed in the Château Royal de Collioure, a medieval castle in Collioure (Pyrénées-Orientales Département), a seaside town approximately 26 kilometers (15 miles) north of the Spanish border in southern France.

Like other camps in the Pyrénées-Orientales such as Argelès-sur-Mer and Saint-Cyprien, Collioure was used to detain refugees from the Spanish Civil War. However, only refugees considered to be "extremist and dangerous" were sent to Collioure, which made its operation substantially different from that of other nearby camps that detained refugees.[1] Collioure was officially opened as a "special camp" on March 4, 1939, when 77 prisoners were transferred there from Argelès-sur-Mer, although the castle had been used as a provisional camp since the beginning of February 1939 because it was a convenient stopping place for groups of refugees being moved to camps farther up the Mediterranean coast. It was during this time that the famous Spanish poet Antonio Machado (1875–1939) died in Collioure.

The camp was administered by a gendarme named Capitaine Raulet who was assisted by a police inspector. They oversaw the security of the camp, organized its operation, managed the schedule for prisoners, and made disciplinary decisions. The camp was under the oversight of the National Defense and War Ministry.

The regime at Collioure was very harsh. All of the detainees had their heads shaved, ostensibly for reasons of hygiene. Prisoners were not allowed any books, packages, newspapers, or visits. They were given one set of clothes and one blanket. All of the castle's interior space was put to use to house them, but conditions in the airless castle were unsanitary. For 12 hours a day, detainees worked both inside and outside the camp: they did tasks in and around the castle such as building a shooting range inside the fort and demolishing old walls, and they did work in the village itself, such as roadwork and repairing the primary school's buildings.

The detainees who were considered the most dangerous (usually political activists or union organizers) were put in isolation cells for several days before being transferred to a special section. In the special section, the prisoners were forbidden to speak to one another, and their work assignments usually involved emptying the latrines into the sea. The section could hold up to 30 people and was never empty. The guard responsible for this section was a White Russian émigré known as Antoine, who allegedly had it in for people who had been involved with the Spanish Republic. One man who was detained in Collioure recalled him as the "incarnation of evil."[2]

The prisoners protested their treatment and conditions during two hunger strikes. The first happened toward the end of March 1939 when 14 volunteers from the International Brigades (Interbrigade) went on a hunger strike and were eventually transferred to the former military hospital at Perpignan. From there, three were returned to Collioure, and the rest were freed as a result of an order from a high parliamentary authority. In May 1939, a second hunger strike involved 20 men (Spaniards, Bulgarians, and Italians) who refused to shave their heads or eat; they were sent to the camp's special section, where they were force-fed. Starting in May 1939, a campaign against this camp was conducted in the press by the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*, PCF). There was concern expressed in a police inspector's report about these hasty transfers to Collioure; he also questioned why a blind man and his 16-year-old son, as well as many people who were sick or disabled, were sent there.

By the end of May 1939, the castle held its peak number of 369 refugees. Ninety percent of the camp's population consisted of Spanish refugees, and the other prisoners were mostly foreigners who had fought in the Interbrigade, including people from Yugoslavia, Italy, Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania, although there was also one documented French detainee. Like those from Spain, they were all deemed to be individuals who needed to be isolated. Almost all of the detainees were under the age of 40.

In general, there was a high degree of political engagement among the detainees at Collioure, and people were sometimes transferred there from other camps if they were considered politically dangerous. For example, two Spanish officers held at Saint-Cyprien were sent to Collioure after allegedly having helped with the escape of communist refugees, and two Italian prisoners were transferred after being accused of distributing material from the Italian Communist Party (*Partito Comunista Italiano*, PCI) inside the camp.

Starting in August 1939, it was possible for detainees to join a company of foreign workers (*Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE) or become volunteers in the Foreign Legion for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG), but records between August and December 1939 show that such direct transfers did not take place. Eventually 20 Spaniards left for the volunteer regiments, and five Czechs joined the Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE). Additionally, some prisoners were able to return to their native countries. Between August and December 1939, 44 detainees returned to Spain and 7 to other countries.

The camp at Collioure closed on December 4, 1939. All but one of the remaining 245 Spanish refugees were sent to other camps, mostly to Le Vernet (Ariège). The castle was returned to its earlier military status as a garrison within the defense system of the Mediterranean coast. From the beginning of 1945, the Château royal de Collioure housed approximately 500 German prisoners of war (POWs) where they were used to remove mines and repair damage caused by the war.

SOURCES The most comprehensive secondary source about the Collioure camp is Grégory Tuban, *Les sequestrés de Collioure: Un camp disciplinaire au Château royal en 1939* (Perpignan: Mare Nostrum, 2003). Jacques Issorel, *Collioure 1939: Les derniers jours d'Antonio Machado* (Perpignan: Mare Nostrum, 2001), treats at length the death at Collioure of Spanish poet Antonio Machado, which is also discussed in Francie Cate-Arries, *Spanish Culture behind Barbed Wire: Memory and Representation*

of the French Concentration Camps, 1939–1945 (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell, 2004).

Primary documentation on Collioure can be found in AN BB 18/3183 (legal complaints). USHMMA holds some additional material that mentions Collioure under RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale). More documentation is in AD-P-O, under the classifications 31W274, 109W1 (camp statistics), 109W298, and 109W334 (transfers to Le Vernet). A comprehensive bibliography in Grégory Tuban, *Les sequestrés de Collioure*, lists a number of other primary sources including unpublished theses, oral history interviews, and contemporary periodicals that discuss the camp.

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. Quotation from Tuban, *Les sequestrés de Collioure*, p. 21.
2. Ibid., p. 97.

CORAY

On October 15, 1940, the prefect of Finistère, Mr. Georges, was ordered by the German Feldkommandant, Colonel Berendes, to round up the Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the Finistère Département. An army camp was quickly built in the village of Coray in Bretagne, 61 kilometers (38 miles) southeast of Brest, and it opened on November 1, 1940. The village auditorium and the 2,000-square-meter (ca. 2,400-square-yard) terreplein, the platform of the rampart on which cannon were placed, were commandeered to hold the department's detainees.

The camp's total capacity was 80 people, but it only held approximately 60 Roma at any time. Three to four families lived in caravans, and the remainder lived in the barracks. A December 9, 1941, report on the Saumur section of the Gendarmerie Nationale noted that a total of 213 Roma were transferred from Coray to the camp at Coudrecieux. Eventually they were sent to the camp at Montreuil-Bellay.

The mobile police (*Garde-Mobile*) watched over the camp and checked leave authorizations. Leave required the police chief's signature and took place only between the hours of 9 A.M. and 12 P.M. The police also oversaw three daily roll calls. The Roma worked in the camp both for site maintenance and to grow produce that was sold at markets during their leaves. The sale of produce reflected the fact that the Finistère authorities did not provide for the prisoners' upkeep.

The camp closed on December 1, 1941, after the Roma were transferred to the Coudrecieux camp in the Sarthe Département.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Coray are Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Marie-Christine Hubert, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France 1940–1946," *ET* 13 (1995): 10–17, at p. 14; and Georges-Michel Thomas and Alain Le Grand, *Le Finistère dans la guerre*, 2 vols. (Brest; Paris: ed. De la Cité, 1979), vol. 1: *L'Occupation*.

The following archival sources document the Coray camp: Am-Br, collection 4H; ADFin, files 200W24 and 25; and, as cited in Peschanski, SHGN (now SHD), temporary file 014971.

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COUDRECIEUX

Coudrecieux's former glass factories were located on a wooded plateau near the Château de la Pierre on Saint-Calais Road, approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of the city of Le Mans. It was in those former factories that the prefect of the Sarthe Département opened a camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) on November 18, 1940. The site was also known as the "camp of La Pierre."

Four buildings and 26 caravans formed the camp. It was mostly enclosed within a 2-meter (6.5-feet) high wall around the castle; a barbed-wire fence surrounded the remainder of the camp.

The prefect of Sarthe was authorized to concentrate Roma who were living in his department. As camp chief (*chef du camp*), he appointed Mr. Hubert, who in turn was replaced in early 1941 by Mr. Legeay. Twenty guards and four gendarmes assisted the camp chief. Starting in early June 1941, they were stationed near the camp. Their task was to provide enhanced surveillance required by the increased number of prisoners.

As of November 18, 1940, 118 Roma, most of whom were French nationals, were held in Coudrecieux. In July 1941, at the time of a visit by a collaborationist journalist Roland Barillon, the camp held 316 "Bohemians" (as he called them).[1] On January 5, 1942, a report written by the assistant health inspector listed a total of 218 men and women, as well as 96 children, to which he added 22 individuals who were in the Mans and Saint-Calais hospitals, 4 individuals who were in jail, and 29 escapees. On March 17, 1942, there were 370 detainees.

A school, chapel, and sick room were opened inside the camp. Abbot Ollivier celebrated Mass for the camp's population in the chapel, and Mr. Vergne served as schoolmaster. When asked by the reporter Barillon whether adult detainees attended his classes, Vergne maintained that they did so out of "curiosity," because his "little exercises" were against their "will."[2]

Infused with anti-Roma stereotypes, Barillon's article painted a comforting portrait, from the Vichy standpoint, of a well-fed, generously supplied, and happy camp population. Barillon concluded the article with a quotation from a placard from the camp: "Nomads, you are given a holiday: the camp of La Pierre, at Coudrecieux. Good table, good lodging, open air."[3]

Contradicting this idealized, propagandistic depiction of Coudrecieux is the testimony of Roma survivor Dziga Tanacs. A child in wartime, Tanacs survived a succession of camps for Roma in France before being deported to several camps in Nazi Germany, including Auschwitz II-Birkenau. He recalled Coudrecieux as very unhealthy, lacking potable water, and extremely cold. Held there with his mother, he described the

camp as a sand heap. In 1942, he was dispatched to the much larger camp for Roma at Montreuil-Bellay.[4]

On April 15, 1942, as part of increased efforts to group together the Roma in France, Coudrecieux's detainees, as well as those from Moisdon-la-Rivière (in the Loire-Inférieure Département) and Montlhéry (in the Paris region), were transferred to the Mulsanne camp in Sarthe. During the transfer, the caravans remained behind at Coudrecieux and were placed in one of the glass factory's premises. They remained there at the prefecture's expense until war's end. Every caravan was there at the time of Coudrecieux's liberation on July 31, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Coudrecieux camp are Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); André Piogé, "Les camps de concentration de nomades dans la Sarthe (October 1940–August 1942)," *PrMa*, third series, 8:30 (April–June 1968): 238–246; and Jacques Sigot, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France," *ET* 6:2 (1995): 29–131, at pp. 111–116.

The following primary sources mention the Coudrecieux camp: the Vichy propaganda article by Roland Barillon, "Visite . . . au Camp de Coudrecieux où sont internés les nomades venus d'un peu partout," *SMat*, July 18, 1941; and survivor testimony by Dziga Tanacs, June 29, 1997, VHA #33507.

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NOTES

1. Barillon, "Visite . . . au Camp de Coudrecieux où sont internés les nomades venus d'un peu partout," *SMat*, July 18, 1941.
2. Quotations in ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. VHA #33507, Dziga Tanacs testimony, June 29, 1997.

DOUADIC

In the Indre Département in central France, an internment camp opened at Douadic at the start of World War II. Douadic is 83 kilometers (52 miles) southeast of Tours. The camp was located in La Brenne Regional Park between Le Blanc and Rosnay Streets and was the third internment site in the area after Montgivray and Bagneux. The camp comprised permanent building structures and about 20 wooden barracks divided into three blocks. Bordering the camp were a pond to the south, a brook to the east, the Mezière Road to the north, and another road to the west. Between 1939 and 1940, the detainees were Germans. After the May 1940 Ardennes offensive, Douadic held 800 German prisoners of war (POWs).

On August 17, 1940, Douadic became an internment camp for French and foreign refugees (Germans, Spaniards, Poles, and 27 Polish Jews). At the time, the camp was run by Ernest Braesch, a police superintendent from Strasbourg. The German prisoners were freed after the June 1940 Armistice. Between May and June 1941, they were replaced by 700 French sailors repatriated from Germany. From June 1941 to August 1942, the camp was part of the French Obligatory Youth Service Corps (*chantiers de la jeunesse Française*, CJF) and did not hold any prisoners.

Starting in August 1942 and continuing until the Liberation, Douadic again served as a detention site. The Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Sociale Étrangers*, SSE) managed the camp until December 31, 1942. The SSE was tied administratively to the Commissariat for Unemployment Relief (*Commissariat à la Lutte contre le Chômage*), which was under the auspices of Interior Ministry authority, and was managed at the national level by Gilbert Lesage. On January 1, 1943, the Office of the Social Control of Foreigners (*Service du Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, SSCE) took over the Douadic camp.

In September 1942, Mr. Masson managed the camp. An active-duty officer, Mr. Gény, headed the camp from late 1942 to February 1943, when he was replaced by Captain Bouvery. At the end of 1943, the captain left to became an executive of the local militia. Major Deguines was then appointed camp manager.

Following nightly roundups starting on August 26, 1942, and continuing until September 20, Douadic held local Jews as the "center for gathering Jews [Israelites] before their transfer to occupied France."[1] A total of 475 prisoners passed through Douadic before being transferred to the Nexon regional center in the Haute-Vienne Département, the anteroom to the Drancy transit camp. The Vichy police sorted the prisoners, separating those "to be deported" from the very few to be spared.

On February 23, 1943, a roundup was conducted in reprisal for the January 13 attack on two Luftwaffe officers; 190 individuals were arrested during the roundup. On February 28, 30 of those individuals were released, and the remaining 160 were transferred to Nexon. At this time, 134 internees were left in Douadic. In May 1943, there were only 74 internees, including 40 women and 17 children.

During the summer of 1943, 103 foreign Jews arrived from the Gurs camp in the Pyrénées-Atlantique Département. Most were old and sick. On October 9, 1943, 233 people, among them 117 Jews, were transferred from either the Gurs or Brens camps and interned in Douadic. Following another roundup in March 1944, 101 additional internees came on April 1944 and 75 more in July 1944.

On September 10, 1944, Douadic was liberated; after that the camp held German POWs and then French collaborators until the spring of 1945.

SOURCES The following secondary sources include information on the Douadic camp: Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Sébastien Dallot, *L'Indre sous l'occupation allemande, 1940–1944* (Clermont-Ferrand: Borée ed., 2001); Jacques Blanchard, *Le Camp de Douadic: Centre de triage avant déportation et centre n°11 bis du service social des étrangers, 1939–1945* (Celles-sur-Belle: F. Mathieu ed., 1994); Philippe Barlet and Jacques Merlaud, *La Nasse, Douadic, 1942–1945* (DVD, 5e Planète, 2006); and Gérard Ferrand, *Camps et lieux*

d'internement en région Centre (1939–1947), preface by Maurice Leroy (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Alan Sutton, 2006).

Archival holdings on the Douadic camp start with ADI, M 3262 and 3263, and 1365W (site map). Some of the ADI material has been copied to USHMMA under RG-43.133M, 4 reels. Additional archival holdings can be found at CDJC: a list of the camp's and reception center's detainees on June 30, 1943, is under signature CCXIX-34_001. USHMMA holds an unpublished survivor memoir by Adele Cantor, "Tears and Joys of a War-time Deportee" (1946), which discusses her detention in Douadic and can be found in Acc. 2004.59, Renata de Gara Cafiero collection. Survivor testimonies may be found in VHF: Françoise Bram (#18241), Jacques Kochen (#40106), Henny Rachel Kuperminc (#33008), and Samuel Pintel (#24422). Jacques Blanchard records the testimony of former Douadic prisoner Herbert Goetz in his 1994 study.

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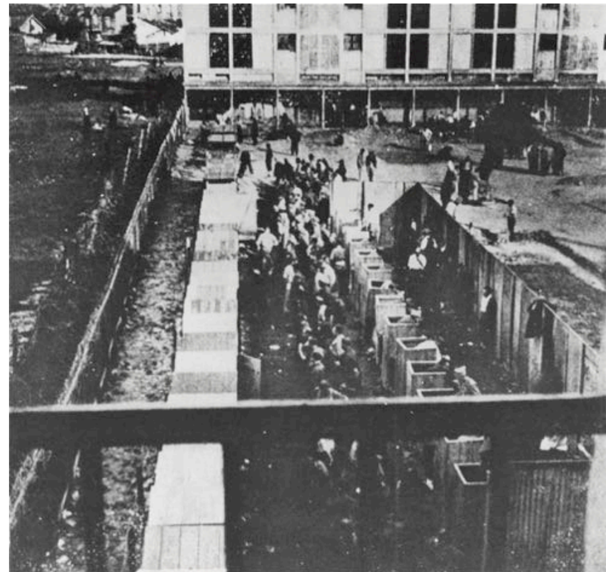
NOTE

1. As quoted in ADI, M3262 and M3263.



The latrine and bathhouse at Drancy internment camp, 1941–1944.
USHMM WS #79845, COURTESY OF SERGE KLARSFELD (BEATE KLARSFELD FOUNDATION).

DRANCY

Drancy was located in a suburb of Paris (in the Seine-Saint-Denis Département), approximately 11 kilometers (7 miles) northeast of the center of the French capital. When Cité de la Muette ("The Silent City"), a modern, U-shaped complex containing 1,200 apartments, was built at Drancy between 1931 and 1934, it was supposed to bring comfort and hygienic conditions to the 1930s working class. The architects Marcel Lods and Eugène Beaudouin designed it, and the construction firm Ferrus & Elambert built it. The Légion de Gendarmerie of the Paris military region later decided to build five 14-story-towers and a barracks at the site. When the Wehrmacht requisitioned the site on June 14, 1940, those buildings were not yet finished, but because of the site's shape, it was easily transformed into a camp by enclosing the U with barbed wire and adding watchtowers. Between the buildings, the interior courtyard was approximately 200 meters long by 40 meters wide (656 × 131 feet). The French government interned communists there in 1939 and 1940 after promulgation of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. When the Wehrmacht took over, the site became Frontstalag 111 and held British and French prisoners of war (POWs). The newspaper *Paris-Soir* published a list of French POWs in July 1940. Very little is known about this phase of Drancy's history.

The roundup of Jewish men on August 20, 1941, in Paris marked the beginning of the Drancy camp (*Camp de Drancy*).[1] From that time, its history was divided into three periods: the first ran from August 20, 1941, until the Vel d'Hiv roundup in July 1942 during which SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker oversaw Drancy. Only adult male Jews, French and foreign, were imprisoned during that period. The second period started on July 16, 1942, and lasted until July 2, 1943, when SS-Obersturmführer Heinz Röthke succeeded Dannecker. During that time, Jewish women, children, and elderly were sent to the camp. The last period, from July 1943 until August 17, 1944, is considered the German period, when SS-Hauptsturmführer Aloïs Brunner patterned Drancy after the model of German concentration camps. Of 76,000 Jews deported from France, 67,000 passed through Drancy.

When the first Jews arrived in Drancy, the newer additions to the site were not yet finished, and the conditions were terrible: prisoners slept on concrete floors using pieces of wood for pillows, and most did not have blankets.[2] Approximately 4,000 people were thus brought to a site without adequate infrastructure. Due to conditions of starvation and the lack of hygiene, many prisoners fell ill. Approximately 100 internees contracted pulmonary tuberculosis; others suffered from syphilis, scabies, and dysentery.[3] Gradually, they realized that their captivity was indefinite, and their morale dropped along with their physical resistance.[4] Forty prisoners died in a few days. In November 1941, in order to avoid an epidemic, the Germans ordered the release of approximately 1,000 prisoners. The prisoners did not hesitate to compare Drancy with a ghetto or even the Dachau concentration camp.

During the first period, Dannecker, as the only representative of the occupiers, established Drancy's administrative structure. Drancy fell under the pyramidal hierarchy of the Vichy authorities that involved several administrative services. French gendarmes guarded the camp under a French commandant (*chef du camp*). The commandant was a police commissar nominated by the Prefecture of Police. The most notorious of the commandants, who held the post from July to September 1943, was Capitaine Marcellin Vieux. The gendarmes and the supply services of the Seine Prefecture reported to the Prefecture of Police. The French police authorities in turn answered to Dannecker. Drancy's internal hierarchy included Jewish prisoner-functionaries: a "Jewish commandant" who

had under him five bloc chiefs (*chefs de blocs*) and 22 section trustees (*chefs d'escalier*).

After the confiscation of their identity papers and all belongings, all Jews in Drancy received prisoner numbers. When Jews in the Occupied Zone were compelled to wear the yellow star in May 1942, those in Drancy had to wear it too.

From November 1941 until the Vel d'Hiv roundup, Drancy became a place where the German authorities murdered prisoners as punishment for involvement in the Resistance. On December 15, 1941, a group of 44 men from Drancy along with some communists were murdered at the Mont-Valérien, a fort in the western Parisian suburb of Sayennes used by the German authorities as a killing site. Among them was the French resister Gabriel Péri. During the first months, few prisoners managed to escape.

Drancy's prisoners were both French and foreign Jews. Among the first groups of prisoners were 40 prominent lawyers from leading French courts: Cour d'Appel, Conseil d'État, and the Cour de Cassation. Among them was Pierre Masse, a member of Georges Clémenceau's cabinet in 1917 and a senator since 1938. He was deported to Auschwitz on September 30, 1942, and murdered. Max Jacob, a French poet, writer, and painter, died in Drancy on March 5, 1944. Many Jewish artists who found refuge in France in the 1930s were also sent to Drancy before deportation to Auschwitz.

After the Vel d'Hiv roundup, Drancy became a transit camp before deportation to the East. One of most horrendous points in the history of Drancy was the arrival of Jewish children in the camp. Between July 31 and August 26, 1942, approximately 4,000 children from 2 to 12 years old arrived from the Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande camps (Loiret). They had been arrested with their parents during the Vel d'Hiv roundup in July, and their parents had already been deported. They spent only a few days in Drancy before being deported and murdered in Auschwitz.[5]

During the second phase, mostly covering the second half of 1942, some Jewish prisoners were released for various reasons: some were sick, some elderly people were transferred to the Rothschild Hospital, and still others were released because they were able to prove that they were not Jewish.[6] Some Jewish furriers were released in the summer of 1942 because the Germans found them useful for making clothes for the troops.[7]

On March 27, 1942, the first convoy, composed of 1,112 Jews from Drancy and Compiègne, departed France for Auschwitz. Only 23 of these people were alive in 1945 and returned to France. In July 1943, Drancy came under direct German control when Aloïs Brunner replaced Röthke. By the time that the German phase began (to be covered in greater detail in a future volume of this encyclopedia), 55 convoys had already left France for Poland. Brunner remained until the end. The last transport (convoy 77) left Drancy on July 31, 1944. Based on Serge Klarsfeld's account, 1,386 prisoners were present in Drancy at the time of liberation on August 17, 1944.

In March 1947, the Court of Justice of the Seine tried 15 gendarmes, including Vieux, for their actions in the Drancy camp. Many escaped punishment by claiming to have participated in the Resistance. Only three defendants were convicted, and none received a sentence longer than two years of confinement and five years of deprivation of civil rights.[8]

SOURCES There are many secondary sources describing the Drancy camp. They include Annette Wierviorka and Michel Laffitte, *À l'intérieur du camp de Drancy* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2012); George Wellers, *From Drancy to Auschwitz* (Boston: M-Graphics Publishing, 2011); Didier Epelbaum, *Obéir: Les déshonneurs du capitaine Vieux Drancy, 1941–1944* (Paris: Éditions Stock, 2009); Jean Châtain, *Pitchipoï via Drancy: Le camp, 1941–1944* (Paris: Messidor, 1991); and Maurice Rajsfus, *Drancy: Un camp de concentration très ordinaire, 1941–1944* (Paris: Le Cherche Midi, 1996). *Lettres de Drancy* (Paris: Tallandier, 2002) is a selection of original annotated materials. A documentary film is Stephen Trombley, *Drancy: A Concentration Camp in Paris*, DVD (New York: Filmmakers Library, 1994). The standard chronicle on the deportation of Jews from France remains Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001).

The numerous primary sources documenting the Drancy camp can be found at CDJC, AD-S-S-D, APPP, ICRC, AN, and ITS. Most of this documentation is available in microform or digital copy at USHMMA under the following collections. From CDJC, RG-43.147M (Archives de Drancy, 1940–1944) includes documentation about camp administration, prisoner conditions and treatment, prisoner lists of inmates, list of releases, information about provisions for Christmas 1943, camp commandant memoranda, and prisoners' personal papers. RG-43.077M (selected records from collection DLXIIIa, Drancy, 1944) contains a list of food and care packages sent to Drancy prisoners via SNCF; RG-43.074M (selected records from collection DXXXIII), correspondence sent to Drancy, 1942–1950, contains postcards sent to Drancy prisoners by family members held in labor camps throughout Occupied Europe and Nazi Germany. RG-43.148M (Drancy: Notes de Service et Notes du Commandant du Camp, 1940–1944) contains camp administration documentation. Drancy material from AD-S-S-D is found in RG-43.121M. From APPP, RG-43.030M consists of documents from the Prefecture of Police in Paris that contain administrative accounting files from Drancy (Comptes de Drancy, Préfecture Archives: boxes GB 1-16) recording money, jewelry, and other property confiscated from Jews entering the camp. From ICRC, RG-04.077M (Fichier de Drancy) is a census of Jewish deportees from various countries that can be searched by name. From AN, Drancy material can be found in several collections: RG-43.008M (Drancy adult index file, 1941–1944); RG-43.011M (Fichier des Enfants internés à Drancy, 1941–1944); RG-43.010M (Cahiers du Camp de Drancy, 1942–1944); and RG-43.009M (Drancy execution index file). The ITS collection, available in digital form at USHMMA, contains materials about Drancy scattered in several subcollections. Subcollection 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco) contains documents from CDJC. ITS subcollection 1.1.9 (Camps in France) contains the list of deportations of Jews from France, mostly from Drancy, and lists of deported Jews from France established after the war by ONACVG. USHMMA has a collection of 58 oral testimonies. VHA has 433 testimonies that mention Drancy. Published testimonies by Drancy prisoners include Benjamin Schatzman,

Journal d'un interné: Compiègne, Drancy, Pithiviers 12 décembre 1941–23 septembre 1942 (Paris: Editions Le Manuscrit/Manuscrit.com, 2005); François Montel and Georges Kohn, *Journal de Compiègne et de Drancy* (Paris: FFDJF, 1999); Saul Castro, in André Kaspi and Anne Grynberg, eds., *Témoignage d'un interné juif des camps de Drancy et de Compiègne (août 1941–mars 1942)* (France: Berthelet Franck, 1997); and Georges Wellers, *Un Juif sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Tirésias, 1991). An autobiographical novel is Noël Calef, *Camp de représailles* (Paris: Éditions de l'Olivier, 1997).

Diane F. Afoumado

NOTES

1. "Le camp de Drancy du 20 Août au début de Novembre 1941 d'après les témoignages de quelques libérés," 1.2.7.18, folder 9, Doc No. 82198932.
2. "Les conditions matérielles de la vie à Drancy," fond FSJF, CDJC, CCXVII-34, p. 2.
3. Letter of Dr. Tisné, who was asked by the Préfecture de la Seine to write a report on the sanitary conditions in the Camp d'Israélites de Drancy, September 7, 1941, CDJC, fond CGQJ, CXCIV-83, p. 4. See also an interview with Yves Jouffa, in Trombley, *Drancy.*
4. ITS, "Naissance du camp: Erlebnisbericht über die Lebensbedingungen im Lager Drancy," n.d., 1.2.7.18, folder 8, Doc. Nos. 82198359, 82198360, 82198361.
5. Wellers, *Un Juif sous Vichy*, pp. 116–118.
6. Letter from the Préfet de Police to Directeur François, August 27, 1942, about the liberation of Mr. Léon Lévy because he is not Jewish, RG.43.030M (PPPA), reel 7.
7. Letter from the Fourrures & Pelleteries to the Préfecture de Police, Paris, July 24, 1942, USHMM, RG-43.030M, pp. 3526–3527.
8. Procès de Gendarmes de Drancy, March 19 to 22, 1947, CDJC, CCI-6.

EAUX-BONNES

Eaux-Bonnes in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques Département is a spa town located 43 kilometers (27 miles) south of Pau and 29 kilometers (18 miles) north of the Spanish border. Eaux-Bonnes became the destination for many of the tens of thousands of Spanish Civil War refugees flooding into southern France in 1939. In the summer of 1940, in the wake of the German-French Armistice, the German government dispatched the Kundt Commission to inspect refugee and other camps in the region. Representatives visited Eaux-Bonnes between August 19 and 23, 1940. From there they traveled to internment camps at Gurs, Luz-Saint-Sauveur, and Gèdre. German authorities did not take note of an actual refugee camp in Eaux-Bonnes itself at the time.[1] However, there is some evidence to suggest that Vichy authorities subsequently requisitioned several of the town's hotels and hostels and converted them into centers of assigned residence (*centres de residence assignée*) for the detention of foreign Jews and other "undesirables."

The Vichy authorities established altogether four such national centers in 1941. In addition to Eaux-Bonnes, three such sites operated in Saint-Nectaire, Le Mont-Dore, and La Bourboule in the Puy-de-Dôme Département. These centers were intended to streamline the detention and expulsion of foreign and naturalized Jews.[2] Other targets included French and alien nationals whose conduct, attitude, nationality, and religion allegedly constituted a threat to public order.[3] Inmates had to be financially self-supporting or else were assigned to labor battalions. They were usually not allowed to leave their residence center without police authorization. While some were able to secure emigration papers, many remained and ultimately became targets of roundups and deportations. For example, on January 18, 1943, more than 400 foreign Jews and 50 children were taken from Eaux-Bonnes some seven kilometers (four miles) northwest to Laruns. From there they traveled north to Guéret (Creuse Département) on convoy 415. Although the circumstances are not clear, they avoided deportation after being released in Creuse and dispersing in the area.[4]

The International Tracing Service (ITS) has some documentation with the names of several foreign, mostly German Jews, who were transferred to Eaux-Bonnes after being interned at Gurs.[5]

SOURCES For relevant background information, see John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford Press, 1986); Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001); and Christian Eggers, "La périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet–août 1940)," in Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), pp. 213–226.

Primary records about the transfer of more than 400 foreign Jews from Eaux-Bonnes to Guéret can be found in AD-C, collections 976W104 to 976W132, available at USHMMA as RG-43.109M. Additional records documenting this and the three other national centers of assigned residence can be found in AD-P-D, which holds among other documents relevant reports by police and gendarmerie in the M Series. Additional relevant police records can also be found in the N Series of ADH-L. The CNI of the ITS contains the names of Jews registered at Eaux-Bonnes. These records are available digitally at USHMM.

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NOTES

1. Eggers, "La mission Kundt," pp. 217–223.
2. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125; also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089.
3. ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, as cited in Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983), p. 76.
4. USHMMA, RG-43.109M (AD-C), reel 4, 976W104 to 976W132.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Charlotte Rapport, Doc. No. 51986183; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Michael Grunberg, Doc. No. 52123722.

ÉCROUVES

Located in the Meurthe-et-Moselle Département in the Lorraine region, 25 kilometers (16 miles) west of Nancy, the Écrouves camp was set up on the border of the canal running between the Marne and Rhine Départements. On July 18, 1941, Vichy's Secretary of State for the Interior demanded the arrest of all communists, anarchists, resistance members, Gaullists, "undesirables," and black market traffickers, during a visit to the city of Nancy. In response, the local prefect demanded the internment of these groups on August 22, 1941.

The local authorities selected the former Marceau military barracks as the location for the Écrouves camp, which was officially classified as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). Built in France's Forbidden Zone near the German-annexed Alsace-Moselle regions, the camp was established on the counter-slope of a plateau on swampy soil. Enclosing the space was a 1.8- to 2-meter-high (approximately 6-foot-high) barbed-wire fence. In June 1942, two watchtowers were built, followed by four additional towers in October 1943. The camp's southern side bordered the road to Paris; the Fort d'Écrouves path bordered the eastern side. There were 20 buildings in the camp, 6 of which accommodated detainees. The men's quarters (two buildings for housing and one for a kitchen and supply store) were enclosed by a fence. When the Jews were interned in Écrouves starting in July 1942, they were segregated. Two buildings were set aside for Jewish women and children.

Initially, the authorities used the CSS at Écrouves to alleviate crowding at the Charles III prison in Nancy. The Germans reinforced this policy at the end of October 1943, when the German police ordered the construction inside Écrouves of an annex of the Charles III prison with a capacity of 400 prisoners. Starting in November 1943, the Germans also annexed two buildings to the camp to accommodate Polish laborers working in a neighboring foundry.

Following the July 19, 1942, roundup of foreign Jews in Nancy, Écrouves' detainee population fundamentally changed. From September 1942, the camp also held Jews in preparation for their transport to the Drancy transit camp. There were 94 Jews at Écrouves in October 1942. Between September 1942 and July 1944, a total of 1,878 Jews were temporarily held there: 701 adult males, 873 adult females, and 304 children.

From September 25 to October 9, 1942, a raid on suspected communists resulted in the arrest of 352 political prisoners, including 10 women, who were dispatched to the Écrouves CSS. About half of them were from the Meurthe-et-Moselle Département.

Marcel Cropsal was the director of the camp, under the authority of the Meurthe-et-Moselle prefect, Jean Schmidt (appointed in September 1940). Cropsal was a gendarmerie lieutenant and had served in the mobile guard (*garde mobile*). The prefect appointed him director on November 20, 1940, a decision that only became effective on August 6, 1941. Charged with trafficking in clothing and misappropriating goods intended for detainees, Cropsal was removed in July 1943. Replacing him turned out to be quite difficult, and there were a series of directors in the following year: G., a divisional commissioner; Raymond B.; Pierre B.; M.; and finally André A. Throughout its existence, the camp administration always included a secretary-manager and two secretaries. Although French gendarmes guarded the CSS, the German police stationed in Nancy and Toul's Feldkommandatur intervened at will. Approximately 30 and 40 gendarmerie officers and non-commissioned officers guarded Écrouves.

Most detainees performed camp maintenance work. In his February 1942 report, Inspector Robert Lebègue wrote that, of 93 detainees, 35 cut wood every day in the Reine state forest, which was about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) northwest of Toul. Some prisoners worked as painters or bricklayers for local firms. After 47 detainees escaped between July 1 and October 14, 1943, a decree forbade any type of work in the forest.[1]

The Écrouves camp had an overall capacity of 860 people. From August 22, 1941, until the end of 1941, the CSS held 128 detainees: 118 communists, 1 Gaullist, and 9 black marketeers. In February 1942, there were 93 detainees. The camp's population peaked in April 1943 at 497. That number dropped to 137 prisoners in February 1944. Over the entire period of operations, only 12 prisoners were classified as "undesirables."

Testimonies of Écrouves' detainees recorded by the Shoah Foundation shared several characteristics: the youthful detainees stayed very briefly in the camp, two to four weeks, before being transported to Drancy. Given the short stay and the five-decade time lapse before their testimonies were recorded, survivors generally recalled that the camp's discipline was lax, food relatively ample, and escape opportunities plentiful. A few remembered sleeping on straw floors, while one female survivor, Jeannine Guillemant, reported being forced to surrender her jewelry to a French guard. By contrast, one survivor, Jacqueline Cahn, received help from a French guard in a failed escape attempt.[2]

On September 2, 1944, when the Americans liberated the camp, there were 168 prisoners, all Jews. The liberating forces most likely were elements of the U.S. Third Army, then engaged in operations in the Toul and Nancy areas.

After the war, the Nancy Justice Court brought suit against the camp director, Cropsal, but he was acquitted on July 23, 1946.

SOURCES Secondary sources that recount the history of the camp at Écrouves are Françoise Job, *La déportation des Juifs de Lorraine: Le camp d'Écrouves*, new ed. (Paris: Fils et Filles de Déportés ed., 2004); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). In 2000, Écrouves commemorated a statue in memory of the Jewish deportees.

Primary sources on the Écrouves camp may be found in AN: F7 15102 (camp director's and Robert Lebègue's report, December 10, 1943) and F7 15086 (IGC reports between February 1943 and April 1944); ADM-M: W 927/ 21, 202, 215, 216, 222, 225, 238–240, 260–261, 285–287, 292, 293, and 297; W 967/141 and W 950 323, 355 and 371; and CDJC (various

correspondence): CDXXVII-17, CDXXIV-2, CDXXIV-31, XLIV-17, CII-90, XXVc-248, XLII-65, XLIX-16, XXVa-213, and CDXVI-19. VHF holds seven testimonies that briefly mention detention conditions at Écrouves. Testimonies by former Écrouves detainees cited by Françoise Job are Pierrette Berkovic-Broda, Rosalie Doncourt-Widawski, Marcel Frégiers, and Yvette Tronik-Weil and that of one detainee who was not deported, Robert Benkemoun. Job also cites an unpublished, anonymized manuscript, "Les vacances de Morgenstern," which provides the only known witness testimony of the U.S. liberation of Écrouves.

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NOTES

1. AN F7 15102.
2. VHF testimonies of Jacqueline Cahn, February 9, 1997 (#27006); Jeannine Guillemant, March 4, 1997 (#26703); Samuel Lajzerowicz, March 11, 1996 (#11479); Georges Lehman, February 6, 1996 (#9116); Gilbert Metz, September 3, 1998 (#45926); Yvette Tronik, October 9, 1996 (#21059); and Claude Zlotzisty, October 11, 1996 (#21085).

ÉGLETONS

Égletons (Corrèze Département) is a town located 23 kilometers (14 miles) northeast of the prefectural capital, Tulle. There were at least three groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs) deployed in and around Égletons between 1941 and 1943: GTE No. 101, GTE No. 644, and GTE No. 653. For a year and a half, GTE No. 101 was located in the hamlet of Rosiers d'Égletons, almost 5 kilometers (3 miles) southeast of Égletons. A contingent of GTE No. 644 was located at Bugeat, 22.5 kilometers (14 miles) east of Égletons. GTE No. 653 was located in Égletons itself at the base of a stadium.

GTE No. 101 was the Corrèze Département's disciplinary unit. Originally located in a small prison in Brive-la-Gaillard, 48 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Égletons, it was intended to hold foreign workers who went absent without leave.[1] The group originally had 30 prisoners, who were kept under close guard and worked on the Mezmac-Millevaches Road. The GTE was relocated to the Auchères camp at Rosiers d'Égletons (*Camp d'Auchères à Rosiers d'Égletons*) in June 1941 and remained there until October 1942. Auchères was a barracks camp enclosed by barbed wire.[2] It was 90 square meters (approximately 969 square feet). The neighboring prefecture of Haute-Vienne dispatched a foreign laborer to Auchères for punishment.[3] There were some escapes from this group, including by Arcadie Choko, a refugee from Łódź, who fled before the August 1942 roundup of Jews in Corrèze.[4] During the roundup, seven Jews were deported from GTE No. 101 via Drancy. Among them was Samuel Merel, who was sent to GTE No. 101 from the Soudeille camp (GTE No. 665) in August 1942 and who perished at Auschwitz in January 1945.[5] In October 1942, GTE No. 101 was moved a final time, to La Tourette, a hamlet near Ussel, where it was quartered on a sheep farm on the Mothe estate. (Ussel is 31 kilometers [19 miles] northeast of Rosiers d' Égletons.)

GTE No. 653 consisted of approximately 350 Spanish refugees and some "Palestinians" (foreign Jews). Its labor duties included forestry, peat digging, agriculture, and "carbonization"—charcoal production. The commandant was Capitaine René Jouassain, and the group physician was named Moneger. Survivor Max Oling recalled that Jewish prisoners were able to correspond with loved ones.[6] The Spanish prisoners played soccer matches during off-hours. In the months preceding the roundup of Jews in the prefecture, the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) provided substantial relief for Jewish forced laborers in the "Égletons camp," presumably a reference to GTE No. 653. Altogether, UGIF furnished 15,700 French francs for food, medicine, transport, and cash subsidies.[7] By May 1943, the remainder of GTE No. 653 was reassigned to work for the Organisation Todt (OT).[8]

Documentation for GTE No. 644 is scanty.[9] The group operated not only in Corrèze but also in Haute-Vienne, and at least one forced laborer was Jewish.[10]

A witness report at ITS indicates that there may have been a fourth GTE located at Égletons. A. Deutsch prepared a confidential report on the deportations in the Haute-Vienne vicinity, which included a visit to Égletons. With Rabbi Feuerwerker of Brive, he recalled accompanying GTE No. "59" during its 4-kilometer (2.5 miles) march to the train station and offering words of comfort to the men. The Jews sang *Hatikvah* along the way. It is possible that Deutsch conflated the GTE number with No. 653.[11]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the GTEs in and around Égletons include Gérard Gobitz, *Les déportations de réfugiés: De zone libre en 1942: récits et documents concernant les régions administratives de Toulouse, Nice, Lyon, Limoges, Clermont-Ferrand, Montpellier (Camp de Rivesaltes)* (Paris: Harmattan, 1997); Paul Estrade, "Les Groupes de Travailleurs Espagnols," in Paul Estrade, ed., *Les forçats espagnols des GTE de la Corrèze, 1940–1944* (Treignac, France: Édition "Les Monédières," 2004), pp. 85–101; Jean-Pierre Tardien, "Les GTE d'Ussel, Neuvic et la Tourette," in Paul Estrade, ed., *Les forçats espagnols des GTE de la Corrèze, 1940–1944* (Treignac: Édition "Les Monédières," 2004), pp. 127–152; Yves Soulignac, *Les centres des séjours surveillés, 1939–1945*, 2nd ed. (Saint-Paul, France: Soulignac, 2000); and Shlomo Balsam, *Le baume et la licorne: Histoire de deux familles* (Jerusalem: Édition Elkana, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the GTEs in and around Égletons can be found in AD-Cor, especially in collections 529W79–529W84. Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-43.125. Additional documentation can be found in ITS, collections 0.1, 1.2.7.18, and 2.3.5.1; this material is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds three interviews by survivors of GTEs at or near Égletons. USHMMPA has a photo identification card for Aron (Jacques) Balsam (WS #60698 and WS #60698A, courtesy of Shlomo Balsam).

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NOTES

1. Ministère de la Production Industrielle et du Travail, Groupement No. 1 des T.E., Demande Speciale, Obj.: "Transfèrement sous escorte de gendarmerie," signed Thomas, March 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.125 (AD-Cor), 529W76, p. 86.
2. ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), folder 32, Doc. Nos. 82375573–82375576.
3. P/H-V to P/Cor, Obj.: Milniaric, Jean, March 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W76, p. 355.
4. VHA #6857, Arcadie Choko testimony, August 22, 1995.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Samuel Merel, Doc. No. 40914459.
6. VHA #7423, Max Oling testimony, December 19, 1995.
7. ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco), folder 10, Doc. No. 82198962.
8. Jouassain to Maison Garonne, Obj: "TE Mateo Pasqual," May 28, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W76, p. 267.
9. USHMMPA, WS #60698A, photo identification for Aron (Jacques) Balsam (Courtesy of Shlomo Balsam).
10. P/H-V to Maire Saint-Yrieix, October 8, 1942, signed J. Popineau, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W76, p. 238.
11. A. Deutsch, "Rapport confidentiel sur les évenements en Haute-Vienne," n.d., ITS, 1.2.7.18 folder 11/I455, Doc. No. 82199204.

ÉVAUX-LES-BAINS

Évaux-les-Bains was located in the Creuse Département, Limousin region, 63 kilometers (39 miles) northwest of Clermont-Ferrand in the Southern Zone. The site was chosen for an "establishment of administrative internment" (*établissement d'internement administratif*) for the detention of prominent figures and regime opponents. Because of its more secure location, it replaced the administrative internment camp at Vals-les-Bains. The camp was supposed to open in August 1942, but only became operational on November 26, 1942. The Vichy authorities commandeered the Grand-Hôtel for the purpose.

Located outside the town of Évaux-les-Bains but close to the National Road, the camp was enclosed by a wooden fence that surrounded the Grand-Hôtel, its park, and the neighboring villa that had been turned into a chapel. The neighboring Hôtel des Sources served as a guard post. On September 12, 1942, the police superintendent, Eustache Sagnières, became the camp director and remained in the post until December 29, 1942. His replacement was Albert Lecal, who in turn was replaced by Aimé Bonnevialle on June 16, 1943.[1] Because the detainees were prominent people, a large group of mobile reservists (*Groupe Mobile de Réserve*, GMR) was in charge of surveillance. With more than 120 reservists at the camp, there were approximately four guards for every prisoner.

A total of 77 detainees, including 3 women, were confined at Évaux-les-Bains. Most were blamed in some respect by the Vichy regime for France's defeat in June 1940. There were never more than 37 in confinement at one time, however. According to historian Denis Peschanski, there were 24 prisoners in June 1943, 32 in August 1943, and 36 in April 1944. Based on a list compiled by local historian Yves Solignac, 30 prisoners were released from the camp before the Liberation; 2 died in custody; 4 were handed over to the German authorities; 1 successfully escaped; 1 was dispatched to the Vichy prison at Castres; 1 was transferred to the Nexon camp; and 37 were freed at the time of liberation.

The detainees formerly occupied leading positions in French politics and the army. The most famous was Édouard Herriot, a former three-time premier, leader of the French Radical Party, and long-term president of the Chamber of Deputies. Léon Jouhaux had served as the secretary of the General Confederation of Labor (*Confédération Générale du Travail*, CGT) since 1909. André Blumel was the chief of cabinet (*chef de Cabinet*) for the government of socialist premier Léon Blum. He escaped Évaux on May 5, 1944. The former deputy mayor of Oyonnax (Ain Département), René Nicod voted against the granting of unrestricted powers to Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain on July 19, 1940. Other leading figures were army officers such as Général de corps d'armée Paul-André Doyen. The only detainee held at Évaux from its opening to its closure, he headed the French delegation at the Wiesbaden (Armistice) Commission in 1941. Another general was Général de corps d'armée Léon Benoit de Fornel de La Laurencie. After overseeing the court-martial of Charles de Gaulle in 1940, La Laurencie turned against the Pétain regime, which led to his detention. Other detainees were members of rightist groups that broke with Vichy, including Dr. Henri Martin, erstwhile member of the monarchist French Action (*Action Française*) and *La Cagoulle* ("The Cowl," a right-wing terrorist group from the late 1930s, whose members were called Cagoulards). His fellow Cagoulards and Évaux detainees were Jean Filliol and Commandant Georges Loustaunau-Lacau. Well-known journalists, such as the leftist Roger Stéphane (the nom-de-plume of Roger Worms), were also held in the camp. Worms's mother, Madame Marcelle Worms, was detained at the same time. According to historian Christian Eggers, the site was also a center for assigned residence (*assignation à residence*), where foreign Jews who were able to pay for accommodations could be housed by private homeowners.

The camp's living conditions were acceptable. The prisoners corresponded regularly with relatives and friends in other camps. Books were widely available, lively political discussions took place, and relatives were able to visit. Loustaunau-Lacau characterized the "prison-hotel" as a lovely site where the Vichy regime held troublemakers.[2]

The German authorities periodically visited Évaux in order to seize certain well-known detainees. Their foremost target was Herriot, whose transfer was demanded at the highest level in Berlin. Along with Jouhaux and Loustaunau-Lacau, the German police removed Herriot from Évaux on March 31, 1943. Worms witnessed this intervention shortly after arriving in the camp. Observing that the German police brandished

weapons more formidable than the "hunting rifles" with which the GMR guards were armed, he helplessly watched as they brushed aside detainees, like Martin, who tried to block them from taking Jouhaux and Loustaunau-Lacau.[3] Loustaunau-Lacau was dispatched to the Mauthausen concentration camp. He survived the Wiener-Neudorf subcamp and subsequently testified against Pétain during the latter's treason trial.[4] The last prisoner transferred to German hands was Colonel Henri Fallontin, who was seized on February 26, 1944. The German authorities also transferred at least one French prisoner, the former prefect of Pau, to Évaux from their prison at Fort-du-Hâ in Bordeaux on August 20, 1943.

A group of imprisoned officers and generals organized an escape attempt on November 4, 1943, assisted by resistance fighters from Limoges and Toulouse. On periodic visits to her husband during the previous months, Madame Martin, a maquisard, sneaked weapons to the detainees.[5] The potential escapees included some civilians, such as Worms, who vainly awaited the red and green light flashes that were supposed to signal the start of the escape.[6]

Resistance forces liberated the camp at Évaux-les-Bains in a bloodless attack on June 8, 1944, two days after the Normandy invasion. By agreement, the GMR guards did not oppose the freeing of their charges.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Évaux-les-Bains are Vincent Giraudier, *Les Bastilles de Vichy: Répression politique et internement administratif* (Paris: Tallandier, 2009); Pierre Goudot and Marc Hervy, *Le camp d'internement administratif d'Évaux-les-Bains: Creuse, 26 novembre 1942–8 juin 1944* (Évaux-les-Bains; Saint-Marcel-en-Marcillat: self-published, 2006); Pierre Goudot, "Le camp d'internment administratif d'Évaux-les-Bains (26 novembre–8 juin 1944)," *CAMR* 21 (Dec. 2009): 14–15; Chantal de Tourtier-Bonazzi, "L'utilisation dévoyée d'une station thermale: Évaux-les-Bains durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale," in *Villes d'eaux: Histoire du thermalisme*, Comite des travaux historiques et scientifiques (Paris: Éd. du CTHS, 1994), pp. 491–524; Yves Solignac, *Les centres des séjours surveillés, 1939–1945*, 2nd ed. (Saint-Paul: Soulignac, 2000); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Christophe Moreigne, *Prisonniers de guerre de l'Axe: Creuse et région administrative (1944–1948)* (Guéret: Archives départementales de la Creuse, 2005). A biography of Dr. Henri Martin is Pierre Péan, *Le Mystérieux Dour Martin, 1895–1969* (Paris: Fayard, 1993). An account of the Liberation, by the daughter of one of the detainees, Robert-Pol Dupuy, is Rose-Marie Flick, "Le Général Robert-Pol Dupuy," at lissey.e-monsite.com/pages/annexe/general-pol-dupuy.html.

Primary sources documenting the Évaux-les-Bains camp can be found in AD-C, 36W1-15 (general administration of the camp, staff, and detainees); 36W15-33 (accounting); 80W1-20 (the prefect's personal staff at Évaux-les-Bains); and 147J105 (René Castille collection, historical research on World War II). Other archival holdings on Évaux-les-Bains can be found in MAN-MI, 880206/7 and 88206/8: Vals-les-Bains and Évaux-les-Bains camps (daily and weekly lists); and CAC, file 880206 (correspondence). The persecution of Loustaunau-Lacau is documented in the ITS collections, available in digital form at USHMM. Two published testimonies about Évaux-les-Bains are Georges Loustaunau-Lacau, *Mémoires d'un Français rebelle* (1948; Biarritz: J&D Editions, 1994); and Roger Stéphane (pseud.; Roger Worms), *Chaque homme est lié memoir au monde* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1946).

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NOTES

1. AD-C, 147J105.
2. Loustaunau-Lacau, *Mémoires d'un Français rebelle*, p. 250.
3. Stéphane, *Chaque homme est lié memoir au monde*, pp. 194–196 (quotation on 194).
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Loustaunau-Lacau (Doc. Nos. 39220707–39220708).
5. Stéphane, *Chaque homme est lié memoir au monde*, p. 253.
6. Ibid.

FORT-BARRAUX

Fort-Barraux (Isère Département) is located in southeastern France, more than 36 kilometers (almost 23 miles) northeast of Grenoble and over 86 kilometers (nearly 54 miles) south of Geneva. In the autumn of 1937 it held the first Spanish refugees, and for the length of World War II it was a Vichy administrative internment camp (also classified as a confinement center, *Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) in the Southern Zone for internees in transit to French, German, and North African camps. Fort-Barraux was also one of the historic military fortresses converted into an internment center by Vichy.

Fort-Barraux had an infirmary, a prison, a hospital, and dental care facilities. The staff at Fort-Barraux numbered 111 people. Victor Wenger, Paul Chevalier, and François Risterucci were commandants of Fort-Barraux. The French Red Cross had a presence there.[1]

Fort-Barraux changed status during the war. Initially a center designated for political detainees (communists and Gaullists), the camp began detaining common criminals in November 1942: black marketeers, convicts, pimps, and those guilty of economic infractions. Thirty-three Jewish men who were part of the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED), GTED No. 133, were interned at Fort-Barraux in December 1942.[2] In 1943, "deserters," namely French civilians who refused to work in Germany during the war called *Réfractaire*, as well as Roma, Americans, Britons, Jews, and Spaniards arrived at Fort-Barraux for internment.[3]

Fort-Barraux had a capacity for up to 900 internees. Climbing to nearly 850 in early 1941, its census fell to approximately 250 in June 1942.[4] In February 1943, Fort-Barraux held 700 internees, and a year later it held 466. In December 1944 128 internees were held there. The Jews interned at Fort-Barraux included a rabbi, a doctor, traders, teachers, farmers, a

city official, artists, students, diamond cutters, and tailors. The nationalities represented by the Jewish prisoners included Polish, German, Austrian, Russian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Czechoslovak, stateless, Hungarian, Belgian, Bulgarian, Dutch, and French.

A notable internee at Fort-Barraux was the homosexual journalist, writer, and Gaullist Roger Stéphane, who was part of the Resistance in Montpellier. He escaped the camp in the summer of 1942. The most famous internee was Roland Dumas, later the Foreign Affairs Minister under President François Mittérand, who was part of the Resistance and was interned at Fort-Barraux between May 19 and 31, 1942.

SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker and his deputy, SS-Untersturmführer Ernst Heinrichsohn, visited the Southern Zone between July 11 and 19, 1942, and investigated the state of the camps at Fort-Barraux, Les Milles, Rivesaltes, and Gurs. After assuming the leadership of Fort-Barraux on November 5, 1942, Chevalier sent a damning report to his superiors about the widespread corruption in the camp. The guards accepted payment from internees for many favors, including facilitating escapes. Consequently Chevalier demoted many guards to correctional status and sent them to neighboring internment camps such as Sisteron. Other guards resigned, fearing such a fate.

Each day five internees farmed potatoes and corn in the grounds around the fortress and in a nearby field. Eight internees worked daily under supervision in a nearby forest, cutting down trees and transporting firewood.[5]

The internees slept on wooden beds and were each given a pillow, a sleeping bag, and three blankets (four in the winter). Each room also had tables and chairs.[6] Obtaining adequate clothing was more difficult. The internees wore worn-out military coats, jackets, and pants. Tailors-in-residence kept the clothing wearable. As of June 30, 1943, the center was in need of shirts, leggings, knitwear, work pants, and socks.[7] Hunger, disease, dysentery, and lung ailments were widespread at Fort-Barraux and often led to death.

According to Chevalier, the state of the camp's morale was very low as of January 9, 1943. Many were keen to escape, and others longed to be granted freedom. The general perception was that the food at Fort-Barraux was insufficient, especially compared to what the internees had been issued at other camps.[8] Each internee was given 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of fresh vegetables per day.[9] Fort-Barraux initially had one reservoir providing water for the camp, and on April 15, 1943, the commandant initiated plans to build a second reservoir.[10]

By the end of the war 120 Jewish internees at Fort-Barraux had been deported to Auschwitz. In the summer of 1945 German civilians (men, women, and children) occupied Fort-Barraux.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Fort-Barraux include Jean-Claude Duclos, *Fort Barraux: Camps et prisons de la France de Vichy, 1940–1944* (Grenoble: Musée de la résistance et de la déportation de l'Isère, 1998); Tal Bruttmann, *Spoliations Liées à l'Internement et à la Déportation des Juifs par Vichy* (Grenoble: Commission Communale d'Enquête sur les Spoliations des Biens Juifs, 2002); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, Université Paris 1, 2000); Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et déportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Tal Bruttmann, *Aryanisation économique et spoliations en Isère, 1940–1944* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 2010); Marcel Cohen, *Les Camps en Provence: Exil, internement, déportation, 1933–1944* (Aix-en-Provence: Éditions Alinéa et L.L.C.G., 1984); Roger Stéphane, *Chaque homme est lié au monde* (Paris: Éditions du Sagittaire, 1946); and Olivier Philipponnat and Patrick Leinhardt, *Roger Stéphane: Enquête sur l'aventurier* (Paris: Grasset, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Fort-Barraux camp can be found in digital form in AD-Ard, available at USHMMA under RG-43.111, reel 3; ADL, available at USHMMA, RG-43.029M, reel 3; and ITS, 1.2.2.0 (folder 4), 1.2.7.18 (folders, 1, 4, 6, 10, 19a, and 19b), and 2.3.6.1 (folder 3). Additional primary source material about the Fort-Barraux camp can be found in AN (Police Générale), available at USHMMA under RG-43.016M, reels 11 and 14; AD-R, available at USHMMA, RG-43.065M, reel 3; and ADH-G, available at USHMMA, RG-43.058M, reel 16. A published memoir is Roger Stéphane, *Chaque homme est lié au monde.*

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NOTES

1. ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 10, Doc. No. 82198895.
2. "Groupe de TE Nr. 133" n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.111MK (AD-Ard), reel 3, n.p.; and "Le Chef de Groupe Départemental Buisson, Commandant le GTED, Nr. 133," September 11, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.111M, reel 3, n.p.
3. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370971; "43 Fort Barraux," n.d. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370972.
4. "Le Directeur du Centre de Séjour Surveillé," June 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14, p. 2553.
5. "Travail des Internes," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2463.
6. "Département de l'Isère Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Fort-Barraux," June 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2460.
7. "Habillement (Personnel)," June 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2461.
8. "À des jardins furent exploités autour du Fort . . . ," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2492.
9. ". . . cage pour percevoir des . . . ," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2462.
10. "Le Chef de Camp du Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Fort-Barraux," April 15, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 14, p. 2782.

FORT-DE-PEIGNEY

Peigney was a disused fort located a half-kilometer (0.3 miles) from its eponymous town in the Haute-Marne Département, 2.6 kilometers (1.6 miles) northeast of Langres, the nearest sizable commune, and 248 kilometers (154 miles) southeast of Paris.

The Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) of the Haute-Marne Département were first rounded up, along with their caravans, in April 1941, following a prefectural decree under the order of the occupying German forces on January 31, 1941, which forbade their free movement around the department.[1] They were gathered in a clearing at Germaines, near the town of Auberive, almost 25 kilometers (more than 15 miles) southwest of Peigney. While at Germaines, the men performed forestry work nearby.[2]

On September 1, 1941, all of the Roma at Germaines were transferred via horse and carriage to Peigney, because accommodations at Germaines were deemed unsuitable for the upcoming winter weather.[3] Two large brawls occurred at Germaines in the last week of July, and two men subsequently required hospitalization for knife injuries. These fights seem also to have contributed to the decision to transfer the group to a more confined location. In a letter to the prefect about the transfer, the sub-prefect of Langres noted that one of the Roma said this detention was forcing families who had long "resented and detested one another" to live in close quarters, which was the cause of the fights.[4]

The fort itself was barely habitable when the Roma were moved there. It had been built between 1869 and 1875 and used before the war as a storage depot. Its estimated capacity was 120 people.[5] As one report stated, "the only advantage of this location is that it is free to receive nomads."[6] Many of its doors and all of its windowpanes were missing, and heating it was an ongoing challenge. Questions were raised to the prefect about whether the water was potable, given that two of the three wells on site were full of detritus and were missing necessary pumps. The Roma were thus allowed to go into town to procure water.[7]

Three families lived in the former officers' quarters within the fort, although the rooms were devoid of any furniture or floor covering. The other Roma lived in their caravans wherever they could find space for them in the fort's interior courts.

Between September 1941 and February 1942, the gendarme brigade at Langres oversaw the security of Peigney. In February 1942, security was increased by prefectural order, and six unarmed guards were hired, although in the summer of 1942 they were not paid for several months due to an administrative error.[8] As of October 1942, the chief guard was a former artillery worker, and the other five comprised two other former artillery workers, one who had worked for Peugeot, and two former railroad workers.[9] Four guards were on duty during the day, two at night, and each guard received one day off per week, which meant that twice a week, the two guards on duty at night had to serve for longer shifts.[10]

The camp's atmosphere was fractious. According to various police reports, the detainees fought among themselves and also with the guards and the police. A September 1941 report by Marc Tonnot, the commander of the Langres gendarme brigade, described a phone call from the mayor of Peigney, who asserted that a group of men from the camp were drinking and harassing people in town. Four gendarmes were sent to investigate; three of the gendarmes were beaten by one of the prisoners, who then managed to escape the reinforcements sent to find him.[11] In April 1942, one prisoner was accused of hitting a guard and then breaking all the windows in the guards' post.[12]

Escapes occurred frequently. With permission from the guards, the Roma were allowed to leave Peigney for certain reasons, such as procuring food and water or selling handicrafts, and the voluminous gendarme reports in the archives indicate that many Roma would not return from these excursions. Due to the dilapidated condition of the fort it was also possible to escape over its walls at night.[13] In August 1942, a medical inspector reported that the guards complained to him that it was difficult for them to prevent anyone from flouting the camp's restrictions, which included a curfew from 11 P.M. to 5 A.M.[14]

An inspection report from October 1942 stated that of the 97 Roma who were supposed to be detained at Peigney, 46 were missing (11 men, 8 women, and 27 children). Some reported escapees returned of their own will, and others were found either in nearby camps, such as Jargeau (Loiret), where their relatives were being held, or residing in nearby villages.[15] Movement in and out of the camp caused the number of Roma at Peigney to fluctuate from month to month.

Finding work for the Roma was a problem for the camp authorities. A group of five men were authorized by the Germans to work cutting timber in the forest at Montigny-le-Roi, approximately 17 kilometers (10 miles) northeast of Peigney.[16] Others at Peigney were allowed to practice traditional crafts, particularly basket weaving. However, as a health inspector in the camp noted, necessary supplies such as wicker were lacking, and there was no place nearby for the Roma to sell their finished products.[17]

In addition, there was no school for the children at the camp, and they were not allowed to attend school in Peigney because, according to a 1942 report, there were too many of them (approximately 20) and they were often too badly behaved.[18]

Food was insufficient. Families were in charge of obtaining their own food, and Peigney's mayor reported that thefts, especially by children, of produce, wood, and even rabbits from households in Peigney often occurred.[19] The procurement of heating material was another ongoing problem. In November 1941, Tonnot reported that the fort was in increasingly worse condition because the Roma were burning its beams, window frames, and flooring planks for heat, as they were not provided with anything else.[20] There was no doctor designated to serve Peigney, and three children born at Peigney in 1942 all died shortly after birth—two of "cold and hunger" and one of bronchitis, according to a report by a camp inspector.[21]

As early as August 1942, a health inspector recommended that Peigney be shuttered and its inhabitants moved to a larger, better run camp.[22] Authorities had discussed renovating the fort, but they found adequate renovation to be impracticable.[23] By early December 1942, the prefect wrote that he was ready to close Peigney as soon as the Interior Ministry told him where to send its detainees.[24]

The first group of 13 detainees was transferred to the camp at Arc-et-Senans (Doubs) on January 28, 1943, and by July 1943, all of the Roma detained at Peigney, including those working in forestry at Motigny-le-Roi, were transferred to Arc-et-Senans.[25]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Peigney include Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: un sort à part, 1939–1946* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 29–196.

Primary documentation on the camp at Peigney can be found in ADH-M, under classification 367W206. Some of this documentation is available on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.106M.

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NOTES

1. "Rapport de M. Lebègue, Chargé de Mission à l'Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internement du Territoire, sur le centre d'hébergement de Peigney (Hte-Marne), visité le 20 Octobre 1942," December 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M (ADH-M), reel 5, 367W206, pp. 538–544 (USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206).
2. P/Haute-Marne to Direction Générale de la Police Nationale, July 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 295.
3. Capitaine Pierre Stanguennec, "Rapport sur le transfèrement des nomades," September 2, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W20, p. 411; reasons for transfer, P/Haute-Marne to Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, December 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, pp. 299–300.
4. Quotation from S-P/Langres to P/Haute-Marne, August 13, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 77.
5. "Rapport de M. Lebègue," December 1, 1942.
6. Quotation from "Notice sur le camp de nomades de Peigney," 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, pp. 306–307.
7. Commissaire Spécial/Chaumont to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 68; water well situation, "Rapport de M. Lebègue," December 1, 1942, p. 544.
8. "Rapport de M. Lebègue," December 1, 1942, pp. 540–541; guards not receiving pay, Médécin Inspecteur to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 510.
9. "Rapport de M. Lebègue," December 1, 1942, p. 540.
10. "Consignes pour les Gardiens du Fort de Peigney," USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 277.
11. Tonnot, "Rapport sur la vie des nomades au Fort de Peigney," September 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, 399–400.
12. Tonnot, "Rapport sur la vie des nomades au Fort de Peigney," April 29, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 344.
13. P/Haute-Marne to DGPN, July 28, 1942.
14. "Consignes pour les Gardiens du Fort de Peigney."
15. "Rapport de M. Lebègue," December 1, 1942, p. 541; escapees returning on their own, "Camp de nomades de Peigney, mois de Novembre 1942," November 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, pp. 269–270; joining family in other camps, Tonnot, "Rapport sur la vie des nomades au Fort de Peigney," March 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 346.
16. "Rapport sur les familles de nomades en stationnement dans la commune de Motigny-le-Roi," February 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 351.
17. Médécin Inspecteur to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1942, p. 511.
18. "Notice sur le camp de nomades de Peigney," 1942.
19. Médécin Inspecteur to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1942; theft of rabbits, Maréchal-des-Logis-Chef L'homme, "Rapport sur la vie des nomades au Fort de Peigney," November 29, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 374.
20. Tonnot, "Rapport sur une destruction de matériels par les nomades concentrés au Fort de Peigney," November 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 376.
21. Quotation from "Rapport de M. Lebègue," December 1, 1942, p. 543.
22. Médécin Inspecteur to P/Haute-Marne, August 28, 1942.
23. P/Délégué du Ministre Secretaire d'État à l'Intérieur to P/Haute-Marne, November 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 476.
24. P/Haute-Marne to P/Délégué du Ministre Secretaire d'État à l'Intérieur, December 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 266.
25. P/Haute-Marne to P/Doubs, January 24, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 648; later transfer of group at Motigny-le-Roi, P/Haute-Marne to Commandant de Gendarmerie/Chaumont, July 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.106M/5/367W206, p. 593.

FORT-DE-VANCIA

Located in the Ain Département in the Rhône-Alpes region, the Fort-de-Vancia camp was allegedly used to temporarily intern the Département's Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Fort-de-Vancia was a military complex built at the beginning of the Third Republic between 1872 and 1878. The complex was located 9.9 kilometers (just over 6 miles) northeast of Lyon, on land belonging jointly to Rillieux-la-Pape and Sathonay-Village. The site had a total capacity of more than 800 men.

The French used the fort to hold "administrative prisoners" (*prisonniers administratifs*). The camp held 73 prisoners, including 63 from the adjacent Département of the Rhône and 10 people from Ain, arrested on January 29, 1941. The Germans also used the fort as a prison, notably for Generalissimo Francisco Franco's opponents.

Among the camp's famous prisoners was Habib Bourguiba, the leader of Tunisia's Neo-Destour (New Constitutional) Party and the Republic's first president (1957–1987). He spent a few days in Fort-de-Vancia after being moved through a succession of detention sites in Marseille (Fort St. Nicolas) and Fort Montluc at Lyon, arriving at the latter site on November 18, 1942. Bourguiba described Fort-de-Vancia, which he does not cite by name, as "another internment camp made up of casemates."[1] Other Tunisian prisoners at the fort included his brother Mahmoud. In a display of Tunisian nationalism, Bourguiba "often exhorted [fellow prisoner] Hedi Nouira to wear his chechia [a tassled, brimless cap common in the Arab world] so as to attract the attention of the people."[2] On December 16, 1942, the German authorities secured his release and the release of his entourage through the offices of the Lyon Gestapo chief, Klaus Barbie. The Tunisians' release, occurring soon after the successful Allied landings in North Africa and Operation Torch, was motivated by the eagerness of the Germans and Italians to enlist Bourguiba's support for the Axis cause. That bid proved unsuccessful because, unlike the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Bourguiba supported the Allies from early on in the war and worked closely with U.S. forces after the liberation of Tunisia.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Fort-de-Vancia are the city hall website for Rillieux-la-Pape, www.ville-rillieux-la-pape.fr/front/334-68-1-Histoire; and the unpublished Ph.D. research by Jérôme Croyet on internment in the Rhône-Alpes region.

Archival sources on Fort-de-Vancia are found in AD-Ain. The memoir of Habib Bourguiba, *My Life*, *My Ideas*, *My Struggle* (Tunis: Ministry of Information, 1979), contains a few lines on his brief internment at Fort-de-Vancia.

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NOTES

1. Bourguiba, *My Life*, *My Ideas*, *My Struggle*, pp. 198–199.
2. Ibid., p. 199.

FORT DU PORTALET

On October 29, 1941, the chief of the French state, Henri-Philippe Pétain, ordered the unlimited detention of five former leaders of the Popular Front (*Front Populaire*, 1936–1937) and of successive Third Republic governments in the remote, nineteenth-century fortress of Portalet (*Fort du Portalet*). Fort du Portalet is located in the Pyrenees, near the Spanish border, in the vicinity of the present-day commune of Aspe Valley (Basses-Pyrénées Département; today: Pyrénées-Atlantique). Aspe Valley is some 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Pau. The fortress stands at 783 meters (2,569 feet) elevation and is accessible only by a 660-meter (2,165-foot) switchback road.

The five detained premiers and cabinet members were Léon Blum, Édouard Daladier, Générale Maurice Gustave Gamelin, Georges Mandel, and Paul Reynaud. They were already under arrest and indictment for treason and were to be tried in the politically charged Riom trial; with enthusiastic German support, that trial was scheduled to start in mid-January 1942. However, in decreeing these leaders' unlimited detention, Pétain made clear that the Riom trial's sentences could only add to the years of confinement, and not result in acquittals. Using powers vested in him under the Vichy constitution, Pétain reclassified the disused fort as a "fortified precinct," a piece of legerdemain that enabled the French authorities to refit cells for confinement.[1] As Daladier put it in his diary, "Pétain decree. I am condemned to detention in perpetuity."[2] Reynaud put the condemnation in stark terms: "The day of death. My death. We are going to leave for the Portalet."[3]

The staff at Fort du Portalet consisted of the fortress chief, Commandant Vidala; a chief guard (*surveillant-chef*), possibly named Simon; and 30 gendarmes. Two servants and three cooks attended to the detention site. The servants were only allowed to enter the detainees' cells when accompanied by a guard. Eight cells were outfitted for the prisoners' accommodation. The cells were approximately 12 square meters (129 square feet) and included small toilets.

In early November 1941, the Vichy authorities removed the five detainees from Bourrasol Castle, near Riom, and transported them by air to Pau; from there they were driven to the fort by automobile. Riom is almost 400 kilometers (249 miles) northeast of Pau.

Two detainees, Daladier and Reynaud, kept diaries while in custody. These diaries, which were not published in their lifetime, give some indication of everyday life, the stress, and the circulation of news, official and unofficial. For example, Reynaud brought a radio into the fort, which was confiscated a few days later. In any case, the prisoners learned about the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. In commenting on the attack, Reynaud employed an English idiom: "The war will be longer but it would make a *clean shave*."[4] The prisoners were able to receive care packages and occasional visitors. In response to an official request, Abbot Usaurou celebrated a Mass for the detainees, one of three he conducted each Sunday.[5]

The detainees, whose ages ranged from their late fifties to early seventies, suffered some health problems while at Portalet. Although the fort had an infirmary, Gamelin's illness was serious enough to warrant hospitalization in Pau.[6] The report of Mandel's illness reached the American press.[7]

With the start of the treason trial, Blum, Daladier, and Gamelin were transferred to Riom on February 19, 1942. The trial soon became what Adolf Hitler called a "farce."[8] It was suspended in March 1942 and permanently ended in May 1943.

In the early fall of 1942, an increase in unrest in the fort's vicinity led to a strengthening of the guard force.[9] When the German authorities occupied the Southern Zone after Operation Torch, the French guards deployed the fort's chevaux de frise (spiked obstacles), because they feared a German takeover, so recorded Reynaud.[10] When the Germans occupied the installation, Mandel and Reynaud were taken into Nazi SS custody and initially sent to the German-run police prison at Fort du Hâ in Bordeaux; they were eventually transferred to the Buchenwald concentration camp under privileged custody. After

his transfer from German custody, the Vichy authorities murdered Mandel on July 6, 1944. Daladier and Reynaud were liberated after internment at Itter Castle in Austria in May 1945. As a Jew, Blum continued to be held at Buchenwald and then Dachau.

The newly formed Fourth French Republic confined Pétain to Fort du Portalet between August and November 1945. The ironic twist was not lost on the aging and disgraced former chief of state.

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Fort du Portalet camp is Pierre Pédron, *Prison sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions du l'Atelier, 1993). The camp is also briefly described in Stephen Harding, *The Last Battle: When U.S. and German Soldiers Joined Forces in the Waning Hours of World War II in Europe* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2013). The Association mémoire collective en Béarn, *Le Fort du Portalet: Témoignages inédits* (Pau: Association Mémoire Collective en Béarn, 1989), contains some interviews with Béarn residents who recalled or visited the fort during its stint as a detention site. The website, Forbidden Places, reproduces some detailed press accounts and photographs: see www.forbidden-places.net/exploration-urbaine-le-fort-du-portalet.

Primary sources documenting the Fort du Portalet camp can be found in AN BB 30 1719. Additional documentation can be found in the diaries of Édouard Daladier, *Journal de captivité*, edited by Jean Daladier and Jean Daridan (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1991); and Paul Reynaud, *Carnets de capitivité: 1941–1945*, introduction by Evelyne Demey (Paris: Fayard, 1997). Given the prominence of the prisoners, *NYT* reported on the site in a series of articles in 1941 and 1942.

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NOTES

1. "French War Leaders face Sunless Prison: Mountain Fort is Being Prepared for Five in Custody," *NYT*, October 31, 1941.
2. Entry for November 7, 1941, Daladier, *Journal de captivité*, p. 109.
3. Entry for November 2, 1941, Reynaud, *Carnets de capitivité*, p. 145.
4. Entry for December 8, 1941, in ibid., p.152.
5. Usaurou interview, n.d., Association mémoire collective en Béarn, *Le Fort du Portalet*, pp. 77–78.
6. Entry for November 16, 1941, Daladier, *Journal de captivité*, p. 113.
7. "Report of Mandel Escape Denied," *NYT*, February 13, 1942.
8. As quoted in "Le procès de Riom," *Le Monde*, February 17, 1992.
9. "Violence Increases in France," *NYT*, September 27, 1942.
10. Entry for November 7, 1942, Reynaud, *Carnets de capitivité*, p. 196.

FRÉJUS

Located some 52 kilometers (32 miles) southwest of Nice, the seaside resort Fréjus (Var Département) was a major center for the winter quartering (*hivernage*) of colonial troops during World War I. Between 1941 and 1943, several of the former army camps served as internment camps for French and foreign-born Jews and other "undesirables." At least one of the sites operated in June 1941. In January 1943, the French and German authorities then used up to five sites in and around Fréjus as transit camps for prisoners rounded up during Operation Tiger (the roundup of Jews in Marseille) and the evacuation of Vieux Port. Most of the Jewish inmates were subsequently transferred to Compiègne, then Drancy, and finally to Majdanek and Sobibor in March 1943.

Little is known about the early camp operations in Fréjus. One of the few reliable reports comes from the French physician and resistance fighter Joseph Weill, who provided medical and other aid to inmates in internment camps in southern France. According to him, some 400 individuals were registered at the Fréjus "camp of demobilized legionnairies" (*camp des légionnaires démobilizés*) in June 1941.[1] They were members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE), which was demobilized after the Franco-German Armistice; many of its members were persecuted under the Vichy regime.

The former military camps at Fréjus became of particular importance during Operation Tiger and the evacuation of Port Vieux between January 22 and January 27, 1943. Some 9,000 French police and 5,000 German troops conducted massive roundups targeting Jews, political dissidents, petty criminals, vagrants, and other "undesirables." They checked the identities of some 40,000 people and apprehended 6,000, of whom 4,000 were quickly released. The remaining 2,000 underwent a sorting process at Brébant Prison; 642 of these individuals were sent by special train to Compiègne or by cattle cars, trucks, and busses to Frèjus. They arrived at several poorly prepared camps in the area, including those at Le Domaine du Pin de la Légue, Caïs, and Paget. In addition, another 20,000 evacuees from Vieux Port were also taken to Frèjus, where a German-controlled vetting commission established their identities and determined their subsequent fates.[2]

Survivor Helene Joffe (née Mindel) was nine years old at the time of these events. On the night of January 22, 1943, her father was arrested at the family's home in Marseille as part of the roundups of Jews. Early the following morning, Joffe's mother was forced to take her daughter and three sons to the train station where they waited for hours. According to Joffe's postwar testimony, the family was then taken by train to Fréjus. The older brothers were separated from their mother and sisters and were likely sent to a camp for men in Fréjus. Joffe, her mother, and younger brother arrived at a different site in town. Joffe recalled that the old army camp was filthy and infested with vermin and lice. There were hardly any places to sleep. She remembered being pushed into a room in one of the barracks. Her mother made a makeshift bed for her children by putting straw on a table.

According to Joffe, the camp was crowded with large numbers of detainees, many of whom were not Jewish, but were swept up in the general evacuation of Vieux Port. Joffe recalled that inmates could secure permission to leave the camp

provided they had proof of an alternative residence. It is not clear whether the authorities were aware of the Mindel family's Jewish identity, but they were granted permission to leave the camp and stay in a private residence.[3] For most of the Jewish prisoners rounded up in early 1943, Fréjus became a way station to Compiègne, Drancy, and finally to extermination camps in Poland. It is not clear how long the internment camps at Fréjus continued to operate.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions Fréjus is Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust and the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

Primary sources documenting Fréjus can be found in ADB-R, M6-III23, M6-14408, and IV Y/2/7; ITS; and VHA. The CNI contains the names of several French-born Jews and others believed to have passed through the military camps at Fréjus before deportation. Also listed are those who were registered at these camps in January and February 1943 and were ultimately liberated from Fréjus. ITS, 1.2.7.18, fol. 1, contains a camp list compiled at WL and based on Weill's testimony, which lists the camp for demobilized legionnaires. Survivor testimonies are available in VHA, including Helene Joffe, November 12, 1995 (#6474) and Fortunée Vidal, November 11, 1996 (#21680). The published testimony of Joseph Weill is *Contribution à l'histoire des camps d'internement dans l'anti-France* (Paris: CDJC, 1946). See also the wartime diary of Raymond-Raoul Lambert, president of the Committee of Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés*, CAR) and then the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF), who witnessed the January 1943 roundups in Marseille: Raymond-Raoul Lambert, *Diary of a Witness: 1940–1943* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2007).

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NOTES

1. Weill, *Contribution à l'histoire des camps*, p. 44.
2. Lambert, *Diary of a Witness*, pp. 163–168.
3. VHA #6474, Helene Joffe testimony, November 12, 1995.

FRONTIGNAN

The Hérault Prefecture chose the town of Frontignan for use as a center for assigned residence (*assignation á residence*). Frontignan is approximately 21 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Montpellier, the capital of the Hérault Département. During the exodus of refugees following the German invasion of the West, five families totaling 18 foreign Jews (12 stateless people, 3 Poles, and 3 Dutch), who fled Belgium, arrived in Frontignan on May 28, 1940. According to the June 16, 1941, census, these five families remained in Frontignan. The census provided by the gendarmes before the roundup of August 26, 1942, noted that, in addition to these 18 foreign Jews, there was another group of 100 foreign Jews in Frontignan. The majority belonged to the local group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE; possibly GTE No. 311). On the final count given on August 27, 1942, 60 Jews were to be arrested for deportation. Only 18 of them were arrested, however, while one was granted an exemption, and 41 were missing. The arrested Jews were sent to the Agde camp, 27 kilometers (almost 17 miles) southeast of Frontignan, which served as a temporary transit camp. The report from Sète's police commissioner indicated that 71 people escaped from the GTE before August 26, 1942, including 11 between August 21 and 26.[1] Historian Michaël Iancu observes that the previous roundup, which took place in Ile-de-France in mid-July 1942, alerted all the Jews of France. In addition, he added that local gendarmes warned the Jews about the impending roundup.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the center for assigned residence at Frontignan are Michaël Iancu, *Vichy et les Juifs: L'exemple de l'Hérault (1940–1944)* (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2007); and Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources documenting the Frontignan camp are scant. Some documentation can be found in AD-H, under the former signature 18W12 (foreign workers), available in digital form as such at USHMMA, RG-43.103M. Additional documentation, following the ongoing reclassification of AD-H collections, can be found in 15W252 (about the opening of reception centers) and 12W10 and 12W119 (about measures taken to receive refugees from Alsace, Spain, and Poland).

Eliezer Schilt
Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTE

1. 18W12, AD-H, as cited by Iancu, *Vichy et les Juifs*, p. 208.

GAILLAC

Gaillac (Tarn Département) is located approximately 22 kilometers (approximately 12 miles) northeast of Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe and 43 kilometers (about 12 miles) northwest of Castres. From 1942 until the end of August 1944, the prison at Gaillac was tied administratively to the Saint-Sulpice camp.

As early as March 1942, the prefect of Tarn proposed to the Vichy Interior Ministry that Gaillac be used as a "disciplinary section" under the administration of Saint-Sulpice for both Saint-Sulpice and the neighboring Brens women's camps.[1] (Brens is 0.6 kilometers or 1 mile southeast of Gaillac, just across the Tarn River.) To refurbish and staff the site, the prefect requested some 80,000 French francs from the Vichy Justice Ministry.[2]

The mass escape at Castres of September 16, 1943, altered Gaillac's function. On October 18, 1943, the Saint-Sulpice camp administration closed the secret Castres prison and transferred its remaining 30 prisoners to Gaillac. A post-Liberation census compiled by the commandant of Saint-Sulpice in 1945 merged the prisoner lists from the two sites,

an indication that the administration viewed Gaillac as Castres' successor. Between October 23, 1943, and August 21, 1944, Gaillac admitted an additional 74 prisoners.[3] The inmates were French, Yugoslavs, Italians, Spanish, Austrians, and Germans. Among the prisoners was former Castres inmate Heinrich Epstein (or Ebstein). As a Jew he was dispatched to the Drancy transit camp on December 7, 1943, and then deported to Auschwitz on January 20, 1944.[4]

On June 13, 1944, the French Forces of the Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) raided Gaillac. In the confusion, at least 32 prisoners escaped, 17 of whom were Spanish. According to a Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) in 1951, however, the number of escapees was 39.[5] Because the 1945 census was based on incomplete records, the Belgian estimate is probably more accurate. The Belgian report also noted that the remaining detainees, all political prisoners, were 12 in number. According to the 1945 census, another escape took place in Gaillac on July 16, 1944.[6]

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Gaillac camp is Johnny Granzow, *16 septembre 1943: L'évasion de la prison de Castres*, preface by Alain Boscus (Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 2009).

Primary sources documenting the Gaillac camp can be found in ADT, collection 493W46, available at USHMMA as RG-43.061M; AN (Police Générale); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Quotation in P/Tarn à Chef du Gouvernement Ministre de l'Intérieur, Obj. "Transfèrement à la prison de Gaillac des individus détenus à la prison de Castres," June 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frame 2509.
2. Ibid., frames 2509–2510.
3. Commandant, Saint-Sulpice, État des internés politiques des Maisons d'Arrêt de Castres et Gaillac, 1940/1944, February 5, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frames 2253–2258.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Heinrich Epstein (or Ebstein), Doc. Nos. 20128479–20128480.
5. "Gaillac," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 2 (Catalogue alphabétique comprenant 1310 prisons et commandos, ayant existé en Allemagne et en territoire occupé pendant la guerre 1940–1945), Doc. No. 82365002.
6. Commandant, Saint-Sulpice, État des internés politiques des Maisons d'Arrêt de Castres et Gaillac, 1940/1944, February 5, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 2, 493W46, Recensement des internés, frame 2257.

GAILLON

The Gaillon internment camp (Eure Département) was located in a sixteenth-century castle in the town of Gaillon. The town is just over 82 kilometers (51 miles) northwest of Paris and more than 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Rouen. In the nineteenth century, the castle served as a penitentiary; in the early twentieth century, it was used by the French infantry and as a Belgian officers' school during World War I, after which it returned to private ownership. In 1939, Gaillon was transformed into a Spanish refugee camp and then in 1940 was converted to a prison. Finally, it was established as an internment camp (some documentation refers to it as a confinement center or *Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) on September 1, 1941.

The castle was divided into two large courtyards. The commandant's quarters, offices of the camp management, the gendarmerie's quarters, storerooms, kitchens, and infirmary were located in the first courtyard. The second courtyard, originally home to a barracks, was made into prisoners' quarters. A Vichy official who visited the camp on February 4, 1942, reported that Gaillon at that time held 109 prisoners, although he estimated that it could hold 120 to 200, and up to 400 with renovations to the castle. Of those 109 prisoners, 85 were political prisoners, 20 were black marketeers, and 4 were common criminals; by nationality, 101 prisoners were French, 4 were Polish, 1 was Spanish, and 3 were Belgians. All prisoners at the time were male, and two were Jewish.[1]

At the time of inspection, the camp was directed by Monsieur Fournier, assisted by a secretary and two aides who were charged with acquiring supplies and bookkeeping. Fournier requested the help of another aide, given the great difficulty of obtaining sufficient supplies for the prisoners, but met resistance from the prefect of Eure. The camp also employed five women—three worked in the kitchens and two were in charge of laundry and cleaning—as well as a porter who doubled as a telephone operator, his wife, who helped with cleaning, and a managing secretary. The 19 gendarmes, adjutant, and sergeant were mostly hired locally; the inspector wrote that they were insufficiently armed and exhibited little competence, contributing to several successful escapes.

According to the inspection report, prisoners suffered from a variety of maladies, including heart disease and tuberculosis, but they most frequently complained of digestive problems, probably caused by the insufficiently varied diet, which was dominated by tubers. The inmates could receive treatment by a local doctor or dentist.

Apart from basic chores necessary for the daily function of the camp, the prisoners performed little work, probably due to a lack of authority on the part of camp administrators. Instead, they organized classes in grammar, literature, mathematics, industrial design, and music theory; played volleyball and shotput; and read periodicals that were delivered to the camp.

In the spring of 1942, after the camp was inspected, Gaillon (along with many other camps in the Occupied Zone) underwent a dual process of concentration and specialization, meaning that—as the camp inspector recommended in his report—each internment site was dedicated to only one type of prisoner.

This appears to have been done to isolate communists and limit their influence. Gaillon was designated to house black marketeers. However, the change did not last long. On September 9, 1942, under orders from the Vichy Interior Ministry, the black marketeers interned at Gaillon were transferred to Vaubeurs (Yonne), and Gaillon was redesignated as a camp for female political prisoners and other female "undesirables."[2] Yvette Sémard, one of the political prisoners, related that the prisoners' quarters were filthy and unsanitary, but through concerted and creative protest, she and her fellow prisoners were able to ameliorate their conditions somewhat (they burned their straw mattresses in order to obtain clean ones, for example). Other protests worked less effectively; although internees succeeded in obtaining a promise from the prefect of Eure that their rations would be improved, their food remained poor in both quality and quantity.[3]

Finally, German orders were issued to evacuate the camp in February 1943; however, records from the prefecture of Eure indicate that Gaillon was used as an administrative internment center between October 1, 1944, and January 31, 1946, probably to intern German prisoners of war or French collaborators.[4]

Between 1946 and 1949, there was a pitched legal battle between the castle's former owner, Fernand S. Akoun, and the Fourth French Republic over ownership of and damages to the building during the war. The castle of Gaillon eventually returned to private ownership.[5]

SOURCES The only secondary source found that provides information on Gaillon is Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary documentation on Gaillon can be found in AD-E-L, collections 106W25, 106W53, 106W57, and 106W63, available at USHMMA as RG-43.108M; ADL, available at USHMMA as RG-43.029M, reels 12, 117, and 165; and AN, Police Générale, available at RG-43.016M, reels 5, 6, and 13. A hand-drawn map of the camp can be found in ADE, available at USHMMA as RG-43.120M. A published memoir is Yvette Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir: au jour le jour dans les camps de Vichy, 1942–1944: La Petite Roquette, les camps des Tourelles, d'Aincourt, de Gaillon, de La Lande et de Mérignac* (Montreuil sous Bois, France: L'Arbre Verdoyant, 1991).

Julia Riegel

NOTES

1. "Rapport d. M. [illegible], Chargé de mission à l'Inspection Générale des Camps et Centres d'Internment du Territoire sur le camp d'internement de Gaillon (Eure)," February 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 13, n.p.
2. P/Eure to P/Loiret, September 4, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M (ADL), reel 12, n.p.
3. Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir*, pp. 43–57.
4. BdS Frankreich to Interior Minister, February 9, 1943, RG-43.016M, reel 6, n.p.; assorted correspondence, RG-43.016M, reel 13, n.p.
5. Assorted correspondence, RG-43.016M, reel 13, n.p.

GRAMMONT

Grammont (Haute-Saône Département) is located approximately 60 kilometers (more than 37 miles) northeast of Besançon, near the Swiss and German borders. Grammont Castle (*Chateau-de-Grammont*) served as a children's home for Spanish and Jewish children of parents incarcerated in Rivesaltes and other camps for "undesirables" in southern France.

Most knowledge of this site is derived from the testimony and letters of Manfred Wildmann, who was 12 years old when he lived at Chateau de Grammont between February and September 1942. The Wildmann family had been deported to the Southern Zone during an ad hoc expulsion of some 6,500 Jews from southwestern Germany on October 22 and 23, 1940. Like most victims of the "Wagner-Bürckel-Aktion" (named after its instigators, Nazi Gauleiters Robert Wagner and Josef Bürckel), the Wildmanns were initially detained at the Gurs camp (Pyrénées-Atlantiques Département), where their grandmother died shortly after their arrival. Manfred, his grandfather, parents, and three siblings were then transferred to the Rivesaltes camp (Pyrénées-Orientales Département) in March 1942. In this camp, relief organizations set up facilities inside the camp to aid inmates and provide extra support to the young, the old, and the infirm. By mid-1941, they also established homes for needy children, including poor or sick French children or those of foreign families detained in French camps. Wildmann's mother successfully lobbied for her four children's transfer out of Rivesaltes. Then 16-year-old Hannelore was assigned to work in a children's home (*colonie d'enfants*) run by the Swiss Red Cross in Pringy (Haute-Savoie Département). The older daughter Margot also worked in a children's home and later for a family as a maid. Son Hugo was detailed to the Le Barcarès labor camp, and 12-year-old Manfred was assigned to live in the children's home in Grammont.

According to Manfred's postwar testimony, he was excited to board a train and travel north to Grammont. He arrived in the middle of the night at a medieval castle perched on a hill. The site's exact nature and period of operation are not clear. According to Manfred, it was run by a French relief organization for Spanish refugees. Some 80 Spanish children ages 3 to 14 lived at the home. Manfred was one of only six Jewish boys boarded at the castle. Most of the conversation took place in Spanish, while the staff conducted the children's schooling in French. Manfred's testimony and letters do not depict a punitive camp, but a place of discipline, school, and work. The children's days started with a wake-up call at 8 A.M. The children attended school and did homework until lunchtime. After a nap, the older children spent the afternoons doing light work and chores. There was time for play, walks, and excursions. The children received at least three meals each day that included cereal, milk, vegetables, soups, noodles, and bread. There was meat twice a week and sometimes an egg.[1] According to Manfred, provisions were significantly better at Grammont than they had been at Rivesaltes. The same was true of the general accommodations. He remembered that there were

better beds, bathrooms, and washing facilities at Grammont. In September 1942, the director of the Grammont home told Manfred that he would join his sister Hannelore in Pringy, near Annecy, at a Red Cross camp for needy French children. Manfred once again traveled by train and remained in Pringy until the Liberation in August 1944.[2] It is possible that the Grammont home also operated until the end of the war.

SOURCES Most of our knowledge of Grammont is based on the Wildmann family papers and letters. For published selections see Manfred Wildmann, *Und flehentlich gesehen: Briefe der Familie Wildmann aus Rivesaltes und Perpignan: Jüdische Schicksale aus Philippsburg 1941–1943* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1997). Numerous studies explore the Wagner-Bürckel-Aktion and the German Jewish inmates at Gurs. Many of these have a local focus. See, for instance, Gerhard J. Teschner, *Die Deportation der badischen und saarpfalzischen Juden am 22. Oktober 1940: Vorgeschichte und Durchführung der Deportation und das weitere Schicksal der Deportation bis zum Kriegsende im Kontext der deutschen und französichen Judenpolitik* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002); Erhard Roy Wiehn, ed., *Oktoberdeportation 1940: die sogenannte "Abschiebung" der badischen und saarpfalzischen Juden in das französische Internierungslager Gurs und andere Vorstationen von Auschwitz: 50 Jahre danach zum Gedenken* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gore, 1990); and Gabriele Mittag, *Es gibt Verdammte nur in Gurs: Literatur, Kultur und Alltag in einem südfranzösischen Internierungslager, 1940–1942* (Tübingen: Attempto, 1996).

The collection of Manfred Wildmann family letters, 1941–1943, Acc. 1998.A.0037, is available at USHMMA. In addition to letters, the collection also includes transcriptions and annotated translations. See also the Sylvia and Manfred Wildmann Collection, Acc. 1998.1, at USHMM, which includes 25 drawings of different camp scenes. Reproductions of letters and drawings are also available at http://wildmannbirnbaum.com. Finally, see Manfred Wildmann's oral testimony from June 12, 1998, in VHA (#42588).

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. Manfred's letter to Hannelore, Grammont, March 27, 1942.
2. VHA #42588, Manfred Wildmann testimony, June 12, 1998.

GREZ-EN-BOUÈRE

The Grez-en-Bouère camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) was located in the Mayenne Département in western France, approximately 22.7 kilometers (14.1 miles) southeast of Laval. It was set up in the Mauditière quarry, 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) outside Grez. A 12-meter-long (39-foot-long) communications tunnel connected the quarry's two sections. On October 26, 1940, following an order from the departmental prefect, Jean Roussillon, to detain the department's Roma, the Mayenne Prefecture selected the site, which was next to a pond at the bottom of the quarry. On October 28, the first two detainees arrived in Grez from Mayenne. A total of 19 Roma passed through Grez.

During the camp's brief existence, official correspondence variously termed it the "camp of Meslay" (*camp de Meslay*) and the camp of the Mauditière, Meslay Road at Grez-en-Bouère (*camp de la Mauditière, route de Meslay à Grez-en-Bouère*). Representatives of the Grez municipal leadership recruited the guards in charge of the camp surveillance and placed them under the authority of a retired gendarme. The guards occupied a house in the hamlet of Lhomeau, some 400 meters (more than 1,300 feet) from the quarry. In his orders to the Grez commandant, Roussillon stipulated that the gendarmes were to make "observations" of the Roma's "distinctive ethnic characters."[1]

The camp did not have any barracks. Instead, the Roma arrived in their caravans and lived in them. On November 11, 1940, the chief of the gendarmerie wrote in a report that eight nomads did not have anywhere to live and were being accommodated in neighboring stables.

Managing the camp was very difficult because there was no camp organization, and work assignments were not entrusted to the Roma. The mayor of Grez complained about how "deprived" the Roma were, reminding the prefect that they were "still human beings."[2] The camp's poor conditions quickly made it impossible to keep the detainees there. The Mayenne Département hygiene inspector visited Grez on November 6 and declared the site, including the tunnel, too "dangerous" for habitation. The mayor of Grez, in turn, threatened the camp manager to appeal directly to Feldkommandantur 756 in Laval, which the prefect rejected. Most of the detainees were subsequently transferred to the Chauvinerie camp in Montsûrs in the Mayenne Département, approximately 35 kilometers (22 miles) north of Grez. The sick prisoners were sent to Saint-Louis Hospital in Laval.

As of November 30, 1940, the Grez-en-Bouère camp was abandoned for good.

SOURCES Secondary sources that document the camp at Grez-en-Bouère are three works by Jacques Sigot: "Le camp de Grez-en-Bouère," *Ob* 29 (April 1989): 12–17; "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–133; and *Ces barbeles oubliés par l'Histoire: Un camp pour les Tsiganes et les autres, Montreuil-Bellay, 1940–1945* (Châteauneuf les Martigues: Wallada; La Motte d'Aigues: Cheminements, 1994); as well as a work by Emmanuel Filhol, *La mémoire et l'oubli: L'internement des Tsiganes en France, 1940–1946* (Paris: Centre de Recherches Tsiganes ed.; Harmattan, 2004).

As cited by Sigot, primary sources on the camp at Grez-en-Bouère may be found in AD-M.

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NOTES

1. Le Préfet de la Mayenne à Monsieur le Commandant de Gendarmerie, October 23, 1940, AD-M, as cited in Sigot, "Le Camp de Grez-en-Bouère," p. 14.
2. Le Maire de Grez-en-Bouère au Préfet de la Mayenne, November 21, 1940, AD-M, as cited in Sigot, "Les Camps," p. 80.

GURS

Located in the Basque region of southwestern France, the town of Gurs (Pyrénées-Atlantiques Département) was the site of a large refugee and internment camp that operated from April 1939 until November 1943 and intermittently thereafter. Gurs is 173 kilometers (108 miles) south of Bordeaux and 181 kilometers (112 miles) west of Toulouse. The French government originally established the camp there to house political refugees from Spain. Eventually it became a detention camp for "enemy aliens" and French political prisoners of the Vichy government. Most of the 18,185 inmates who passed through the camp between October 1940 and November 1943 were Jews of German, Austrian, and Polish origin.[1] For more than 3,900 of the German Jews, Gurs constituted a way station to extermination camps in occupied Poland, primarily Auschwitz.

The camp was located just south of Gurs, less than 81 kilometers (50 miles) from the French-Spanish border in the foothills of the Pyrenees Mountains. It was the largest of several refugee camps established by the French government after the fall of Catalonia. The site measured about 1,400 × 200 meters (4,593 × 656 feet). It was subdivided into 13 smaller fenced-off plots called "islands" (*îlots*) measuring 200 × 100 meters (656 × 28 feet). The îlots were on both sides of a single road spanning the length of the camp. The entire site was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence that was 2 meters (6.6 feet) high that formed a passage for guards to circle between the two fences. There were a number of smaller buildings outside the camp that housed the administration and guards. The camp was under French military administration until the fall of 1940, when the Vichy government installed a civil administration.

Each of the camp's îlots contained about 30 army barracks. They were constructed from thin wooden planks, and the walls were covered with a tarred fabric that offered little insulation. There were no windows: the interiors were dark, cold, and damp. The inmates slept on straw on the floor. At times, up to 60 people were crammed into a single barrack. The rainy Atlantic weather constantly flooded the barracks and turned the campground's clay soil into mud. The inmates also suffered from extremely poor hygiene resulting from a lack of plumbing and running water. Troughs and tubs served as toilets.[2]

The first groups of refugees from Spain arrived at the camp between April 5 and May 10, 1939, and some 18,985 inmates quickly filled the site beyond capacity. Administrators grouped them into four categories: members of the International Brigades (Interbrigades), Basque nationalists, Republican airmen, and random Spaniard refugees. Spanish was the predominant camp language during this period. The camp's military administration was quite sympathetic to the inmates' plight and supported their cultural and social activities. Among other activities, the refugees organized an orchestra, a choir, and various sports teams. A smaller contingent of German members of the Interbrigade published more than 100 editions of a German-language camp newspaper called *Lagerstimme KZ Gurs* (*Camp Voice Concentration Camp Gurs*). The inmates had

The Gurs internment camp, 1940–1941.
USHMM WS #15720, COURTESY OF JACK LEWIN.

some freedom of movement; they were occasionally allowed to leave the camp to buy provisions. There was also trade with locals who sold their wares at the camp. The inmates were allowed to send and receive mail and at times could even receive visitors.[3]

The nature of the site changed from refugee to internment camp after the beginning of World War II when the French government decided to house prisoners and foreigners deemed "enemy aliens" at Gurs. The first group of these "undesirables" (*indésirables*) arrived at the camp on May 21, 1940, shortly after the German invasion of the Netherlands. Eventually, this contingent of "undesirables" consisted of German citizens, including at least some 4,000 German Jews who fled the Nazi regime, and citizens of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Poland. Beginning in June 1940, French political prisoners were also interned at Gurs. This group included leaders of the French Left who opposed war with Germany, pacifists who refused armaments work, and French Nazi sympathizers. Finally, there was also a contingent of ordinary prisoners evacuated from prisons in northern France.

The situation at Gurs again changed dramatically with the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. The Vichy government assumed control of the site and assigned it to be run by a civil administration. Over the course of the next two months, some 700 prisoners interned as "enemy nationals" were released. In their stead, the Vichy government eventually incarcerated political dissidents; non-French Jews, including German Jewish refugees; illegal border crossers; Spanish refugees; stateless persons; Roma (*nomades*); prostitutes; homosexuals; and others.[4]

The Franco-German commission headed by Ernst Kundt inspected the site on August 21, 1940. Two months later, on October 22 and 23, German authorities engineered a massive expulsion of more than 6,500 Jews from the southwestern German provinces of Baden and the Palatinate (Saarpfalz) across the border into unoccupied France. The action eventually became known as the "Wagner-Bürckel-Aktion." The vast majority of victims were women, children, and the elderly, most of whom were detained by Vichy officials at Gurs. Of these inmates, 1,710 were eventually released, 755 escaped, 1,940 emigrated, and 2,920 men were conscripted into groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs).[5]

For nearly 4,000 of these Jewish inmates, Gurs became a way station to extermination camps in occupied Poland. SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker inspected the camp on July 18, 1942. Dannecker was head of the Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service of the Nazi SS, SD) Department of Jewish Affairs in Paris, which oversaw the roundup and deportation of French Jews. At Gurs he ordered the Jewish inmates to prepare for deportation to Eastern Europe. Between August 6, 1942, and March 3, 1943, the camp administration turned over 3,907 inmates to the German authorities, who sent most of them to the Drancy transit camp outside Paris. From there, they were deported in six convoys to extermination camps, primarily Auschwitz II-Birkenau.[6]

By the time Vichy authorities closed the camp in November 1943, more than 18,000 non-French Jews had been incarcerated there. More than 1,100 inmates had died at the site, mostly of contagious diseases like typhoid and dysentery that were exacerbated by conditions of overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and chronic shortages of water, food, clothing, and other basic necessities—this despite the efforts of various international aid organizations to alleviate the inmates' suffering.[7] The Vichy authorities briefly reopened the camp in 1944 to intern political opponents. After the Allied liberation of France, French authorities imprisoned German prisoners of war (POWs), French collaborators, and a number of Spaniards at the site. The Gurs camp finally closed and was dismantled in 1946.

SOURCES There is an extensive literature exploring various aspects of the refugee and internment camp at Gurs. For a general overview see, especially, Claude Laharie, *Le camp de Gurs: 1939–1945: Un aspect méconnu de l'histoire du Béarn* (Pau: Infocompo, 1985) and *Gurs, 1939–1945: Un camp d'internement en Béarn: De l'internement des républicains espagnols et des volontaires des brigades internationals à la deportation des juifs vers les camps d'extermination nazis* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2005); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). Numerous studies explore the Wagner-Bürckel-Aktion and the German Jewish inmates at Gurs. Many of these works have a local focus. See Gerhard J. Teschner, *Die Deportation der badischen und saarpfalzischen Juden am 22. Oktober 1940: Vorgeschichte und Durchführung der Deportation und das weitere Schicksal der Deportation bis zum Kriegsende im Kontext der deutschen und französichen Judenpolitik* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002); Erhard Roy Wiehn, ed., *Oktoberdeportation 1940: Die sogenannte "Abschiebung" der badischen und saarpfalzischen Juden in das französische Internierungslager Gurs und andere Vorstationen von Auschwitz: 50 Jahre danach zum Gedenken* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gore, 1990); Werner L. Frank, *The Curse of Gurs: Way Station to Auschwitz* (Lexington, KY: Werner L. Frank, 2012); Peter Selg, *From Gurs to Auschwitz: The Inner Journey of Maria Krehbiel-Darmstädter* (Great Barrington, MA: SteinerBooks, 2013); Louis Maier, *In Lieu of Flowers: In Memory of the Jews of Malesch, a Village in Southwestern Germany* (Las Colinas, TX: Ide House, 1995); and Stadtarchiv Karlsruhe, ed., *Geschichte und Erinnerungskultur: 22. Oktober 1940—die Deportation der badischen und saarpfälzischen Juden in das Lager Gurs* (Karlsruhe: Info Verlag, 2010). For an examination of the cultural and artistic activities of the inmate populations, see Gabriele Mittag, *Es gibt Verdammte nur in Gurs: Literatur, Kultur und Alltag in einem südfranzösischen Internierungslager, 1940–1942* (Tübingen: Attempto, 1996).

There is extensive documentation at the AD-P-A, which holds camp administration records and prefect records. Other important archives include those of the CDJC, the FNDIRP, Institut Maurice Thorez (available at EsM), and La Délégation basque. The ITS contains copies of relevant documentation from APMO, ICRC, CDJC, WJC, among others, and is available in digital form at USHMMA. For deportation lists from Gurs and Drancy at ITS, see 1.1.9.1, fol. 50 and 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 303–354; for lists of German Jewish deportees to Gurs and of those deceased and buried at Gurs see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, 219–254; postwar lists of Gurs survivors are available at ITS,

1.1.9.11, fol. 2, pp. 1–31; ITS, 1.1.9.1, fol. 67 contains name lists of German, Austrian, Polish, and Czech Jews residing in France and held in various camps before being transported to Gurs on February 24 and 25, 1943; and ITS 1.2.1.1, fol. 12 contains Gestapo transport lists that include names of Jews deported from Nürnberg to Gurs. USHMMA and USHMMPA hold various inmate diaries, photos, maps, drawings, and other Gurs artifacts. In addition, numerous oral history interviews with former inmates and administrators are available. See, among many others, RG-50.498*0006 (Carmen Villalba, January 22, 2000); RG-50.498*0007 (Pierre Larribité, January 23, 2000); RG-50.477*0799 (Herta Bregoff, February 7, 1996); RG-50.498*0005 (Arlette Dachary, January 22, 2000); RG-50.477*0887 (Lewis Weil, June 12, 1990); and RG-50.002*0032 (David Dorfman, March 8, 1989). Additional testimonies can be found in VHA, including #7509 (Alice Kaufman, October 12, 1995); #7852 (Leon Wolloch, October 22, 1995); and #7882 (Eric Cahn, October 23, 1995). There are numerous published collections of primary materials, including letters, drawings, photographs, diaries, and testimonies. See Thomas Bullinger, *Gurs, ein Internierungslager in Südfrankreich, 1939–1943: Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Fotografien = Gurs, un camp d'internement en France, 1939–1943: dessins, aquarelles, photographies = an internment camp in France: drawings, watercolours, photographs: Sammlung Elsbeth Kasser* (Hamburg: Hamburger Stiftung zur Förderung von Wissenschaft und Kultur, 1993); Martin Ruch, *In ständigem Einsatz: Das Leben Siegfried Schnurmanns: jüdische Schicksale aus Offenburg und Südbaden 1907–1997* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1997); Ralf Stieber, ed., *Soviel der Einzelne tragen kann: zum Gedenken an die Deportation der badischen und pfälzischen Juden im Jahr 1940* (Karlsruhe: Evangelische Akademie Baden, 1991); Volker Keller et al., *22./23. Oktober 1940: Deportation Mannheimer Juden nach Gurs* (Mannheim: Schulverwaltungsamt der Stadt Mannheim, 1990); Walter Schmitthenner, *Briefe aus Gurs und Limonest, 1940–1943: Maria Krehbiel-Darmstadter* (Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1970); Hermann Maas, ed., *Aus dem Tagebuch des Hans O.: Dokumente und Berichte über die Deportation und den Untergang der Heidelberger Juden* (Heidelberg: L. Schneider, 1965); Erhard Roy Wiehn and Dorothee Freudenberg, eds., *Abgeschoben: Jüdische Schicksale aus Freiburg 1940–1942: Briefe der Geschwister Liefmann aus Gurs und Morlaas an Adolf Freudenberg in Genf* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1993); Hanna Schramm, *Menschen in Gurs: Erinnerungen an ein französisches Internierungslager (1940–1941)* (Worms: Heintz, 1977); Lukrezia Seiler, ed., *Was wird noch aus uns werden? Briefe der Lörracher Geschwister Grunkin aus dem Lager Gurs, 1940–1942* (Zürich: Chronos, 2000); and Erhard Roy Wiehn, ed., *Erinnerung verpflichtet: von Berlin über Brüssel nach Lyon in die Schweiz und durch Gurs nach Auschwitz: jüdische Schicksale 1933–1945* (Konstanz: Hartung Gorre, 1999).

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NOTES

1. For inmate statistics see Laharie, *Le camp de Gurs*, p. 169.
2. For a site map and drawings of camp barracks see the insert in Peschanski, *La France des camps*.
3. Ibid., pp. 43–44.
4. Ibid., pp. 154–159.
5. For lists of nearly 1,000 German Jews deported to Gurs from the Palatinate on October 22, 1940, see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 260–354.
6. According to ITS documentation, the earlier transports went to Auschwitz directly, whereas transports that left Drancy in March 1943 likely went to Lublin and Sobibor. See ITS, 1.1.9.1, fol. 50, pp. 1–14, 15–158. For deportation lists of transports on February 26 and March 2, 1943, see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 303–354.
7. For lists of German Jews deceased and buried at Gurs see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 1–219; for fragments of ICRC correspondence on behalf of German Jewish inmates at Gurs, for instance, see ITS, 1.1.9.11, fol. 1, pp. 220–260.

JARGEAU

The camp at Jargeau was situated about 600 meters (0.4 miles) from the town center of Jargeau in the Loiret Département, located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) south of Paris. It was built in the winter of 1939 on requisitioned land as a provisional housing center (*centre d'hébergement*), in anticipation of housing refugees from Paris in the event of war, with an expected capacity of around 600.

After the Armistice in June 1940, the German occupying forces used Jargeau to confine French prisoners of war (POWs) as part of Frontstalag 153. The 900 French POWs who were held there experienced poor living conditions, because the camp was overcrowded and undersupplied by the Germans. The German authorities enclosed the camp with barbed wire after a series of escapes. On October 25, 1940, these POWs were dispatched via Orléans to POW camps in the Reich.

The camp was empty until the Feldkommandantur of Orléans ordered the French authorities to round up the Roma in Loiret, in accordance with a recent German decree and the earlier French decree of April 6, 1940, which forbade the free movement of Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in France during the war. The Loiret prefect, Jacques Moranne, selected Jargeau as the detention site for Roma from Loiret and neighboring departments. The prefecture was in charge of the camp's administration.

After renovations, the camp was reopened at the end of March 1941. The first group of detainees arrived from the Cher Département on April 5. By the end of April there were 168 Roma at Jargeau. Prefects from other departments continued to send Roma to Jargeau: 45 arrived from Calvados on May 7, 64 from Eure on May 15, and 122 from Eure-et-Loir on May 22. From its reopening to its closure on December 31, 1945, 1,720 people were held at Jargeau, of whom 1,190 were Roma.

Roma families lived in 12 barracks that were each set up around a central common room with a stove for heat. Two corridors led off this common room to three compartments along each hallway. One family was assigned to each compartment.[1] Other buildings on the camp's 2.5 hectares (6.2 acres) of land included an infirmary (two barracks), sanitary facilities, a kitchen, administrative buildings, and a school for the children that operated from June 1941 to October 1945.

The main street in the Jargeau internment camp, 1941–1945.
USHMM WS #97416, COURTESY OF CENTRE DE RECHERCHE ET DE DOCUMENTATION SUR LES CAMPS.

Jargeau held other groups of prisoners at the same time as the Roma, including small numbers of political prisoners (called "administrative internees," *internés administratifs*) and "undesirables" (*indésirables*). The second largest group of prisoners at Jargeau was prostitutes, who were housed in a dormitory-style barrack with its own dining hall that was isolated from the rest of the camp with barbed wire. Contact between this group and the other prisoners was forbidden.[2] Between October 1941, when authorities in Orléans began to arrest prostitutes who were not connected to brothels (*prostituées clandestines*), and November 1944, 307 prostitutes were held at Jargeau. In April 1942, after an agreement between the Feldkommandantur, the prefect, and a representative from a local public health organization, the underage prostitutes at Jargeau were transferred to the convent of Bon Pasteur du Faubourg Madeleine in Orléans for "rehabilitation."[3]

Starting in March 1943, the camp also held defectors from the Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO) after the prison in Orléans became overcrowded. Many of these prisoners were later deported to the Reich. There were few transfers from Jargeau to other camps in France or elsewhere other than those of the STO defectors and the underage prostitutes.

Prisoners were employed in various camp chores. Workshops were organized for tasks such as woodworking, tanning, and locksmithing.[4] The prostitutes worked in a sewing workshop where they refashioned old clothing. Some prisoners worked on farms outside the camp in order to produce more food supplies for the camp, and another group worked for a local company, producing fabric and twine on the camp's premises.

In addition to an attachment of gendarmes, 34 auxiliary guards were employed at Jargeau between March 28, 1941, and February 15, 1943. The gendarmes were replaced by a detachment of customs officers (*douaniers*) in September 1942. At least 140 internees escaped from Jargeau between March 1941 and December 1945. Historian Pascal Vion calculated that 51 (36 percent) of these escapees were found and returned to Jargeau.

Living conditions at Jargeau were harsh. In March 1942, the Regional Director of Health and Welfare wrote to the Red Cross that, in comparison to the other camps in the Loiret Département—Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande—health conditions at Jargeau were particularly unsatisfactory.[5] Conditions improved slightly after regular health inspections were ordered at the beginning of 1942: the number of prisoner deaths declined from 14 in 1941 and 13 in 1942 to 4 in 1943 and 2 in 1944.[6] Other preventive measures like vaccination were also undertaken, and between 21 and 35 children were sent to a so-called preventorium nearby in July 1942.[7]

Jargeau was chronically undersupplied with food. "Weight loss is prevalent," the Regional Director of Health and Welfare reported to the prefect on March 5, 1942, and indeed, in December 1941 a group of women and children was hospitalized in Orléans due to malnutrition.[8] Most meals consisted of soup and a small amount of vegetables, and each individual received about 350 grams (12.3 ounces) of bread each day. Prisoners received meat only on Sunday and cheese on Thursday; according to a rationing report from the week of February 9 to 15, 1942, each prisoner received 72 grams (2.5 ounces) of meat and 15 grams (0.5 ounces) of cheese.[9] Children received milk at school, and the French Red Cross provided some supplementary food supplies. A December 1, 1944, report from the camp's director to the prefect noted that, due to a lack of fats and salt, soup could no longer be prepared for the prisoners because it "would resemble only hot water with added vegetables."[10] A former camp administrator interviewed by Vion alleged that some supplies never reached the camp because they were siphoned off by corrupt employees with connections in local government.

The clothing situation was particularly bad, especially for children. A workshop was created where detainees refashioned clothing and slippers for the camp's children from old military uniforms, and the December 1, 1944, report to the prefect described prisoners cutting up blankets provided by the camp to make into socks and clothes for their children.[11]

Jargeau remained open for several months after the end of the war. According to historian Jacques Sigot, the camp still held 120 detainees, 105 of whom were Roma, when it was finally closed on December 31, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Jargeau begin with Pascal Vion, *Le camp de Jargeau, juin 1940–décembre 1945*, preface by Serge Klarsfeld (Orléans: CERCIL, 1994); Jacques Sigot, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 29–196; Gérard Ferrand, *Camps et lieux d'internement en région Centre (1939–1947)* (Saint-Cyr-l'École, France: Alan Sutton, 2006); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002) and *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010). Insa Meinen's *Wehrmacht und Prostitution während des Zweiten Weltkriegs im besetzten Frankreich* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2002) contains a discussion of the detention of prostitutes at Jargeau.

Primary documentation on Jargeau can be found in ADL 6392; 6425–6429; 25323; 25872; 25859–25861; 28120; 28175–28177; 29774; 34100; 34105; 34111; and 34177. Some of this documentation is held at USHMMA under RG-43.029M, which is not paginated. Other archives that hold primary source material on Jargeau are CDJC (under XXXVI-138a) and CERCIL. The testimony of detainee Jean-Louis Bauer can be found in Vion, *Le camp de Jargeau*, pp. 116–118.

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NOTES

1. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to Directeur Régional à la Santé et l'Assistance, January 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M (ADL), reel 3, p. 34177 (USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177).
2. Ibid.
3. Préfet Régional/Orléans to P/L, June 14, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177; Mlle. Le Coze, Assistante Sociale du Contrôle Sanitaire Anti-vénérien du Loiret to Préfet Régional/Orléans, March 14, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.
4. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to Directeur Régional à la Santé et l'Assistance, January 7, 1942.
5. Directeur Régional de la Santé et l'Assistance to Dr. Vaucher, Directeur des Activités Médicales de la Croix-Rouge Français, March 4, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.
6. "État Nominatif des internés décédés depuis le début de l'occupation du Camp (4 mars 1941)," March 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.
7. Directeur Régional de la Santé et l'Assistance to Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé du Loiret, July 13, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.
8. Quotation from Directeur Régional de la Santé et l'Assistance to P/L, March 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.
9. "Moyenne de Rationnement, semaine du 9 au 15 février 1942," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.029M/3/34177.
10. Quotation from Officier de Paix Berret to P/L, December 1, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.029M/6/34111.
11. Directeur Régional de la Santé et l'Assistance to P/L, March 5, 1942; Officier de Paix Berret to P/L, December 1, 1944.

LA BOURBOULE

La Bourboule was a spa resort that opened in 1875. It was located in the Puy-de-Dôme Département of the Auvergne region, just over 34 kilometers (21 miles) southwest of Clermont-Ferrand. This site was chosen as a center for residential assignment (*assignation á residence*) for Jews, as defined by an Interior Ministry memorandum of November 3, 1941.[1] Hotels unused in wartime were utilized for such purposes. This center was still operational in July 1943, as evidenced by the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) correspondence regarding Simone Lévy's authorization to reside at La Bourboule.[2]

Among the places for the residential assignment of Jews was the Hôtel des Anglais, which was rented by the Baroness Germaine de Rothschild to accommodate her household. In June 1940, she had the German and Austrian Jewish refugee children from La Guette (a castle located in Villeneuve-le-Comte, in the Seine-et-Marne Département) come to her hotel; those children had been evacuated in September 1939. The hotel, which was directed by Mrs. Georges Loinger, closed in 1942 and the children were dispersed among various houses belonging to the Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE). Among the children taken in at La Guette and the Hôtel des Anglais was an Austrian-born boy who celebrated his bar mitzvah while in La Bourboule and subsequently emigrated to Australia.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the residential assignment center at La Bourboule are Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Gilles Levy, *L'Auvergne des années noires 1940–1944* (Paris: Gérard Tisserand—De Borée, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the residential assignment center at La Bourboule are AD-P-D, file 277W, which combines general information, census documentation, and documentation regarding the regrouping and removal of local Jews. Additional documentation about the center for the gathering of Jews in La Bourboule can be found in AN 38 AJ/3589 (CGQJ collection), May 1942. CDJC holds a number of relevant files: file XLII-100, letter from March 29, 1943, from A. Bousquet, regional prefect of Clermont-Ferrand, to the secretary of state to the Interior Ministry regarding an operation to monitor the Jews in La Bourboule; file CDXVI-121 (UGIF correspondence); file CDXI-77, Mr. Levine's application files, which were submitted to UGIF between January 26 and February 11, 1943, with a view to organizing some type of assistance to the Jews assigned to La Bourboule; and file LXXXIX-55, correspondence from November 5 to December 12, 1942, from CGQJ to the directors of the Investigation and Control Section, which denounced an official named Gaston Prunier for helping Jankiel Krajn obtain a permit to stay in La Bourboule, despite his residential assignment in Chateauneuf-les-Bains (Puy-de-Dôme Département).

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NOTES

1. Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.
2. UGIF correspondence, July 2 to July 30, 1943, CDJC, file CDXVI-121.
3. "Gerhard Mahler poses with the children of a family in La Bourboule who hosted his bar mitzvah," USHMMPA WS #64109 (USHMM, Courtesy of Gerald Watkins).

LACAUNE-LES-BAINS

Lacaune-les-Bains is a resort town in the Tarn Département, located approximately 101 kilometers (63 miles) east of Toulouse. The town was sufficiently remote that the prefectural authorities designated it as a center for residential assignment (*assignation à residence*). On January 13, 1942, a letter from the Tarn prefect to the mayor of Lacaune, Henri Viguier, announced that the prefect of the Toulouse area, Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz, designated Lacaune as the regional center for residential assignment for unwanted foreigners, in accordance with the November 3, 1941, memorandum.[1] According to historian Sandra Marc, more than 750 Jews, most of whom were foreigners, were detained there between 1942 and 1943.

The first Jews to be detained in Lacaune originated from three locations: Luchon, the spa resort of the Haute-Garonne Département that had been turned into a center for residential assignment (209 people); Toulouse and its surroundings (184 people); and Pau (140 people). During the months of March and April 1942, 201 Jews from Luchon arrived in Lacaune. In September 1942, 160 Jews, mostly from Pau, were added. The Jews were mostly housed in local homes, hotels such as the Central Hôtel, and, in a few cases, cafes.

The influx of so many people into a town of roughly 2,500 inhabitants disrupted local life. The disruptions led to antisemitic accusations against the new arrivals: increasingly, the local population and authorities complained about black market activities, idleness, and food hoarding.[2] On July 22, 1942, Viguier promulgated a series of 12 municipal decrees on "the general policy on Jews." Emphasizing that "assignees" (*Assignés*) were required to report every Monday to the gendarmerie, the mayor further stressed their obligation to obey the laws against black markets and price gouging like everyone else.[3] Despite these local anti-Jewish initiatives, as Marc found in interviews with survivors and Lacaune residents, tensions between locals and detainees actually eased over time. The improvement in relations led to friendly exchanges and, in at least one case, to a marriage.

The Jews at Lacaune were deported in two major waves. On August 26, 1942, 90 Jews, including 22 children, were arrested during a roundup. They passed through the Saint-Sulpice camp (Tarn Département) and then the Drancy transit camp before being sent to Auschwitz on convoys 30 and 31 in September 1942. No one survived. The violence of this first deportation shocked local residents, one of whom likened it in a letter to the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre.[4] Under the direction of the local militia (*milice*), a second roundup took place on February 20, 1943: 29 men were sent to Gurs and then Drancy, before being sent to Lublin-Maidanek on convoys 50 and 51 in March 1943. No one survived.

The shock of the first roundup prompted local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and Lacaune residents to become active in the organization of rescue and resistance. The NGOs involved were the French Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE); the French Jewish Scouts (*Eclaireurs Israélites de France*, EIF); and the Unionist Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts of France (*Éclaireuses et Éclaireurs unionistes de France*, ÉÉUF). Individual Catholics and Protestants from Lacaune were also involved. The first Jewish maquis unit linked to the EIF started on a small farm located in Malquière, between Vabre and Lacaune (Vabre is almost 22 kilometers or 13.5 miles southwest of Lacaune). The unit was under the command of Robert Gamzon, who joined the Franc Corps of Liberation (*Corps Franc de Libération*, CFL) of the Tarn Département in the spring of 1944. Jewish children from Lacaune were hidden on the Malquière farm. Several other Lacaune detainees, such as Jacques Fogelman and Maurice Fridlander, joined the Resistance.

SOURCES The most detailed secondary source describing the Lacaune-les-Bains residential assignment center is Sandra Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy 1942–1944: Assignation à résidence et persécution* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001). Marc's book includes a list of Jews (pp. 157–170) deported from Lacaune. See also Marc's article, "L'assignation à résidence des Juifs par le gouvernement de Vichy: L'exemple de Lacaune," available at ajl.celeonet.fr/docs/MARCSandra.pdf. Additional information on the Lacaune center can be found in Jean Estèbe, *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en Midi-Toulousain* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1996); Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75.

Primary sources on the Lacaune-les-Bains center for residential assignment can be found in AD-T, 506W36 (Israélites); 506W77 (Personnes suspectes); Cont. 16 (Commission de Contrôle Postal d'Albi, Rapports mensuels); and Cont. 17 (Contrôle Postal, Interceptions 1942). At AML, there are several files dealing with the residential assignment center, including "Assignés, état-civil." A published testimony by a former detainee is Berthe Buko Falcman, "Quelques souvenirs du temps des Juifs," *CRm* 29 (July 1995): 15–24. Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy*, draws on interviews with survivors and local residents.

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NOTES

1. P/Tarn au Maire de Lacaune, Objet: "Groupement des indésirables français et étrangers dans les centres régionaux et départmentaux," January 13, 1942, "Assignés, état-civil," AML, reproduced in Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy*, pp. 180–181; for the memorandum, see Bill No. 39, November 3, 1941, ADAu 04 6 J, as cited by Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes," p. 71.
2. On the black market charge, see Commission de Contrôle Postal d'Albi, Rapports mensuels, Rubrique: "Information générale sur l'étranger et investigations étrangères en France," April 1942, AD-T, Cont. 16, reproduced in Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy*, p. 201.
3. See "Assignés, état-civil," AML, reproduced in Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy*, pp. 68–69.
4. Mme X à Mlle. B, August 30, 1942, Cont. 17, AD-T, reproduced in Marc, *Les juifs de Lacaune sous Vichy*, p. 196.

LA GUICHE

Between 1916 and 1918, the entrepreneur François Mercier decided to open a sanatorium in the little town of La Guiche in the Saône-et-Loire Département in central France, about 92 kilometers (57 miles) northwest of Lyon. Mercier selected this location because he thought the rural Charolles air was ideal for recuperation. The sanatorium consisted of an elongated brick building with a house and two wings attached. After the defeat in June 1940, a border between the Occupied and Southern zones divided the department in two. During this period, the sanatorium fell into disuse.

Beginning on October 15, 1941, the sanatorium reopened as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) for tuberculosis (TB) sufferers. TB spread in the French internment camps because of poor living conditions and malnutrition. The French authorities directed the local prefect, Paul Demande, to admit and hold all TB sufferers in La Guiche from camps throughout the Southern Zone, regardless of the reason for their detention, gender, or nationality. Demande oversaw the camp until 1943, when he was replaced by J. B. Thomas, who performed the same function between 1943 and 1944.

Because of La Guiche's status as a sanatorium, a surgeon general jointly directed the camp with the camp chief (*chef du camp*). From February 3, 1941, to May 1942, the first surgeon general was Dr. Ferret. From May 1942 until January 1, 1943, Dr. Arribeauthe filled the post. Then from January 1943 until the Liberation, Dr. Jean-Marie Joly was La Guiche's surgeon general. According to a June 30, 1943, report, the camp chief was François Urruty, and together they managed nearly 80 employees. This fragmentation of command generated numerous conflicts between the directors, who respectively complained about the situation in reports to their supervisor. Beginning on December 21, 1941, 31 guards and 2 police sergeants undertook camp surveillance.

La Guiche had a total capacity of 260 detainees. The camp population consisted of foreigners, French nationals, political detainees, Resistance members, Jews, stateless persons, and common-law criminals. According to historian Jean-Yves Boursier, the inmate population even included one Chinese immigrant, 64-year-old Tsan Wong-ling, who was admitted in 1943. Once cured, the detainees were to be returned to their original camp. On average, approximately 200 detainees stayed at any given time at La Guiche. When it opened as a CSS, the first 121 inmates consisted of 19 TB sufferers from the Récébédou camp in the Haute-Garonne Département, 70 from the Noé camp, 11 from the penal camp at the LeVernet camp in the Ariège Département, 12 from the Gurs camp, 5 from the Rivesaltes camp, and 4 from the Rieucros camp. On February 16, 1942, in a letter sent to Rabbi J. Kaplan, Rabbi N. Hirauski mentioned the presence of 74 Jews among the 180 internees held at that time. The French censors (*Contrôle postal*) intercepted Hirauski's letter, however.[1] According to historian Denis Peschanski, there were 140 internees in February 1943 and 239 in February 1944. In March 1944, 150 internees were still being treated in La Guiche.

According to Edgard H. Dreyfuss, there were 64 deaths during the entire period that La Guiche was open. Dreyfuss opined, "La Guiche is the only French sanatorium where the patients get skinnier."[2] Rations, which should have been more abundant, must have been seized by administrators, doctors, and guards. This situation was all the more egregious because La Guiche inmates received intermittent support from several nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), including the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE).[3]

On March 24, 1944, irregulars and French partisans (*Francs-Tireurs et Partisans Français*, FTPF) from Charolles freed 27 prisoners from La Guiche, an unusual event in the annals of French camps. Leading the maquisards in the March 24 assault were Jean Pierson (code-name "Sarcelle"), Léon Allain ("Hector"), and Louis Boussin ("Charlot"). During a second FTPF raid, which took place on June 8, 1944, some guards and detainees joined the maquisards, effectively disrupting lines of communication between the CSS and the outside world for well over a month. La Guiche was gradually emptied and became, during the early days of the Fourth French Republic, an internment camp holding approximately 200 suspected French female collaborators until September 20, 1945. In an example of institutional continuity, the guards and camp director remained unchanged, and the same people operated the camp under the same conditions until the camp closed.

SOURCES The following secondary sources provide information on the camp at La Guiche: Jean-Yves Boursier, *Un camp d'internement vichyste: Le sanatorium surveillé de La Guiche* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the camp at La Guiche may be found in ADS-L, files W127, 233–234, 409, 422–423, 425, 800, 105148, 108881, 123871, 123950–123952, 127232–127237, and 137687. The report by Camp Inspector Robert Lebègue on the sanatorium's administrative system, December 10, 1943, can be found in AN F 7/15106.

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NOTES

1. ADS-L, W116713.
2. Report on the 5th Directorate, 3rd section activity, March 3, 1943, AD 04, 6J14.
3. ADS-L, W127232, as cited in Boursier, *Un camp d'internement vichyste*, p. 84.

LA LANDE-À-MONTS

The La Lande-à-Monts camp was located in La Lande in the Indre-et-Loire Département, along the department road between Sorigny and Monts, about 16 kilometers (10 miles) southwest of Tours. Also called Monts, the camp was situated

about one-third of a mile away from a little train station, on the line joining Paris to Bordeaux.

In 1939, 26 buildings were erected on this 7.5-hectare (18.5-acre) space to accommodate workers from the Ripault national gunpowder factory in Monts. However, starting in October 1940, the camp was abandoned. Then the German authorities who managed the Tours region took over La Lande and turned it into a "reception center for foreigners" (*camp d'accueil pour étrangers*). Of the 26 buildings, 23 were for housing, and the remaining structures were used for a kitchen, a hospital, and storage. In the center of the camp, there was a water tower containing about 8,000 liters (2,000 gallons). According to testimonies, such as the one by Huguette Rapetti-Engler, each building had basins, toilets, and a wash house.[1] The camp held foreigners who came from neighboring large cities and towns. Among them was a 71-year-old British Jewish woman.

On December 1 and 5, 1940, two convoys of Jews from eastern France, mostly from Moselle who had found refuge in Bordeaux, were sent to La Lande. The non-Jewish foreigners worked in Tours, under the camp administration's control. Others worked at the gunpowder factory or as lumberjacks. The detainees still benefited from the refugee status accorded them by Vichy, and they received allowances from Vichy's Directorate of Refugees (*Direction des Réfugiés*). Most Poles were sent to work in Nazi Germany. The Belgians were returned to their country. The situation of foreign Jews (three-quarters of whom were Polish) was different: it was difficult for them to obtain authorization to work, especially at the gunpowder factory because it was under German authority.

However, the initial status of the camp as a refugee camp allowed some freedom of movement, even for Jews. For instance, children attended school in Tours. But this freedom was controlled. The camp's Jewish chaplain, Elie Bloch, testified that solidarity reigned overall in the camp, expressed through mutual aid, sharing packages, and distributing clothes. Nonetheless, in an October 22, 1941, report submitted to the Vichy General Inspector of Internment Camps, André Jean Faure—the Indre-et-Loire prefect—mentioned an increase in local black market activity. He blamed the Jews for the problem and asked for increased security. On the date of the report, only three gendarmes were in charge of surveillance.

The camp gradually became a Jewish internment camp between November 1940 and September 1942.

The French prefectural authorities at Angers, Jean Roussillon, and at Indre-et-Loire, Jean Tracou, were in charge of setting up and supervising the camp. In the beginning, they entrusted its security to a lawyer from Tours, Michel de la Chapel. He was in charge until January 1, 1942, when he was fired after being charged with trafficking in ration cards and lying about food rations. A former prefectural traffic/circulation manager, Mr. Delcuze, temporarily succeeded him. Delcuze was replaced by Pierre Brellier, who was assisted by an accountant, Mr. Buhot-Launay. Brellier held this post from October 1941 until the camp closed. Ten other people were hired for camp maintenance, doing cooking, gardening, and heavy labor (done by five Senegalese workers). There were two doctors: a paid physician was located in the city, and the other doctor was an unpaid Jewish internee.

The French gendarmerie was in charge of camp security. On July 13, 1941, the local newspaper, *Tours soir*, published a job offer to hire an additional guard; the advertisement emphasized the absolute necessity of increasing the number of guards, because the camp had exceeded its original capacity. In June 1942, there were 22 guards, 4 gendarmes, and 1 adjutant.

In March 1941, there were 541 internees, giving La Lande the largest camp population in the region and making it one of the most significant centers of Jewish internment in France. At this time, there were only 93 non-Jewish Polish detainees and 29 other non-Jews (Yugoslavs, Britons, Swiss, and Spaniards).

In August 1941, as living conditions worsened for Jews in the Occupied Zone, the camp officially became a "Jewish internment camp." Fences were tripled by using all the barbed wire from the former Roma camp situated at La Morellerie in Avrillé-lès-Ponceaux in the Indre-et-Loire Département. Before that time, 45 internees had managed to escape. From October 1941 on, Feldkommandatur 588 demanded regular patrols of the La Lande's surroundings. On April 2, 1942, the 17 Catholic internees were still the only prisoners on "liberty under surveillance" (*liberté surveillée*) in La Lande. La Lande's 283 Jews were held in the enclosed part of the camp.

In July 1942, following several roundups, especially in Tours, the camp became overpopulated. Therefore, over the next two months 422 Jewish detainees were transferred to Drancy and then directly to Auschwitz. Of the 604 Jews listed as being transferred from La Lande via Drancy to the extermination camp, only 14 survived.

La Lande was the first women's internment camp in Vichy and was in operation from October 2, 1942, to January 15, 1944. It held 298 female "political internees," 227 of whom were communist. The other women were either common-law detainees or prostitutes. The detainees had been transferred from towns and camps throughout the Occupied Zone, because La Lande was the only women's camp in that zone. Some arrived from Châteaubriant in the Loire-Atlantique Département and Gallion in the Eure Département. On August 23, 1943, the women were planning to revolt because of malnutrition, which they believed was causing the dysentery spreading in the camp. This situation was confirmed in a report written by the General Inspector of Health and Medical Care, Dr. Coulon, when he visited La Lande on February 23, 1943.[2] Twenty-five detainees were charged with organizing the rebellion and transferred to Mérignac.

In April 1943, the camp population increased again to 351 internees, including 11 prostitutes. On September 14, 1943, this overcrowding led to the transfer of all female foreigners and children to Jargeau. On December 20, 1943, four political female internees, who were also the last four Jewish women in La Lande, were sent to Drancy. The camp closed on January 15, 1944, when the last female internees were transferred to Poitiers, to the "route de Limoges" camp.

In addition to detaining women between late 1942 and January 1944, the camp served as a refugee camp for survivors of an explosion that occurred in the Ripault gunpowder factory on October 18, 1943.

SOURCES The following secondary sources mention the camp at La Lande-à-Monts: Sophie Paisot-Béal, "Le camp de La Lande," *MJ* 153 (1995): 144–171; Paisot-Béal, *Histoire des camps d'internement en Indre-et-Loire: 1940–1944*, foreword by Roger Prevost (Tours: La Simarre ed., 1993); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the camp at La Lande-à-Monts include the main archives of La Lande that can be found in Monts. Other archives holding documentation on the camp are ADI-L, series ZA, files XIV and XV (German archives about the local occupation, which were either seized or turned over to authorities in 1944, including La Lande and La Morellerie camp management); and series 5W15 to 120W1–12W36 (starting in file 8, specific to La Lande). Under signature CCXIII-100_001, CDJC contains material on social services by the "Centre d'accueil de La Lande" in the FSJF collection. Survivor testimonies may be found in VHF for Max Fajgelman (#29050), Michel Gelber (#6237), Dagobert Oster (#4217), Simone Pragier (#24100), and Jérôme Scorin (#6235). Other testimonies, such as Huguette Rapetti-Engler's, are quoted in Paisot-Béal's article. A published account is by Jérôme Scorin, *L'Itinéraire d'un adolescent juif de 1939 à 1945: Nancy, Bordeaux, La Lande, Nancy, Lyon, Drancy, Auschwitz, Stuttof, Vaihingen, Ohrdruf, Erfurt, Buchenwald, Crossen, Nancy* (Paris: Imprimerie Christmann, 1997).

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NOTES

1. Paisot-Beal, "Le camp de La Lande," *MJ*, p. 149.
2. ADI-L, 120W8.

LAMALOU-LES-BAINS

In the spa resort of Lamalou-les-Bains, located in the Hérault Département nearly 66 kilometers (almost 41 miles) west of Montpellier, the prefectural authorities chose to use its hotels to accommodate refugees and foreigners: Spaniards in 1939, refugees from Alsace-Lorraine in 1940 and 1941, Belgian workers between 1940 and 1942, and finally Jews. Lamalou served thus as a reception center (*centre d'accueil*) and was once a candidate to become a center for the residential assignment of foreign Jews (*centre de résidence assignée*). The preparations for the roundup of Jews in the Hérault Département on August 26, 1942, stipulated that it involved 14 Jews in Lamalou.

An exchange of letters from January 11 to 15, 1943, between the head of the information service for the youth camps (*chef du service d'informations auprès des chantiers de jeunesse*), Jean Sarcueil, and the chief of staff of the General Commissariat on the Jewish Question (*Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives*, CGQJ), considered whether to requisition some villas in Lamalou-les-Bains for the accommodation of Jews.[1] However, that discussion was already moot, as correspondence dating from late 1942, involving the departmental representative of the Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE) and the Committee of Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés*, CAR) stated that "residential permits for the Hérault Département could no longer be granted."[2] In so stating, the SSE denied the septuagenarian Esther Kohn the opportunity to remain in a home for the elderly in Lamalou.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Lamalou-les-Bains reception center are Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Michaël Iancu, *Vichy et les Juifs: L'exemple de l'Hérault (1940–1944)* (Montpellier, 2007).

Primary sources for the Lamalou-les-Bains reception center can be found in ADH: 15W252 (regarding its opening) and 12W10 and 12W119 (on the measures taken to receive refugees from Alsace, Spain, and Poland). Additional primary sources on the Lamalou center can be found in CDJC (CGQJ, official correspondence, CXV-94).

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NOTES

1. CDJC, CXV-94.
2. Lettre du délégué départemental du SSE, au camp de Rivesaltes au sujet d'Esther Kohn, November 21, 1942; lettre du délégué départemental du SSE au CAR de Montpellier au sujet d'Esther Kohn, December 20, 1942, reproduced in Iancu, *Vichy et les Juifs*, pp. 366–367 (quotation on p. 367; originals ADH, No. 285).

LA MEYZE

La Meyze (La Meyse; Haute-Vienne Département) was a small Vichy reception center (*centre d'accueil*) during World War II located in the town of the same name, more than 224 kilometers (139 miles) south of Toulouse and almost 20 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Sereilhac. Foreigners, Jewish and non-Jewish, whom Vichy perceived as threatening the public order or violating the law, were detained in the Limousin region camps. The La Meyze camp, a Social Control of Foreigners camp (*Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, CSE), CSE No. 12, was in operation from April 1940 to July 1946 under the jurisdiction of the Labor Ministry. It was originally reserved for Jewish families from Spain.[1]

The camps at La Meyze and Sereilhac are often written about and documented in conjunction with one another, but under the Vichy regime they did not share a single command. As of January 28, 1946, the two camps still had different commandants: Frédéric Garrec at Sereilhac and Émile Lacroix at La Meyze.[2] Camp security at La Meyze was provided by the managerial staff (including an assistant accountant and a supply supervisor).[3]

CES No. 12 comprised eight barracks that were each 40 meters (131 feet) in length and were situated along the Janailhac Road; these buildings were not surrounded by barbed wire or guard towers. Six of the barracks were for internees, one was for management staff, and another housed the camp store and the common room. In addition to the six barracks a brick building was used as a kitchen, and there were a stone washtub and five lavatories situated at the back of the camp. The camp had running water: a faucet in the kitchen and one for bathing in the washtub. All of the camp barracks had electricity.[4]

As of November 1, 1942, there were 98 internees at La Meyze: 53 men, 25 women, and 20 children under the age of 18. At this stage the state of morale was mostly good, and the internees considered the barracks comfortable and the food adequate. The internees prepared their own meals with the help of one cook and three aides. However, their clothing was inadequate: internees had to wear their summer clothing during the harsh winter months. The men had to wear military clothing, whereas the women and children wore clothes donated from the National Mutual Social Aid (*l'entre'Aide Sociale*). Each internee had one pair of shoes. The internees were considered well behaved, appearing regularly at roll call and eating and working when ordered.[5] La Meyze had a more flexible regime than that at the nearby Sereilhac camp.

The internees' nationalities before 1943 included Polish, German, Czech, French, Spanish, Dutch, Hungarian, Austrian, Russian, Belgian, Romanian, and Turkish.[6] Professions represented at La Meyze included a businessman, lawyer, and financial manager.[7] Many internees worked doing camp maintenance. The most capable workers were sent to work with local farmers during the summer harvest.

The internees from 1943–1945 were mostly Spanish (men, women, and children) and Central European refugees (many were Jewish). As of March 23, 1943, La Meyze held 23 men, 38 women, and 35 children making a total of 96 internees.[8] That July the camp held 43 men, 56 women, 39 children, totaling 138 internees, 78 of whom were Jews. The following year on July 20, 1944, La Meyze held 189 people.[9]

In the camp's common room the internees could play games, listen to the radio (which broke by the start of 1945), and find books in a number of languages available in the camp's library. The barracks were segregated by gender, and one barrack was constructed with rooms for families. Each internee was issued a sleeping bag and a minimum of four blankets. The camp's infirmary was run by a general doctor, and a specialist nurse (an internee who was a doctor) gave routine medical examinations to the people at the camp. The state of the internees' health was excellent despite the lack of heat.

Circulation from the camp was limited to the town of La Meyze. The occupations of the internees varied. Inside the camp they were able to do chores and work as secretaries, while women in homes with families outside the camp would be in charge of the children and the household. Sometimes, specialists (such as tailors) were able to work in their trade. In general the French local population strongly critiqued the idleness of the internees, suggesting that they could have been taught useful skills (such as basket weaving) in order to support themselves.[10]

Following D-Day, the Vichy bureaucracy of oppression began to disintegrate. However although the internees were in principle not allowed to leave the town of La Meyze, they did make frequent trips without a permit after Liberation.[11] La Meyze's infirmary was equipped to perform surgical operations, but these materials were requisitioned in July 1944 by the French Forces of the Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) to supply a hospital near Dournazac in the Haute-Vienne.

Very few releases were recorded after the establishment of the Provisional Government. As of October 1, 1944, the total number of internees was 189, which decreased drastically in 1945. As of January 20, 1945, La Meyze still held 165 internees.[12] Ten days later 16 internees were liberated.[13] No deaths were recorded in the camp for the year of 1945. On February 15, 1946, the Labor Ministry planned for the remaining Jewish internees at Sereilhac and La Meyze to be transferred to the Château du Coudeau and the non-Jewish internees at Sereilhac would be transferred to La Meyze.[14]

SOURCES Secondary sources covering the camp at La Meyze include Yves Soulignac, *Les camps d'internement en Limousin: 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Soulignac, 1995); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Pascal Plas and Simon Schwarzfuchs, eds., *Mémoires du grand rabbin Deutsch: Limoges 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Lucien Souny, 2007); Jacques Fredi, *L'internement des Juifs sous Vichy* (Paris: Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1996); Shannon L. Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France: Foreigners, Undesirables, and Strangers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Pascal Plas and Michel Kristophe Kiener, eds., *Enfances juives: Limousin-Dordogne-Berry, terres de refuge, 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Lucein Souny, 2006); and Maurice Moch and Claire Darmon, *L'Étoile et la francisque: Les institutions juives sous Vichy*, edited by Alain Michel (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1990).

Primary source material documenting the Sereilhac and La Meyze camps can be found in AD-H-V, available at USHMMA under RG-43.047M, reels 3, 4, 8, and 9. VHA holds a rich interview on La Meyze by Rosette Baronoff (#9053, November 20, 1995). Digital records about La Meyze are available at USHMMA in ITS 6.1.1 (folder 106) and 1.1.0.6. (folder 1412) and the CNI.

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NOTES

1. "Rapport sur les Centres du Contrôle Social des Étrangers," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1117.
2. "Le Ministre du Travail à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne," January 28, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M (AD-H-V), reel 3, p. 958.
3. "Désignation exact des Centres," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1102.
4. "Centre de la Meyze," September 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, p. 3172.

5. "Le Délégué-Régional du Service Social des Étrangers à Monsieur sur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau," November 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1108–1109.

6. "Liste des Héberges au Centre d'Accueil de la Meyze," September 9, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047MK, reel 4, pp. 2737–2740.

7. "Skorecka, Czarna," September 26, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, p. 146.

8. "Etat No. 2," March 31, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1119.

9. "Le commissaire divisionaire Chef du Service Régional des Renseignements Généraux," July 20, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1059.

10. Ibid.

11. "Le Commissaire Principal Chef de Service à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau," January 20, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1033–1036.

12. Ibid.

13. "Le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne a Monsieur le Ministre de l'Intérieur Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale," January 30, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1040–1041.

14. "Le Contrôleur Regional de la Main d'Ouevre Étrangers," February 23, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 957.

LA MORELLERIE

Located in the Indre-et-Loire Département, La Morellerie is equidistant between the villages of Avrillé-les-Ponceaux and Continvoir and is 33 kilometers (21 miles) west of Tours. The camp at La Morellerie was also known as "Avrillé-les-Ponceaux" and by the German authorities as "Avrillé." Set out on flat land in the former estate of La Morellerie, the site was near a farm on Sonzay Road 70 that connected Avrillé to Continvoir. During the Phoney War of 1939 to 1940, the French Army commandeered the property from the owner, Georges Jouffreaud, and used it to detain some North Africans. Beginning on November 30, 1940, all of the department's Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) were confined to La Morellerie.[1]

Four big barracks and two small ones were built in the courtyard and the garden adjoining the estate's house and farm. The camp also had kitchens, a laundry room, and an infirmary run by Dr. Bodet, physician emeritus and the mayor of Gizeau. According to a report written by the prefect of Indre-et-Loire, Jean Chaigneau, the barracks were "very rudimentary," with low ceilings and shiplap board sidings.[2] Three-meter-high (almost 10-feet) poles connected by eight rows of barbed wire enclosed each barrack. Once the site was equipped with electricity, the camp administration further tightened security with the installation of eight searchlights and, in the early spring of 1942 at the instruction of the German authorities, an electrified fence.[3] The sub-prefect of Chinon, Paul Cay, requested that a school be built for the camp's approximately 80 children. Heading the school were the O'Reillys, an Alsatian refugee family who went on to direct the school for Roma at the Montreuil-Bellay camp.[4]

The camp's director-manager was Jean Renard, the son of the chief roadmender from Continvoir and a cook by training. He later became assistant director of the Montreuil-Bellay camp and was arrested in September 1943 as a member of the Resistance. According to a report from January 7, 1941, 11 gendarmes and a noncommissioned officer were in charge of camp surveillance. The guards were poorly armed. According to Chef d'Escadron Gendreau, the commandant for the Gendarmerie Nationale (GN) company in Indre-et-Loire, their weapons cache consisted of two pistols with 18 rounds and six carbines with bayonets and 60 bullets.[5] By October 1941, the number of guards reached 23, in addition to which there were 10 civilian auxiliary guards. In emergencies, the camp could call for assistance on a 40-man force from the GN stationed in Tours.[6]

According to a partial list of Roma detainees at La Morellerie, there were eight escapes recorded during the camp's existence.[7] Some, such as the mid-August 1941 escapes by Pierre Scheid and Léopold Marin, took place while the prisoners were outside the camp on foraging details (*corvée de bois*). Recaptured later that month in the town of Montreuil-Bellay, Scheid and Marin were returned to La Morellerie. In November 1941, they were part of the first transport to the new Montreuil-Bellay camp.[8]

According to a report from October 16, 1941, the camp population peaked with a total of 273 Roma, including 77 females (age 13 and older) and 105 children.[9] When the camp closed on November 8, 1941, there were 238 Roma left in La Morellerie. According to an invoice from Albert Blanchet, a blacksmith and carriage maker in Avrillé-les-Ponceaux, the camp paid 750 francs for caskets, graves, and transport for the burial of three prisoners—one child and two adults.[10] In this case, the camp's partial list of prisoners at La Morellerie agreed with the death total.[11]

Between July and November 1941, La Morellerie also held 25 communists, whom the French police classified as administrative internees (*internés administratifs*). They came from the Haute-Barde camp in Beaumont-La-Ronce (Indre-et-Loire Département), where they had been held since January 1941 after the gendarmes in that area began arresting the department's leftists. Among them was Robert-Pierre Hénault, nicknamed Robespierre, the former mayor of Saint-Pierre-des-Corps, who refused to deny his affiliation with the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste française*, PCF). He was arrested on April 12, 1941, and was imprisoned in the camp at La Morellerie on July 1.

From the outset, the French authorities gave privileges to the political prisoners that the Roma prisoners did not receive. Sub-prefect Cay took great interest in the communists, inspecting their "annex" and catering to their needs. The political prisoners had separate living quarters, a different kitchen, better rations, and even access to a barber. In a situation in accordance with practices under the 1929 Geneva Convention, the authorities dealt with the political prisoners through the camp spokesman, Hénault. Describing the political detainees as "calm," Cay took them at their word that they would not try to escape.[12] In a letter to Chaigneau, the Delegate of

the Occupied Territories of the General Secretariat for the National Police (*Délégué des les Territoires Occupés du Sécrétariat Général pour la Police Nationale*, DTOSGPN) complained about the "great inconvenience" caused by the "mixing of these individuals with other categories of detainees, such as the nomads."[13] He therefore requested the transfer of the political prisoners to the camp at Châteaubriant.

In the absence of prisoner testimonies, some details about the interaction between the prisoners and their overseers can be gleaned through prefectural correspondence. Although Dr. Bodet and two nurses provided immediate medical care at the infirmary, serious cases were referred to the Bretonneau General Hospital in Tours under armed guard. In the case of two prisoners, a communist and a Roma, Bodet attested to their urgent need for release on medical grounds.[14] Other prisoners were able to travel outside the camp under escort. A Roma was permitted to travel to Tours to be ordained as a Protestant minister.[15]

The partial listing of La Morellerie's detainees recorded the release of 12 prisoners.[16] Appeal to the Feldkommandantur in Tours typically yielded the terse reply, "denied" (*abgelehnt*). Such was the case for detainee Jules L.[17] An important exception, which took place in the winter of 1941, was the case of a Roma prisoner from Alsace, L. G., his wife, and five children, whom the Feldkommandantur ordered to be sent to a refugee camp in Dijon. The German authorities made the exception because L. G. was a decorated veteran of the Royal Bavarian Army in World War I.[18] Another Roma inmate, L. M., was released in October 1941, together with his family, because he had a home and was a skilled laborer. He wrote the following appeal to the Indre-et-Loire prefect: "I do not understand anything of my situation and I would call upon you, Monsieur Prefect, to agree with my request of my freedom on just grounds."[19]

On November 8, 1941, with the onset of winter, the Roma were transferred to the Montreuil-Bellay camp. The order to do so came at the demand of the German authorities.[20] On November 17, the communists were sent to Rouillé, in the Vienne Département, except for five released detainees and four foreigners who were sent to Châteaubriant in the Loire-Atlantique Département.[21] The Indre-et-Loire Prefecture then reassigned La Morellerie's guard force to the camp for Jews at La Lande.

SOURCES Secondary works documenting the camp at La Morellerie are Jacques Sigot, "Le camp d'internement d'Avrillé-Ponceaux," *MT* 28 (Oct. 1988): 53–62; Jacques Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire: Un Camp pour les Tsiganes . . . et les autres; Montreuil-Bellay 1940–1945*, preface by Alfred Grosser (1983; Bordeaux: Wallada Ed., 1994); Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation*, 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 2: 6 (1995): 79–148.

Primary sources on the camp at La Morellerie can be found in ADI-L in collections 120W1, 120W3, 120W6, and 4M221. Some of this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA under RG-43.096M. Of particular importance is the 700-page camp correspondence found in signature 120W3 (RG-43.096M, reel 3). As reproduced in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, and "Le camp d'internement d'Avrillé-Ponceaux," Vichy propaganda reports in 1941 on the camp appeared in *PetC* and *DdC*.

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NOTES

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2. Quotation from P/I-L to IGC/Ambassadeur Délégué Général du Gouvernement Français dans les Territoires Occupés, October 22, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W1, p. 3232.
3. On searchlights, S-P Chinon to Robineau, Commissaire spécial à la DGPN, October 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, 3650–3651; on the electrified fence, P/I-L to Chef de la FK 528 à Tours, February 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3699.
4. S-P Chinon to P/I-L, February 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4114.
5. Chef d'Escadron Gendreau to P/I-L, Objet: "le camp de la Morellerie," January 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3658.
6. S-P Chinon to Robineau, Commissaire spécial à la DGPN, October 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, pp. 3650–3651.
7. "Liste des internés Camp de la Morellerie," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, pp. 3739–3752.
8. GN, all-points bulletin for Scheid and Marin, August 18, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, pp. 3773–3775; on the corvée de bois and the Scheid and Marin escapes, S-P Chinon to P/I-L, August 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3776; "Les deux nomades," *PetC*, August 24, 1941, reprinted in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, p. 213.
9. S-P Chinon to Robineau, Commissaire spécial à la DGPN, October 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3650.
10. Albert Blanchet, Forge & Charronnage, to CSS La Morellerie, Invoice, inscribed for accounting, December 12, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3797, and reprinted in Sigot, "Le camp d'internement d'Aurillé-Ponceaux," p. 58.
11. "Liste des internés Camp de la Morellerie," pp. 3739–3752.
12. S-P Chinon to Préfet d'I-L, July 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3690; on the barber request, S-P Chinon to P/I-L, July 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3690.
13. DTOSGPN to P/I-L, October 13, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3666.
14. On the two cases, see the cover letter, P/I-L to Directeur de l'Hôpital Général Bretonneau à Tours, October 31, 1941; Bodet's appended certifications; and the prisoners'

appeals, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, pp. 4044–4046, 4063, and 4065–4066.

15. S-P Chinon to P/I-L, September 25, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4030.

16. "Liste des internés Camp de la Morellerie," pp. 3739–3752.

17. FK 588/Tours, Verwaltungsgruppe, an den Herrn Präfekten in Tours, Betr.: "Entlassung des Jules L. aus dem Lager La Morellerie," September 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4187.

18. See FK 528 (V), Verwaltungsgruppe 213/41, Tours, an den Herrn Präfekten in Tours, January 28, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4268; for L. G., Königlich Bayerische Militär Verdienstorden, Verleihungs-Urkunde, Militär-Verdienstkreuz 3. Klasse mit Schwertern, June 21, 1918, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4265.

19. Quotation in L. M. to P/I-L, September 22, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 4173.

20. P/I-L to Préfet Délégué du Ministère d'Intérieur—SGPN, October 31, 1941, Objet: "Transfer de nomades internés," USHMMA, RG-43.096/3/120W3, p. 3626.

21. "Un nettoyage indispensable," *DdC*, November 18, 1941, reprinted in Sigot, "Le camp d'internement d'Avrillé-Ponceaux," p. 57.

LAMOTTE-BEUVRON

The Lamotte-Beuvron camp was located in the Sologne region in the Loir-et-Cher Département in central France, approximately 34.5 kilometers (21.4 miles) south of Orléans. Established in a sanatorium facility—the Sanatorium des Pins on Veuve Boucher Street—it consisted of a central house, the Pavillon Pasteur, with two adjacent buildings, one of which was called the Pavillon Jeanne d'Arc.[1] The sanatorium was founded in 1900 by Dr. Raymond Hervé as part of the fight against tuberculosis. From February to September 1939, the camp held Spanish refugees. Between June 1940 and November 1942, it was an internment camp under the authority of the local prefect, Jacques Moranne. Moranne was the prefect at the camp's opening and was then replaced by Jacques-Félix Bussière, who continued to be the prefect until February 1944.

Beginning in October 1940, Lamotte-Beuvron, under the administration of camp director Maurice Gouillon, held individuals sent from the Calvados Département: 501 "undesirable" foreigners (mostly Poles, along with seven Jewish women and two Jewish children) from the coastal departments of Normandy were sent from Calvados to Lamotte-Beuvron under orders from the German authorities.[2] The Loir-et-Cher prefect was to receive them in Lamotte. Many members of this group found work on neighboring farms and in other enterprises such as manufacturing and construction.[3] Lamotte also served as a collection point for the local Roma families before their dispatch to Jargeau.

According to departmental correspondence, several incidents of unrest occurred among detainees, especially in January 1941. On January 8, 100 prisoners protested in front of the dining hall against the inadequate food, and the dozen women who were employed in the kitchen refused to continue working.[4] Arrest reports from the gendarmes charged with guarding the camp record that on January 30, 200 to 300 inmates trapped five guards in a corridor for a half-hour and verbally attacked them with insults after two of the guards questioned two female detainees they saw reentering the camp about whether they had previously obtained permission to leave.[5] Chef d'Escadron Laurent, the commandant of the gendarmerie company of Loir-et-Cher, doubled the number of guards per shift after this incident.[6]

Escapes were also frequent. The camp, which was not enclosed, sat on 12 hectares (29.7 acres) of land with a perimeter of more than 2,000 meters (1.2 miles) and was typically guarded by five gendarmes and a small number of auxiliary guards.[7] In addition to escaping from the camp itself, detainees also left their outside work placements and never returned.[8] Several of them returned to Calvados and the farms of their former employers.[9] At least one female detainee was aided by a railway employee in her escape effort.[10] The prefect subsequently proposed several different solutions for enclosing the camp, but Lamotte was never fully enclosed.[11]

In February 1941, the number of detainees dropped to 320 and continued to steadily decline.[12] On April 4, there were 278 prisoners and, by June 16, only 39. By August 20, 1941, only three detainees remained at Lamotte.[13] On February 28, 1942, Moranne offered Lamotte-Beuvron as a detention site for Jews, according to a note sent to André-Jean Faure, the inspector of Camps and Internment Centers (*Camps et Centres d'Internement*, CCI).

On March 12, 1942, 100 French and foreign Jews were transferred to Lamotte from the Poitiers camp under the surveillance of French gendarmes.[14] By this point, the camp had a new director, Maurice Grandjean. Inmates were no longer employed in labor outside the camp, but performed camp chores such as cleaning and food preparation. Grandjean considered organizing a workshop for work such as shoemaking, but this did not happen.[15]

Five prisoners escaped during this period.[16] Two of them, a pair of Polish brothers, were later caught and detained at the camp at Poitiers.[17] Unrest also continued in the camp. A June 1, 1942, letter from Grandjean to the prefect gives a list of six detainees who sought "to organize demonstrations and create disorder" in the camp.[18] Several Jewish prisoners petitioned the prefect unsuccessfully for liberation on the grounds that they were naturalized French citizens.[19]

Henri Drussy, the mayor of Blois between 1941 and 1944, managed to hide a little girl while her mother, Chaja Golberg, was hospitalized. In another case, 23-year-old Léa Attali was separated from her mother during her mother's transfer from Lamotte-Beuvron to the town hospital. Léa was taken in by Blanche and Pierre Allart and stayed with this family until the war ended. Yad Vashem honored the Allarts as Righteous Among the Nations in 1999.

Following an order from the German authorities, on July 27, 1942, the Loir-et-Cher prefect supervised the trans-

fer of 98 Jews from Lamotte-Beuvron to the Pithiviers camp in the Loiret Département.[20] Four days later, 52 Jews were directly deported to Auschwitz, and an additional 13 women were dispatched on August 3, 1942. The remaining 33 Jews, including the children, were transferred from the Pithiviers camp to Drancy. Of the group of Jews originally transferred from Poitiers to Lamotte-Beuvron, only one woman survived.

Living conditions in Lamotte were especially harsh. There was very little health monitoring, and the prefecture did not allot a sanitary budget, exclusively relying on Red Cross intervention. There was malnutrition, as well as a total absence of showers and hot water.[21]

After July 28, 1942, the camp was emptied before it began holding patients transferred in January 1943 from the Kerpape sanatorium in the village of Ploemeur in the Morbihan Département.[22]

SOURCES The following secondary sources provide information on the camp at Lamotte-Beuvron: Gérard Ferrand, *Camps et lieux d'internement en région Centre (1939–1947)* (Saint-Cyr-l'Ecole: Alan Sutton, 2006); Simon Osterman, "'Les Pins' à Lamotte-Beuvron: Du Sanatorium au Centre médical, de 1900 à nos jours," *BGRAHS* 26: 4 (2004): 91–114; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources about Lamotte-Beuvron can be found in ADL-C, signature RV 1617, available in microform at USHMMA under RG-43.112M; and in testimonies by former prisoners of Lamotte-Beuvron and Jargeau, Jean-Michel Namur and Jean Wladislav Olejnik, in "Sologne et Solognots dans la Seconde Guerre mondiale," *BGRAHS* 31:4 (2009): 39–62.

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NOTES

1. "Authorisation pour l'établissement des fils téléphoniques," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.112M (AD-L-C), reel 9, RV1617, p. 578 (USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, with page); map of buildings, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 18.
2. "État numérique des internés par nationalités," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 8.
3. Directeur-Général/René Marion to P/L-C, May 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 50.
4. Chef d'Escadron Laurent, "Rapport sur des incidents survenus au Centre d'internés à Lamotte-Beuvron," January 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 203.
5. Laurent Bataille, Adrien Gillaizeau, Paul Navion, André Gauthier and Jean Sillon, "Constatant l'arrestation de la Polonaise KATARZYNA, Baran," January 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 125–127; Laurent Bataille, Adrien Gillaizeau, Paul Navion, André Gauthier and Jean Sillon, "Constatant l'arrestation du Polonais OLEJNIK, Wladislaw," January 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 128–129.
6. Chef d'Escadron Laurent, "Rapport sur un incident survenu au Camp d'internés de Lamotte-Beuvron," January 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 179.
7. P/L-C to P/Délégué du Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, July 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 697; list of personnel, "Camp de Lamotte-Beuvron," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 660.
8. P/L-C to FK/Orléans, July 23, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 501.
9. Gouillon to Secrétaire Général/Préfecture de Blois, May 14, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 544.
10. P/L-C to FK/Orléans, May 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 529.
11. P/L-C to P/Délégué du Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, July 7, 1942, pp. 696–698.
12. Gouillon, "Effectif Lamotte-Beuvron le 23/2/41," February 23, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 293.
13. "Effectif en date 4/4/41," April 4, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, 299; "État des effectifs du camp d'internés de Lamotte-Beuvron: Période du 16 Juin au 20 Août 1941," August 22, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 339–340.
14. P/Vienne to P/L-C, March 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 758.
15. Grandjean, "Rapport pour les mois de mai et juin 1942," July 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 673.
16. Inspecteur de Police Jonas to Commissaire de Police/Blois, April 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 895; Grandjean to P/L-C, June 29, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 852.
17. Sous-Lieutenant Dahuron, "Rapport sur l'évasion de deux juifs du Camp d'internés de Lamotte-Beuvron," June 20, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 837.
18. Quotation from Grandjean to P/L-C, June 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG.43-112M/9/RV1617, p. 675.
19. Bella Croitorin to P/L-C, May 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 1158.
20. P/L-C to Préfect Régional, July 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 4–7.
21. L'Inspecteur de la Santé/L-C to P/L-C, April 22, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, p. 1027.
22. Inspecteur de la Santé/L-C to P/L-C, September 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.112M/9/RV1617, pp. 630–631.

LANNEMEZAN

Lannemezan is a village in the Hautes-Pyrénées Département, 101 kilometers (63 miles) southwest of Toulouse. In accordance with earlier Vichy legislation forbidding the freedom of movement for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in France, on April 25, 1941, the prefect of Hautes-Pyrénées designated a plateau near Lannemezan as the location for the assigned residence (*assignation à résidence*) of the local Roma population. The plateau, which served this purpose until the winter of 1941–1942, was an unarable, treeless swamp. It was located between the city of Lannemezan, which was 3.2 kilometers (2 miles) north of the site, and the Pyrenees Mountains to the south, a forest to the east, and a chemical factory to the west. According to historian Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet, Roma lived on this plateau either in their caravans or in tents.

During the winter of 1941, harsh conditions at the site led the authorities to transfer all Roma to an abandoned hospital, the Rothschild Hospital, which had been constructed during World War I. The hospital was 500 meters (0.3 miles) outside of Lannemezan, and though its construction was unfinished, it still had walls—an improvement compared to the first camp's open plateau that was swept by winds and beset by drought and snakes, according to the Roma novelist and witness, Matéo Maximoff.[1]

Neither location was enclosed, nor was there any barbed wire, according to the testimony of Louis Gussman, whose family was assigned to Lannemezan. A roll call was held daily, which enabled the authorities to monitor the situation and control possible escapes. The local gendarmerie brigade was in charge of surveillance.

It was possible for the detainees to get work authorizations and for women to get passes to go grocery shopping in town, provided that everyone was back for the midday roll call. If detainees did not comply with that rule, they were fined. Starting in December 1941, the town of Lannemezan opened an additional classroom "for the nomads" who were school aged.[2]

Some detainees managed to escape to nearby towns undetected. Gendarmerie reports from Hautes-Pyrénées and the neighboring department of Gers indicate several arrests in 1942–1943 of people from Lannemezan, sometimes more than a year after they escaped.[3] A number of them cited bad living conditions for the reason they ran away: "I didn't want to stay there, in view of the fact that I could not find food to meet the needs of my family," one man told the gendarmes who arrested him.[4] Another said he escaped the camp at Lannemezan because "I was fed badly and housed badly there."[5] Once arrested, escapees were typically sent back to the camp.

Assigned residence at Lannemezan remained in effect until the Liberation in August 1944.

In addition to the assigned residence of the Roma, there was a second detention site in the village of Lannemezan. Between 1940 and the summer of 1943, the Psychiatric Hospital of Lannemezan (*Hôpital Psychiatrique de Lannemezan*, HPL) served simultaneously as a psychiatric facility and a "reception center" (*centre d'accueil*) or "supervised sanitorium" (*sanatorium surveillé*), initially for French refugees and then foreigners. The region's industrial potential appealed to the Germans; however, the occupiers were even more interested in using the hospital to hold foreigners. Starting in the fall of 1940, the persecution of Roma and Jews by the German and Vichy authorities led to HPL's admission of additional prisoner categories. Altogether, there were 255 detainees: first Germans and then Roma and Jews. All were transferred from the Gurs camp because of health problems.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Lannemezan are Sylvaine Guinle-Lorinet, "Le 'camp' pour nomades de Lannemezan: Éléments pour une histoire, éléments pour une mémoire, 1940–1944," *RC* 121: 4 (2005): 599–614; Claude Laharie, *Le camp de Gurs, 1939–1945: Un aspect méconnu de l'histoire de Vichy*, preface by Arthur London (NP: Société Atlantique d'Impression, J&D ed., 1993); Willy Laspalles, François Martin, and Alessandra Sallès, eds., *De l'asile de la Demi-Lune aux hôpitaux de Lannemezan, 1938–2008* (Clermont-Ferrand: Un, deux, quatre, 2008), which contains a detailed survey of HPL during the war years, but only obliquely alludes to its use as a detention site; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Lannemezan camp can be found at ADH-P, file 14W59 (gendarmerie minutes prior to the arrest of nomads, 1941–1943); 1M156-159 (individual dossiers of nomads, 1916–1941); and 4M155 (instructions and circulars, 1884–1940, and reports); some of this documentation is copied to USHMMA as RG-43.131M. Matéo Maximoff's autobiographical novel, *Routes sans roulottes* (Romainville: Éd. Matéo Maximoff, 1993), gives a brief but precise portrait of the assigned residence at Lannemezan. Two other published testimonies on the camp are Irène Israël (née Krämer), "Ma déportation," *NO* (October 22–28, 2009), p. 29, on her detention at HPL; and an interview with Louis Gusmann, extracted in "'Né coupable' d'être Rom au camp de Lannemezan (Hautes-Pyrénées)," *DM* (April 8, 2011), n.p.

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NOTES

1. Quoted by Guinle-Lorinet, "Le 'camp' pour nomades de Lannemezan," p. 605.
2. According to the Lannemezan town archives (records of municipal deliberations held on December 14, 1941), quoted by ibid., p. 610.
3. Louis Millet and Dieudonné Jacquerin, "Procès-Verbal d'arrestation pour avoir quitté le camp où elle était assignée, de la nomade Mereaux Julienne demeurant au camp de Lannemezan," March 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.131M (ADH-P), reel 3, file 14W59, p. 49 (RG-43.131M/3/14W59).
4. Paulin Milhas and Paul Sartoni, "Procès-Verbal constatant l'Arrestation du nomade Lunes, Auguste, pour abandon de résidence assignée," October 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M/3/14W59, p. 43.
5. Jean Beaux and Léon Wipf, "Procès-Verbal constatant l'Arrestation du nomade Loustalot (Pierre), pour abandon de résidence assignée," October 24, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.131M/3/14W59, p. 21.

LE BARCARÈS

The camp at Le Barcarès was situated along a beach north of the town of Le Barcarès (Pyrénées-Orientales Département), which is located 22 kilometers (almost 14 miles) northeast of Perpignan, the departmental center in southwestern France.

It was established in February 1939 by order of the French Defense Ministry to receive Spanish refugees.[1] By March 1939, there were as many as 13,000 Spanish refugees living in improvised dwellings such as tents and sand dugouts on the beach at Le Barcarès. When war was declared in September 1939, all of the Spanish refugees were sent to the camp at Argelès-sur-Mer (Pyrénées-Orientales Département).[2] Le Barcarès' facilities were then further developed and used by military authorities.

According to testimony by Oscar Freedman, Salomon Wolk, and Andre Marosy, barracks were built at Le Barcarès after the Spaniards left. It was then used as a training camp in late 1939 and early 1940 for foreigners who volunteered to fight for the French Army (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG). All three men who gave testimony were foreign Jews who had immigrated to France from Eastern Europe several years earlier.[3] Freedman and Wolk both noted that many of these volunteers for the French Army were either Jewish or Spanish refugees. Not all of the foreign volunteers were deemed acceptable for service; in particular those who were identified as revolutionaries, communists, or anarchists and therefore likely to engage in propaganda were deemed ineligible.[4] In January 1940, 17 of the EVDG volunteers training at Le Barcarès were transferred to Le Vernet (Ariège Département) for "attitude ill-suited to military service."[5] In April 1940, the regiments trained at Le Barcarès were sent first to Alsace and then to the Ardennes.[6]

After the June 1940 Armistice, Le Barcarès reverted to a camp for foreigners (*camp d'hébergement*).[7]

In time, many nationalities were represented in the camp, and women and children were accommodated. In the summer of 1940, Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) were expelled from the Alsace-Moselle region, and many arrived at Le Barcarès; at this point, the camp reports began to note the need for a school, and eventually one was started.[8]

Toward the end of 1941 the camp at Argelès-sur-Mer was closed, and its remaining detainees (listed as "unfit, nomads, or women") were transferred to Le Barcarès.[9] The camp was renovated to house 3,600 prisoners in four blocks of barracks of 900 beds each and was pronounced ready in November 1941.[10] Monthly reports from the camp during 1941 and 1942 list its capacity as 3,360 people, although the actual number of detainees at this time was much smaller, increasing from 177 at the end of November 1941 to 579 by the end of February 1942.[11]

The camp had two sets of barbed wire installed around each barrack bloc.[12] The Mediterranean Sea was initially seen as a natural barrier, but it did not deter escapes. A January 1942 report noted that it was possible to escape by walking up the beach to the town of Leucate and its train station. (Leucate is approximately 13 kilometers [8 miles] north of Le Barcarès.) There were a number of escapes from Le Barcarès.[13]

The prefecture oversaw the maintenance of the camp's facilities. The French Army provided guards in addition to ones recruited from the local police force. Ongoing complaints were registered in monthly reports about understaffing: for example, some guards were working 12-hour shifts.[14] The camp's commandant suggested in the January 1942 monthly report that a workforce of at least 80 guards was needed to secure the camp.[15]

From the spring of 1940 on, Le Barcarès also served as a detainment center for foreigners who performed labor in groups of foreign workers *(Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). Several GTEs were based at Le Barcarès, including GTE Nos. 153, 154, 155, 156, and 227.[16] It appears that other GTEs were at least temporarily housed at Le Barcarès when performing labor nearby, as Hugo Wildmann, who was part of GTE No. 416, described in a letter to his brother.[17]

Detainees at Le Barcarès also were employed in workshops that were set up for shoe repair and sewing. The camp's commandant also requested materials for the fabrication of espadrilles.[18]

Camp conditions varied. Although illness was less widespread than in many other camps, a monthly report for November 1941 conveys a number of problems, including flood damage, limited variety in food, and a lack of warm clothing and shoes for the detainees.[19] In January 1942, the monthly report noted that the lack of wood for heating caused women to pull driftwood out of the sea.[20] Insufficient food was reported in both the January and February 1942 reports.[21]

Vichy's decision to dissolve the camp was conveyed by letter in February 1942. The rationale was that few foreigners remained there and the camp was no longer needed, but given the physical improvements that were made, it was recommended that the facility revert to a camp solely for GTE workers.[22] The combined report for May and June 1942 indicated that 456 detainees were still in the camp by the end of the period.[23] Ultimately, all of them were transferred to other camps, a process that was completed by early August 1942.[24]

The closing of the camp was orderly, and a legal agreement was executed between the Interior Ministry and the Commission for the Fight against Unemployment (*Commissariat à la Lutte contre le Chômage*) that spelled out the terms of the transfer of the property to the commission.[25] Everything was inventoried, and all camp personnel were accounted for as they departed. By the end of August 1942 the camp was completely closed.[26]

SOURCES Secondary sources that include information on the camp at Le Barcarès are Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement, 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); and Anne Grynberg, *Les camps de la honte: Les internés juifs des camps français (1939–1944)* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991). Two articles addressing the origins of Le Barcarès as a camp for Spanish refugees are in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994): Lilian Pouységur, "Les réfugiés républicains espagnols dans le sud-ouest de la France," and Jean-Claude Fau, "Les camps de réfugiés espagnols de Septfonds (1939–1940)."

Primary documentation on the camp at Le Barcarès can be found in AD-P-O under classifications 38W167, 109W330 (list of names), 134W28 (Spanish refugees), 1260W68, 1260W84, 1260W106–1260W110 (GTEs), and 1287W1-2 (monthly reports, health statistics). Some of this material is held at USHMMA under RG-43.036M. Additional documentation can be found in AN F7 15105, held at USHMMA under RG-43.016M. Descriptions of life in GTE No. 416 at Le Barcarès can be found in the Manfred Wildmann family letters in USHMMA under 1998.A.0037. VHA holds five survivor testimonies that mention Le Barcarès, including those by Oscar Freedman (#23202) and Salomon Wolk (#16178). A detainee's published account is Francisco Pons, *Barbelés à Argelès et*

autour d'autre camps (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993) in which the author describes his detention at Le Barcarès.

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. Note: Internement des réfugiés espagnols dans les camps d'Argelès-sur-Mer et du Barcarès notamment, October 24, 1967, USHMMA, RG-43.036M (AD-P-O), reel 10, 1260W68 (USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68).
2. Historique du Camp d'Argelès, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68.
3. VHA #23202, Oscar Freedman testimony, November 19, 1996; VHA #42545, Andre Marosy testimony, June 8, 1998; and VHA #16178, Salomon Wolk testimony, June 5, 1996.
4. Général de corps d'armée Hanote to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, December 22, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68.
5. Quotation from Capitaine Poulain (Commandant du Camp du Vernet) to P/Ariège, January 22, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68.
6. VHA #23202 and VHA #16178.
7. Note: Internement des réfugies espagnols dans les camps d'Argelès-sur-Mer et du Barcarès notamment, October 24, 1967.
8. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M /11/1287W2; Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, February 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/11/1287W2; Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, June 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/11/1287W2.
9. Quotation from Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, October 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W167; P/Pyrénées-Orientales to Ministère de l'Intérieur, June 3, 1957, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/10/1260W68.
10. Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, October 8, 1941.
11. Camp du Barcarès: Rapport mensuel de novembre 1941, November 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/11/1287W2; Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942; Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, February 28, 1942.
12. VHA #30484, Abraham Goldfarb testimony, June 19, 1997.
13. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942.
14. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, February 28, 1942.
15. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942.
16. Relevé Général des ressortissants espangnols bénéficiaries du droit d'asile résidant dans les Pyrénées-Orientales, April 8, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M /11/1260W106-110.
17. Wildmann Letter #36 (Hugo and Mama to Manfred), July 15, 1942, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 6, pp. 192–193; Wildmann Letter #38 (Hugo and Mama to Manfred), July 31, 1942, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 6, pp. 203–204.
18. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942.
19. Camp du Barcarès: Rapport mensuel de novembre 1941, November 30, 1941.
20. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 30, 1942.
21. Ibid.
22. Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police to Commissaire à la Lutte contre le Chômage, February 11, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W167.
23. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, June 30, 1942.
24. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police, August 11, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W167.
25. "Procès verbal de cession du Camp du Barcarès," August 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W167.
26. Commandant du Camp du Barcarès to Conseiller d'État Secrétaire Général pour la Police, August 11, 1942.

LE CHEYLARD

For a brief time, Le Cheylard was an internment camp located in the Ardèche Département, Rhône-Alpes region, 23.5 kilometers (14.6 miles) northwest of Privas, the departmental capital. When it first became operational, the camp was used to hold the enemies of the Phoney War, namely Reich nationals and Poles. The combined German-French commission of Ernst Kundt visited the camp on July 30, 1940.[1] At that time, 116 of a total of 125 internees in Le Cheylard were Jewish. In September 1940, 360 Austrian and German nationals were still held in Le Cheylard. In all likelihood, the camp closed at the end of 1940.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the internment camp at Le Cheylard are Christian Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet–août 1940)," in Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), pp. 213–226; and Hervé Mauran, "Étrangers internés en Ardèche: D'un régime à l'autre (1939–1940)," in Vincent Giraudier, Hervé Mauran, Jean Sauvageon, and Robert Serre, eds., *Des Indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Valence, France: Peuple libre; Notre temps 1999), pp. 109–125.

Primary sources for the internment camp at Le Cheylard are scarce. Some mention is found in PAAA (Akten der Kundt-Kommission). An eyewitness is former internee Richard Levy, a Jew of German origins who was held in several French camps, including Le Cheylard (VHA #8625, November 13, 1995). According to Mauran, the abbot of Le Cheylard, P. Clauzier, also mentioned the camp in his memoir, *Souvenir d'un curé vivarois de 1876 à 1956* (Saint-Étienne, France: Imprimerie Dumas, 1955), pp. 130–132.

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTE

1. Bericht von Oberstleutnant von Studnitz, September 18, 1940, Akten der Kundt-Kommission, PAAA, R XII, Zu Kult E/Nf., vol. 67, cited in Eggers, “Le périple de la mission Kundt,” p. 218.

LE MONT-DORE

The resort and spa town Le Mont-Dore (Puy-de-Dôme Département), which is located some 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of the prefecture capital, Clermont-Ferrand, was just south of the boundary between the Occupied and Southern Zones. Between 1942 and 1943, Le Mont-Dore was the site of a “national relocation center” for “foreign undesirables” and was officially termed a “center of assigned residence” (*centre de residence assignée*). It held mainly foreign Jews with some financial means in the town’s hotels.

Le Mont-Dore was one of four national centers established after the Vichy Interior Ministry ordered prefects and police to streamline the detention and expulsion of Jews in November 1941.[1] Two of the centers were located at nearby La Bourboule and St. Nectaire. Another site was located in Eaux-Bonnes (Pyrenées-Atlantiques Département). Additional centers were established on a regional and district level. Although the aim as expressed in official documents was to detain “undesirable refugees” and black marketeers, it was mainly foreign Jews who entered France after January 1, 1936, who were targeted. The Jewish detainees also included naturalized citizens.[2]

Prefects were responsible for identifying and assigning eligible Jews to residence centers. To qualify for residence, the inmates had to be able to support themselves financially. If not, they were assigned to labor battalions. By the summer of 1942, several hundred Jews had been assigned to the relocation centers in the region, including the center at Le Mont-Dore.

Center residents were under constant police supervision. Their residence permits were only valid for the center, although prefects could grant leave permits; for example, to emigrate. The inmates also had to check in routinely with local police, every two weeks or more frequently if ordered by the prefect. Thus physically isolated and registered, they became easy targets of the three major roundups (*ramassages*) in the Puy-de-Dôme on August 26, 1942, and in the spring of 1943.[3]

Several sources relating to the Heidingsfeld family, detained in Le Mont-Dore, confirm that Chanonat Villa was among the assigned residences. The husband of Hélène Heidingsfeld, Auguste (or Gusta) Hirsch, was a toymaker with business interests in France and Switzerland.[4] Another family member, 73-year-old Leopold Heidingsfeld, applied to the consulate of El Salvador in Geneva, Switzerland, for citizenship papers. The First Secretary of the Consulate General, the Holocaust rescuer George Mandel-Mantello, granted him such documents, but by then it was too late—the date of issuance was December 24, 1943, months after Jews had been deported from Le Mont-Dore.[5] Heidingsfeld’s son, Bernard, had already been taken to the Drancy camp during the August 1942 roundup, when approximately 50 Jews from the Southern Zone in Puy-de-Dôme were arrested. He entered Auschwitz on April 1, 1944, and after the evacuations from Auschwitz and Gross-Rosen, died two days after arriving in the Buchenwald concentration camp, on February 22, 1945.[6] According to Yad Vashem, Auguste Hirsch was murdered while attempting to cross the Swiss border in 1943.

In 1943, according to French police records, Le Mont-Dore also briefly served as a temporary internment camp for foreign journalists.[7]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources mentioning the Le Mont-Dore center of assigned residence include John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford Press, 1986); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Le Mont-Dore center of assigned residence can be found in AD-P-D, which holds among others relevant reports by police and gendarmerie in the M Series. Additional documentation is available in ITS, 2.3.5.1, fol. 19a (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMPA holds the Mantello certificate for Leopold Heidingsfeld (WS #86024). Le Mont-Dore’s brief use as an internment camp is mentioned in AN (Police Générale collection), available in microform at USHMMA under RG-43.016M.

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NOTES

1. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125.
2. ITS, 2.3.5.1, fol. 19a, pp. 82370908–82370910.
3. Ibid., pp. 82370953–82370957.
4. Claims Resolution Tribunal, In re Holocaust Victim Assets Litigation Case No. CV96-4849, Certified Award to Claimant Therese Heidingsfeld in re Account of Auguste Hirsch, Claim Number: 002151/MG, May 28, 2004, www.crt-ii.org/_awards/_apdfs/Hirsch_Auguste.pdf.
5. Mantello, Certificat de Nationalité à Monsieur Léopold Heidingsfeld, December 24, 1943, USHMMPA, WS #86024 (USHMM, Courtesy of Enrico Mandel-Mantello).
6. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Bernard Heidingsfeld, Doc. No. 24362633.
7. USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 15, carton 15103.

LES ALLIERS

Situated in the south Bretagne region (Ille-et-Vilaine Département), the camp at Les Alliers was established in July 1938 by order of the prefecture of the Bretagne region. The camp was located some 31 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Rennes. It served as a receiving center for 800 Spanish refugees

between July 1939 and August 1940, when they were deported to Mauthausen. In September 1940, about 60 Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) who had been evacuated from Lorraine were imprisoned as a group in the camp. Beginning in October 1940, the German authorities demanded that all the Roma from Charente and Charente-Maritime be interned in Les Alliers.

The staff of the camp consisted of a director, 11 administrators, 2 religious workers, 2 policemen, and 5 civilian guards. The first director was Police Inspector Soulier, followed in December 1941 by a police officer named Faye. The last director was Noël Verneiges. Father Le Bideau provided religious services for the Roma prisoners.

Men and women could work outside the camp after receiving permission from the camp authorities. The movement of internees, for labor purposes, was limited to between 7 A.M. to 9 P.M. In September 1942, 45 Roma worked either for the Germans in the munitions factory or foundry at Ruelle, in agriculture, or for the city of Angoulême. The others worked to maintain the camp.

Various reports underscore the deplorable conditions of imprisonment (torn roofs not fixed, insufficient food, inappropriate clothes, planks of wood serving as wall dividers). There were numerous escapes, some of which were successful. The director noted that there was about one per week.

Between 1940 and 1946, 450 Roma were imprisoned at Les Alliers, the number not exceeding 350 at any time. According to the departmental archives, about 60 percent were children. The census of the Inspection General of the Camps (*Inspection Générale des Camps*, IGC) indicated that the number of prisoners fell to 197 in December 1943 and then to 194 in April 1944. In December 1944, the number of internees rose to 215.

After the French Fourth Republic was established on May 10, 1946, the legal date for the cessation of hostilities from World War II, the last of the Roma prisoners left the camp. On July 8, 1946, the camp was permanently closed.

SOURCES Secondary sources concerning the camp at Les Alliers begin with Emmanuel Filhol, *La mémoire et l'oubli: L'internement des Tsiganes en France 1940–1946* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004); Guy Hantarrède, "Les Tsiganes au camp des Alliers," *ET* 13 (1995): 120–128; Marie-Christine Hubert, "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), 2: 59–88; and Denis Peschanski with Marie-Christine Hubert and Emmanuel Philippori, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS Edition, 2010).

Archival sources on the camps at Les Alliers may be found in ADC (1W41 and 9W42).

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LES MILLES

Located in the Bouches-du-Rhône Département, about 23 kilometers (14 miles) north of Marseille and 5.1 kilometers (3 miles) southwest of Aix-en-Provence, the camp at Les Milles was set up in the eponymous village on a space measuring about 25,000 square meters (about 30,000 square yards). It consisted of two buildings of three floors each that had once been part of a tile and brick factory. There was also an open space measuring about 45,000 square meters (about 54,000 square yards) where 14 barracks were built for the detainees.

Les Milles opened when France declared war against Germany on September 3, 1939, to intern enemy aliens, including Central European Jews. On September 6, the 4th Batallion, 156th Regiment (Ardèche), commanded by Captain Charles Goruchon, assumed direction of the camp. A number of detainees were artists or intellectuals, including Walter Benjamin and Max Ernst. On April 18, 1940, the camp closed and its internees were transferred; however, it reopened on June 10 to hold approximately 3,500 foreigners in southeastern France. After the June 22 Armistice, Goruchon arranged for more than 2,000 detainees to leave France via Bayonne. The plan miscarried, leading to their re-internment, first in Saint-Nicolas (Gard Département) and then in Les Milles. When Ernst Kundt's Franco-German commission inspected Les Milles on August 1, 1940, 747 of the 1,000 internees chose repatriation to Germany.

In November 1940, under the Interior Ministry, Les Milles became the sole emigration camp in Vichy France. The camp assumed this function given its proximity to Marseille. Les Milles' first director was divisional commissioner Maurice Laurens, and the guards were French gendarmes. Inspector Louis Gaude oversaw emigration. On August 16, 1941, Robert Maulavé succeeded Laurens. Maulavé was arrested in August 1942 for opposing the deportations then and encouraging escapes, and the last French director, Paul Brun, succeeded him.

A comparatively relaxed disciplinary situation was instituted at Les Milles during the years 1940 to 1941. Prisoners were allowed to go to Marseille to apply for U.S. immigration

Prisoners in front of a barrack at Les Milles internment camp, 1942.
USHMM WS #63407, COURTESY OF ILSE COHN ROTHSCHILD.

visas, and they exchanged letters and occasional visits with relatives held at other detention sites.[1] According to a February 25, 1941, intake manifest, 69 detainees from the Gurs camp holding immigration papers for Australia, Paraguay, Siam, the United States, and elsewhere entered Les Milles awaiting overseas passage.[2]

Many artists created artworks while at Les Milles. Adorning the guards' cafeteria was a series of murals produced by the detainees. A satirical mural, titled the "Procession of Paramilitaries in Horizon Blue Uniforms Transporting Gigantic Victuals," shows small men, most of whom are staggering under the weight of the food they are carrying. A member of a paramilitary (*prestataire*) group slips underneath the wine barrel, but lustily sips from the tap. *Prestataire* referred to a form of release from French camps by volunteering for military service. A more sinister mural, "The Banquet of Nations," shows the nations represented by stock characters like King Henry VIII for Great Britain and an African chief with exaggerated facial features seated at a table and overseen by the "International Jew." Other detainees participated in theater. A former passenger on the MS *St. Louis*, Moritz Schoenberger, participated in a theatrical production and painted a number of pictures while in Les Milles.[3] Intellectuals wrote essays while at the camp.

The Les Milles' administration also oversaw groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). Some, like the Aubagne (*Groupe Palestinien des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GPTE), GPTE No. 706, to which Joseph Brenig was assigned, were punitive. GPTE denoted a "Palestinian" group; in French police nomenclature "Palestinian" was a euphemism for Jew. At another GTE affiliated with Les Milles, Bivert (Bouches-du-Rhône Département), Harry Weiss worked in a coal mine where the lighting was so poor that he lost all sense of time.[4]

Although conditions may have been less harsh at Les Milles than at other French camps, the food situation was untenable. Even with assistance from many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), corruption was rife. Maulavé himself was implicated in such activity.

In June 1942, the French authorities redesignated Les Milles as an assembly camp for Jews from southeastern France, in preparation for deportation to the East via the Drancy and Châlons-sur-Saône transit camps or directly to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Additional deportees arrived from the Gurs camp. The redesignation followed the June 16, 1942, pledge by René Bousquet, the Secretary General for Pierre Laval's government, to hand over 10,000 Jews from the Southern Zone to the German authorities. Regional police officer Maurice Anne Marie de Roddellec du Porzic, and his chief of cabinet, Robert-Stéphane Auzanneau, oversaw the conversion of the camp to its new purpose. A July 15, 1942, inspection report prepared by SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker, the chief of the Gestapo's Jewish Department in France, declared that there were 1,306 Jews at Les Milles, an increase of 102 from the roll call of July 31, 1941. Of this number, some 1,192 Jews were selected for deportation: 781 Germans, 290 Austrians, 92 Poles, 16 Czechoslovakians, and 13 Russians.[5]

The first transfers occurred between August 11 and 13, 1942, conducted by 170 police officers from the Mobile Reserve Groups (*Groupes Mobiles de Réserve*, GMR). The dissolution of the Jewish GTEs began at this time.[6] According to historian Renée Poznanski, there were some 80 escape attempts during early August. Maulavé's arrest took place in this context, because he was opposed to the deportations and encouraged escapes. Many attempted suicides also took place around this time, including 10 on August 10 alone. Four more convoys departed on August 23 and September 2, 10, and 11, 1942. Included in the August 23 convoy, according to Grand Rabbi Israël Salzer of Marseille, were 123 men removed from GTEs. A total of 1,928 Jews were deported from Les Milles.

The Jewish chaplaincy under Grand Rabbi Salzer and other Jewish social service organizations attempted to ameliorate the Jews' plight.[7] The Jewish relief organizations were the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS); Hebrew Immigration / Jewish Colonisation Association / Emig-Direkt (HICEM); the Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work (*Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda*, ORT); Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE); and the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF). Assistance also came from the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and French Protestant Federation (*la Fédération protestante de France*). The latter's representative, Pastor Henri Manen, and his wife Alice rescued Jews from Les Milles. In 1986, Yad Vashem recognized them as Righteous Among the Nations. Guard August Boyer helped Marcel Neiger, his brother, and sister escape during the August 13 transfer.

An example of how social service organizations helped is provided by OSE's work with the Dreyfuss family. In letters to relatives in the United States from Les Milles, Wilhelm Dreyfuss urged support—material, moral, and official—be given to his family while his wife, Clara, and recently widowed mother were held in Rivesaltes. Reuniting with Clara and his mother would cost 1,000 francs, a prohibitive sum. Dreyfuss's children, Bertha and Rudi, were under OSE care. In July 1942, Dreyfuss performed forced labor with the GTE No. 167 at La Ciobat under the supervision of guards from Les Milles. OSE saved Rudi and Bertha, but Clara and Wilhelm died at Auschwitz.[8]

In September and October 1942, most of the remaining 217 detainees were dispatched to the Hôtel de Bompard and Hôtel le Terminus du Port camps in Marseille, from which they were sent to camps at Mees (Alpes-Maritimes Département) and La Roquebrussane (Var Département). At least eight detainees received assigned residences (*assignations à résidence*). Nevertheless, in reports for the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Oscar W. Deutsch recorded several successful escapes during this period.[9] On November 1, 1942, Les Milles closed. Historian André Fontaine estimates that some 10,000 prisoners passed through the camp between 1939 and 1942.

On December 4, 1942, the Wehrmacht converted Les Milles into a munitions cache. After the January 23, 1943, roundup of Jews in Marseille, the camp temporarily reopened

to hold prisoners. On March 15, 1943, the German authorities deported the last 30 internees to Compiègne.

SOURCES The following secondary sources document the camp at Les Milles: André Fontaine, *Le Camp d'étrangers des Milles, 1939–1943: Un camp de concentration à Aix en Provence?* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud ed., Cahors, 1989); the anthology by Jacques Grandjonc and Theresa Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), particularly three articles by Fontaine on the history of Les Milles, the theater in the camp, and the murals; Doris Obschernitzki, *Letzte Hoffnung-Ausreise: Die Ziegelei von Les Milles 1939–1942 vom Lager für unerwünschte Ausländer zum Deportationszentrum* (Teetz: Verlag Hentrich & Hentrich, 2000); Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), pp. 92–127, which is particularly strong on the role of NGOs at Les Milles and on Robert Maulavé; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). For sources on art at Les Milles, see Bouches-du-Rhône, Conseil Général, Espace 13, *Des peintres au camp des Milles: september 1939–été 1941: Hans Bellmer, Max Ernst, Robert Liebknecht, Leo Marschütz, Ferdinand Springer, Wols* (Arles: Actes sud, 1997). Some information on the care for children at Les Milles is in Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. by Nathan Bracher (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press, published in association with USHMM, 2001).

Due to its role as an emigration camp, there is a wealth of primary documentation on Les Milles. At AN, signature F7 15094, is a report on Les Milles prepared by IGC André Jean-Faure on November 4, 1941. At ADH-P in the Commission of Jewish Work to Help Refugees (*Commission des camps des œuvres israélites d'assistance aux réfugiés*) collection, signature 6J15, is the concentration camp annual report for 1943, which includes Les Milles. In ADB-R are files 142W24–142W43 (Les Milles administrative records and detainee dossiers); 5W365; and 56W7 and 56W101 (Auzzaneau's and Roddellec du Porzic's trials). Files 142W24–142W43 are copied to USHMMA in RG-43.038M. At CDJC under signature XXVI-27 is a report, possibly dated June 11, 1942, on the camp; under signature CCXIII-115_001 is an August 24, 1942, report about visits made to hospitals and Les Milles (FSJF collection). At AAIU, under Fond Maurice Moch, file 24, is the activity report, 1940 to 1945, on the general chaplaincy for camps, including Les Milles. VHA holds 59 survivor testimonies that mention Les Milles, including Rudolph Adler (#44846), Joseph Brenig (#12005), and Harry Weiss (#48402). USHMMA holds a number of collections relating to this camp. Copied from AFSC are Records Relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950 (RG-67.007), including a file mostly concerning humanitarian relief and daily reports on Les Milles. It appears in Series VIII, Marseilles Foreign Service, Box 57–62, Folder 17 of 100, Concentration Camps—Reports, 1942. The AFSC documentation is particularly strong for the months of August through October 1942. Hedy Epstein's unpublished memoirs (Acc. No. 1994.A.0117) recount her internment at Les Milles. The typewritten diary by Hans J. Steinitz (RG-04.072), "Das Buch von Gurs: Ein Weissbuch über das südfranzösische Interniertenlager Gurs," briefly mentions his time in Les Milles. The letters of Clara and Wilhelm Dreyfuss, 1940 to 1942, are found in RG-10.269. Among the photographs collected on Les Milles at USHMMPA, the Julie Klein collection is significant for documenting the life of an artist, her father Moritz Schoenberger, while in the camp. One of his watercolors is in Acc. No. 1988.108.98, and photos from this collection are found under WS #78985, 78590–78591, 80313, and 80313–80314. Published primary sources are found in Henri Monneray, ed., *La persécution des juifs en France et dans les autres pays de l'Ouest: presentée par la France à Nuremberg; recueil de documents*, preface by René Cassin, introduction by Edgar Faure (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1947); and Grandjonc and Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944*. The latter includes a report on the deportations at Les Milles by Grand Rabbi Israël Salzer, written in 1942 and first published in *Q* 4–5 (February 15–March 1, 1947).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-10.269, Clara and Wilhelm Dreyfuss letters, 1940–1942, Wilhelm Dreyfuss letter of November 27, 1941; VHA #44846, Rudolph Adler testimony, August 31, 1998.
2. Le Commissaire Divisionnaire Commandant le Camp des Milles (Laurens) to Monsieur le Directeur Général, Sûreté Nationale, 2e Bureau, reproduced in Grandjonc and Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944*, between pp. 257–258.
3. The murals, "Cortèges des prestataires en uniforme bleu horizon transportant des victuailles gigantesque" and "La banquêt des nations," are reproduced in Bouches-du-Rhône, Conseil Général, Espace 13, *Des peintres au camp des Milles*, pp. 78–79; WS #80314, Moritz Schoenberger in a production of *The Lady Singer* in Les Milles.
4. VHA #12005, Joseph Brenig testimony, February 13, 1996; VHA #48402, Harry Weiss testimony, November 22, 1998.
5. Dannecker report, July 20, 1942, reproduced in Monneray, ed., *La persécution des juifs en France et dans les autres pays de l'Ouest*, pp. 158–159, 163.
6. Salzer, "Un rapport sur le camp des Milles," reproduced in Grandjonc and Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944*, p. 393.
7. Ibid., p. 397.
8. USHMMA, RG-10.269, Clara and Wilhelm Dreyfuss letters, 1940–1942, Wilhelm Dreyfuss, letters of November 27, 1941; March 25, 1942; July 26, 1942; ITS, 0.1 (CNI), cards for Wilhelm Dreyfuss (DOB November 25, 1898), Doc. No. 19438500; and Clara Dreyfuss (née Pollak) (DOB February 17, 1900), Doc. No. 3240260; "Remaining at Les Milles 19-8-42" (p. 3), in USHMMA, RG-67.007 (AFSC), Series VIII, Marseilles Foreign Service, box 57–62, folder 17 of 100, Concentration Camps—Reports, 1942.
9. For example, Oscar W. Deutsch to Mlle. Montagnon, October 24, 1942, in USHMMA, RG-67.007 (AFSC), Series VIII, Marseilles Foreign Service, box 57–62, folder 17 of 100, Concentration Camps—Reports, 1942.

LE VERNET D'ARIÈGE

Le Vernet d'Ariège is located in the Ariège Département, approximately 48 kilometers (more than 30 miles) southeast of Toulouse. In February 1939, the French Army reactivated the World War I army base and prisoner of war (POW) camp at Le Vernet for the internment of 26,000 troops of the 26th Catalonian Division, anarchist refugees from the Spanish Civil War. The mass influx required tents to be set up to supplement the 19 existing barracks. Overcrowding and poor rations prompted complaints by the French Left and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Shortly after war began in September 1939, most of the Catalonian internees were sent to foreign worker companies (*Companies de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTEs) throughout France. The most famous internee from this period was Arthur Koestler, who published a testimony in exile that, in broad outline, described Le Vernet's tripartite structure that largely continued under Vichy: the camp consisted of three compounds (*îlots*), A, B, and C. Compound A held convicts, Compound B held political extremists, and Compound C held "suspects."[1]

From September 1939 until July 1940, the camp held refugees (*hébergés*) and, increasingly, interned foreigners deemed to be German sympathizers or political extremists. Among them were Belgian Rexists, notably Léon Degrelle and Gerard Libot, and members of the Flemish fascist movement, the Flemish National Union (*Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond*, VNV), including Ward Hermans and Antoon Mermans. All of these internees became Nazi collaborators after their release by a Belgian commission on July 26, 1940.[2] Among those entering Le Vernet in this period were several hundred leftists, mostly Germans and Austrians, including Franz Dahlem, Hermann Langbein, Paul Merker, and Friedrich Wolf, as well as Albanian communist Mehmet Shehu. Most were International Brigade (Interbrigade) veterans of the Spanish Civil War.

On August 9 and 17, 1940, the Armistice French-German Commission of Ernst Kundt visited Le Vernet to identify Germans and Austrians for repatriation to Nazi Germany. When the Austrians rejected characterization as Germans, a Wehrmacht officer declared them German nationals from the Ostmark, the Nazi term for Austria, and promised that they could join the German workforce after "three or four months in a reeducation camp."[3] According to Langbein, some of the Austrians considering repatriation were torn between family obligations and political hostility toward the Nazis. Most refused to return to the Reich.[4]

On November 1, 1940, the Vichy Interior Ministry took over Le Vernet from the French Army. The camp had a succession of directors, all former military, during its Third Republic and Vichy phases: Duin; Pratx (from the summer to the fall of 1940); Pinot (interim, from October or November 1940 to early 1941); Louis Royer (from the winter of 1941 to March 1943); and Jehan d'Armancourt (from March 1943 to the spring of 1944). The Vichy guards consisted of French civilian recruits. According to historian Kelsey Williams McNiff, the recruits joined the staff mostly for economic reasons and, later, to avoid

French police guard the entrance to Le Vernet penal camp, 1940.
USHMM WS #22146, COURTESY OF SERGE KLARSFELD (BEATE KLARSFELD FOUNDATION).

Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO). The guard force was chronically understaffed and, as was the case in other French camps, poorly armed.

The Vichy Interior Ministry designated Le Vernet as a men's penal camp and intended it to be the harshest such camp. In this regard, the compound structure carried over from the late Third Republic served its needs. Compound B inmates were subjected to the strictest discipline and surveillance and generally were not granted the privilege of working. The increasing need for forced labor led to the addition of a fourth compound, designated "T" (*tirailleur* or worker).

The camp's population steadily decreased in wartime. In February 1941, there were 3,200 detainees, but only 1,900 in February 1942. In February 1943, the camp population declined to 1,195 and was only 697 in February 1944. Between 1940 and 1944, there were 156 deaths recorded at Le Vernet. The camp held a wide variety of nationalities: Americans, Austrians, Belgians, Chinese, Czechoslovaks, Ethiopians, Finns, Germans, Greeks, Hungarians, Italians, Luxembourgers, Poles, Portuguese, Romanians, Russians, Spanish, Swiss, Turks, Ukrainians, and Yugoslavs.[5]

On February 24, 1941, Compound C staged a revolt when Le Vernet administrators attempted to transfer two detainees. Another visit by German commissioners days before and poor rations also helped precipitate the uprising. Protests, including hunger strikes, broke out, and compound B joined the fray. As Langbein recalled, "'Hunger!'—it was shouted in every language. Hundreds pushed to the exit, standing in front of the gate. And the cry was taken up by our comrades in other compounds."[6] On February 25, the administration arrested 102 prisoners in Compounds B and C, some of whom faced criminal charges as instigators.[7]

In 1941 and 1942, the camp intensified the suppression of leftists. Such measures included the deportation of 748 detainees to North Africa, where some worked on the trans-Saharan railway. In successive waves, Austrian and German leftists were deported to the Reich, especially those perceived as

troublemakers, such as Dahlem. Many were sent via Castres prison, 70 kilometers (almost 44 miles) northeast of Le Vernet. Of the 171 Austrians held in Le Vernet, 50 (29%) were forcibly sent to the Reich. Langbein's repatriation came on April 23, 1941, when he was transferred to the Dachau concentration camp.[8] The administration also pitted the anarchists and other noncommunists against the communists in the competition for privileges. The administration's anticommunist battle spilled over into its relations with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Royer accused the AFSC of trying to assist 21 communists, some of whom had already been transferred elsewhere or had escaped, and of having a "political goal."[9] In response, Howard E. Kershner of the Marseille office vigorously denied that AFSC's purpose was anything other than "to relieve suffering."[10]

Although never constituting a majority, there were some Jews in every compound. In August/September 1942 and May 1944, Compounds C and T served as a transit camp for Jews rounded up in Ariège and neighboring areas for deportation via Drancy. In August/September 1942, 465 Jews were dispatched in two transports, and in May 1944, the number was 220. Some Jews remained in the camp on a permanent basis. They received succor from Rabbi René Kapel on behalf of the Committee on Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés*, CAR) and the chief rabbinate of France. Kapel incurred Royer's wrath for complaining that Jews were singled out for especially harsh treatment. Royer banned him from the camp in August 1942 at the start of the deportations.[11] Rabbi Georges Vadnaï recalled that, during two stints of imprisonment at Le Vernet, he was able to play chess, read, and chat. While being transferred to Gurs, as part of, in d'Armancourt's words, a "convoy of Jews," Vadnaï jumped off a deportation train. Following recapture, he was returned to Gurs and then Le Vernet, where he subsequently fell ill with typhoid fever. D'Armancourt agreed to his three-month hospitalization at Lyon.[12]

After the occupation of the Southern Zone in November 1942, German interference at Le Vernet intensified. Despite repeated complaints by d'Armancourt, the German authorities not only staged surprise inspections but, in December 1943, also stripped Le Vernet's guard staff of all firearms, except revolvers.[13] D'Armancourt's protests against German highhandedness led to his transfer to the French Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (*Inspection Générale des Camps*, IGC) in the spring of 1944. On June 15, 1944, a German territorial guard unit, Landesschützbataillon 726, took over Le Vernet. The German authorities removed more than 400 prisoners who were part of the "ghost train" (*train phantôme* or *Geisterzug*).[14] Most were sent to Dachau. After the Liberation on August 23, 1944, Le Vernet became a POW camp for German captives, including members of Landesschützbataillon 726.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Le Vernet d'Ariège are Kelsey Williams McNiff, "The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d'Ariège: Local Administration, Collaboration, and Public Opinion in Vichy France" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 2004); Claude Delpla, *Le Camp du Vernet d'Ariège, 1939–1944* (n.p.: N.P., 1990); Sibylle Hinze, *Antifaschisten im Camp Le Vernet: Abriss der Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Le Vernet 1939 bis 1944* (Berlin (East): Militärverlag der DDR, 1988); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement, 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). On the "ghost train," see Jürg Altwegg, *Geisterzug in den Tod: Ein unbekanntes Kapitel der deutsch-französischen Geschichte 1944* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag GmbH, 2001).

Primary sources on the camp at Le Vernet can be found in ADA, especially collections 5W129-130, 5W148, 5W380, and 5W374. Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA in microform under RG-43.052M. Other useful documentation can be found in AN, F7 15094. On Jewish detainees, see CDJC, folders XXXVII-134; CCXIX-152; and, copied to USHMMA, Acc. 1998.A.0101, Camp du Vernet: Fiches individuelles des internés. The AFSC collection, digitally copied to USHMMA as RG-67.007, has some documentation related to Le Vernet, especially Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950, Series VIII Marseille Office, Subseries: Correspondence. Additional documentation on Le Vernet can be found in ITS, 1.1.47.1 (VCC), available digitally at USHMMA, relating to Jewish detainees and Austrians dispatched to the Reich. VHA holds six testimonies by former prisoners of Le Vernet, including Georges Vadnaï (#41555). Le Vernet has generated a wealth of memoirs by former prisoners and aid workers, which encompass a wide range of political and religious beliefs and cover different phases of the camp's history: Bruno Frei, *Die Männer von Vernet: Ein Tatsachenbericht*, foreword by Lion Feuchtwanger (Berlin (East): Deutsche Militärverlag, 1961); Ward Hermans, *Le Vernet d'Ariège: Van het belgisch Parlement naar het fransch concentratiekamp*, illustrated by Leo Campion (Turnhout: Uitgeverij "De Klok," 1940); Ljubomir Ilić, "Interbrigadiste dans les camps Français," in Karel Bartosek, Rene Gallissot, and Denis Peschanski, eds., *De l'exil à la Résistance: Réfugiés et immigrés d'Europe centrale en France 1933–1945* (Paris: Arcantere, 1989), pp. 131–142; René S. Kapel, *Un rabbin dans la tourmente (1940–1944): Dans les camps d'internement et au sein de l'Organisation Juive de Combat*, preface by Georges Wellers (Paris: Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, 1986); Arthur Koestler, *Scum of the Earth* (New York: Macmillan, 1941); Hermann Langbein, *Die Stärkeren: Ein Bericht aus Auschwitz und anderen Konzentrationslager*, 2nd rev. ed. (Cologne: Bund Verlag, 1982), pp. 44–54; Antoon Mermans, *De parachutisten van Orleans* (Antwerp; Brussels: N.V. uitgerevij "De Scheldel," Boekhandel "Volk en staat," 1941); Francesco Fausto Nitti, *Chevaux 8—Hommes 70: Le train fantôme 3 juillet 1944* (1945; Perpignan: Éditions Mare nostrum, 2004); Georges Vadnaï, *Jamais la lumière ne s'est éteinte: Un destin juif dans les ténèbres du siècle*, preface by Jacqueline Tanner (Lausanne: Age d'homme, 1999); and Friedrich Wolf, *Concentration Camp Vernet: Two Stories*, trans. M. S. Korr (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, 1942).

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NOTES

1. Koestler, *Scum of the Earth*, pp. 96–98.
2. Hermans, *Le Vernet d'Ariège*, pp. 11, 49, 51–52.
3. Quotation in Langbein, *Die Stärkeren*, p. 47.
4. Ibid., pp. 47–48.

5. ITS, 1.1.47.1, Ord. 9, “Listen von Verstorbenen in den Lagern Vernet, Noé, und Brens,” June 23, 1946, Doc. No. 5159379–5159381.

6. Quotation in Langbein, *Die Stärkeren*, p. 52.

7. On the revolt and number of arrests, ADA 5W374, cited in McNiff, “The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d’Ariège,” pp. 125–126.

8. ITS, 1.1.47.1, Ord. 73, “Namentliche Liste von österreichischen bzw. ehemaligen österreichischen Staatsangehörigen, welche in den Jahren 1939–1943 im Lager Vernet inhaftiert waren (postwar),” Doc. No. 5166101–5166111 (Langbein on 5166106).

9. Typewritten copy of letter HR/GA, Chef du Camp, Camp du Vernet d’Ariège, Direction Générale de la Police Nationale, and Préfet, IGC, February 4, 1942, marked secret, RG-67.007 (AFSC), Series VIII Marseille, Sub-series: Correspondence, box 54 of 84, folder 49 of 95, pp. 24–25 (RG-67.007/VIII/54/49, with page).

10. Unsigned draft letter (English) for Howard E. Kershner, Director of Aid, AFSC Marseille, to Préfet, IGC, February 16, 1942, RG-67.007/VIII/54/49, pp. 32–33; file copy of French translation, Kershner to IGC, February 17, 1942, in the same collection, pp. 34–35.

11. Kapel, “Rapport sur le Camp du Vernet,” August 1941, CDJC, XXXVII-134, cited in McNiff, “The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d’Ariège,” p. 116; Kapel, *Un rabbin dans la tourmente*, pp. 61, 69.

12. VHA #41555, Georges Vadnaï testimony, March 10, 1998; d’Armancourt quotation, Vadnaï dossier, ITS, 1.1.9.1, Ord. 68, “Verschiedene Verzeichnisse von in Frankreich lebenden und später deportierten Juden,” Doc. No. 11185217.

13. Chef du Vernet to M. le Préfet, IGC, M. le Secrétaire Général de la Police, and M. le Préfet d’Ariège, December 24, 1943, AN F7 15089, cited in McNiff, “The French Internment Camp Le Vernet d’Ariège,” p. 184.

14. Nitti, *Chevaux 8—Hommes 70*, pp. 27–29.

LORIOL

The Loriol internment camp was located between the cities of Valence and Montélimar in the Drôme Département in the Rhône-Alpes region, 168 kilometers (104 miles) north of Marseille. Its site, south of the town of Loriol, was a Serre chemical factory that had been built in 1936 and that later became a Rhône-Poulenc factory.

Between September 1939 and June 1940, this site held a total of 300 foreign internees from enemy countries. Among them was the artist Max Ernst. From the start, the site was enclosed with barbed wire. Nearly 40 armed reservists guarded it, under the authority of Regional Prefect Alexander Angeli. In theory, a roll call took place every morning and night. Tasks were given according to local needs: helping farmers, working in quarries, cutting down trees and sawing them into boards, and clearing away snow from roads and railroads. Living conditions were harsh (two people generally shared a straw mattress on a wooden bunk bed). Winters were especially severe, and the buildings were poorly insulated. Writing found on the building’s walls indicates temperatures as low as –10° C (14° F) and icy winds. As the Germans approached, the original internment camp was evacuated and relocated to the Cheylard camp in the Ardèche Département.

On August 20, 1940, the French authorities resumed Loriol’s use as an internment camp, but this time for “undesirable” foreigners. Germans, Austrians, Spaniards, and Italians were held in the camp. Many were either political leaders, journalists, or intellectuals close to the German anti-Nazi parties. Members of the Franco-German Kundt Commission pointed out the German Social Democrats and communists when they inspected the camp on August 28, 1940. Kurt Baldauf and Harry Balke were among them. Because of the strong political ties of the internees, the camp required very strict surveillance. As a direct consequence, mail underwent censorship during both periods of the camp’s operation.

From January 14, 1941, until its closure on March 5, 1941, Loriol held French trade unionists, communist activists, anarchists, and even pacifists. During that period of operation, 200 people were interned in the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Loriol camp are Jean Sauvageon, Robert Serre, Vincent Giraudier, and Hervé Mauran, *Des indésirables: les camps d’internement et de travail dans l’Ardèche et la Drôme durant la seconde guerre mondiale*, preface by Denis Peschanski (Valence: Peuple Libre/Notre Temps, 1999); Robert Serre, *De la Drôme aux camps de la mort, les déportés politiques, résistants, otages, nés, résidants ou arrêtés dans la Drôme* (Valence: Peuple Libre/Notre Temps, 2006); and Denis Peschanski, “Les camps français d’internement (1938–1946)” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Loriol camp are available in ADDr in André-Vincent Beaume’s collection, 132 J 17.

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LOUVIERS

The Louviers camp was located in the Haute-Normandie region in the Eure Département, 95 kilometers (59 miles) northwest of Paris. At the time, the mayor of Louviers was the future prime minister, Pierre Mendès-France.

On November 17, 1940, the prefecture ordered the gathering of the Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in this region. Louviers was chosen as a temporary camp. The camp site was a small quarry called le Plumet.

Approximately 60 Roma lived in their own caravans on site. Although the camp was not enclosed, living conditions were dangerous, which forced the prefect of Eure, René Bouffet, to look for another solution. On May 7, 1941, all the internees were transferred to the Jargeau camp in the Loiret Département.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Louviers camp are Emmanuel Filhol, *La mémoire et l’oubli. L’internement des Tsiganes en France, 1940–1946*, (Paris: Centre de recherches tsiganes; Harmattan, 2004); Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS ed., 2010); and Peschanski, “Les camps français d’internement (1938–1946)” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

A primary source concerning the camp at Louviers is the testimony of Denise Weiss, a Roma woman who was interned in Louviers, as presented in Raphaël Pillosio's documentary film, *Des Français sans Histoire* (L'Atelier documentaire/Le Mans Télévision, 2009, 84 min).

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MALAVIEILLE

In Marvejols in the Lozère Département, the farms known as "Malavieille" were used as an internment camp for a short period of time between August 6 and August 21, 1940. The camp was located some 179 kilometers (111 miles) northeast of Toulouse in the Languedoc-Roussillon region. Sixty-two Germans, Austrians, and a few stateless people, both Jewish and non-Jewish, were interned in this camp before being handed over to the German authorities or transferred to the Saint-Cyprien camp (Pyrénées-Orientales Département). The Franco-German Kundt Commission purportedly visited the camp when it opened on August 6.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Malavieille are Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and Christian Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet-août 1940)," in Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), pp. 213–226.

Primary sources on the camp at Malavieille can be found in AD-Lo, 1735W1-5, and PAAA (Akten der Kundt-Kommission).

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NOTE

1. Bericht von Oberstleutnant von Studnitz, September 18, 1940, Akten der Kundt-Kommission, PAAA, R XII, Zu Kult E/Nf., vol. 67, cited in Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt," p. 219.

MARSEILLE/HÔTEL DE BOMPARD

The Hôtel de Bompard was located in Marseille (Bouches-du-Rhône Département), which is 661 kilometers (410 miles) southeast of Paris. Along with the Hôtels Levant, Atlantique, and le Terminus du Port, it was converted to house foreign detainees after the war began. Of the four hotels, Bompard and Levant became detention centers primarily for Jewish women and children. Bompard housed evacuees forced out of Belgium, Germany, and Austria between the spring and fall of 1940. The center also took in a small number of Spanish, Czech, and Polish women. Many of the women detained in Bompard had husbands who were being held in the largest camp in the department, Les Milles. From its opening, Bompard was run by the camp administration of Les Milles, located 30 kilometers (19 miles) north of Marseille.

Bompard began as a reception center, but in November 1940 when Les Milles became a transit camp for detainees slated for deportation, Bompard's status changed with it. From then on, Les Milles and its associated camps were the only emigration camp complex in Vichy France. That was because, as a major port, Marseille had a significant consular presence, and it was also the seat of the prefecture of Bouches-du-Rhône, upon which arrangements for ship passage strictly depended. The destination of detainees being sent out of Bompard varied, depending on their standing in the emigration application process. For example, married women at Bompard could not leave the camp until their husbands were cleared to leave Les Milles. Camp records indicate that those who were not deported to a specific destination were reunited for "deportation to an unknown destination."[1]

The Hôtel de Bompard contained 25 rooms in a two-story building that could hold up to 250 people. A number of the unmarried women who were detained there were brought in for suspected prostitution instead of being sent to a municipal jail. By law their internment was not to exceed 48 hours, but many of the women were kept well beyond that limit. The defined age limits for camps were not followed at Bompard. On any given day, between 10 and 30 children were among the detainees. They received education from a teacher who was one of the adult inmates. The roundups in Marseille that took place in May 1941 nearly tripled the population at Bompard, bringing it from 64 to 180. By the time the camp closed, the population was at its full capacity of 250.

As with Les Milles, discipline in Bompard and the other three hotels was less strict than in many camps, and detainees were typically free to leave the hotels during the day. However, conditions were anything but comfortable for the women and children who were living at Bompard. Food, clothing, lighting, heat, and bedding were insufficient. A lack of hot water

Jewish refugee children in the internment center at the Hôtel de Bompard in Marseille, receiving food from relief worker Margot Stein, July 1942.
USHMM WS #17802, COURTESY OF JULIA PIROTTE.

made for poor hygiene. To make matters worse, the hotel owner's son embezzled money from the camp's daily governmental allotment. In addition, he profited from inflated food prices at the adjacent canteen and also used inmates' ration cards for his own benefit.

Bompard closed in August 1942. The hotel's 250 detainees were deported to Auschwitz by way of Les Milles and Drancy.

SOURCES Secondary sources typically treat the Hôtel de Bompard in association with the camp at Les Milles. Helpful works in this vein include André Fontaine, *Le Camp d'étrangers des Milles, 1939–1943: Un camp de concentration à Aix en Provence?* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud ed., Cahors, 1989); and Jacques Grandjonc and Theresa Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres, 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990). Other scholars provide a brief treatment of Bompard, such as Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

Primary documentation on the hospital can be found in ADB-R under classification 7W and 147W (Board of Health). A portion of this material is held in microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.038M. USHMMA also holds documentation from the American Friends Service Committee relating to Bompard under RG-67.007M, including a list of names of detainees in September 1942 (Series VIII, box 57, folder 17). Other collections of personal papers held by USHMMA mention detention in Bompard, such as the Lakhovitzky family collection held under 2012.416.1. VHA holds 10 survivor testimonies that discuss Bompard.

Abby Holekamp

The Hôtel le Terminus dé Port in Marseille, 1941.
USHMM WS #07621, COURTESY OF THE ETABLISSEMENT DE COMMUNICATION ET DE PRODUCTION AUDIOVISUELLE DE LA DEFENSE.

NOTE

1. Quotation from Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille*, p. 93.

MARSEILLE/HÔTEL LE TERMINUS DE PORT

In Marseille, which is 661 kilometers (410 miles) southeast of Paris, the Hôtel le Terminus de Port was used as an annex for the camp of Les Milles near Aix-en-Provence in the Bouches-du-Rhône Département between September 1939 and the end of 1942. While male foreign Jews were sent to the Les Milles camp, women and children were sent to live in various hotels of the port district. Located in the new part of the harbor on the Boulevard of the Dames, the Hôtel le Terminus de Port had enough space to accommodate between 250 and 300 beds.

From June 1940 onward, the French Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE) advocated on behalf of the detainees at the hotel through one of its assistants, Nicole Weil Salon, who helped women at the hotel leave the hotel, so that they could work. The Franco-German commission of Ernst Kundt visited the site on August 2, 1941.[1]

In 1942, historian Christian Oppetit estimates that there were 145 Jewish women and children, including 115 of German origin, living in the hotel. In May 1942, administrative documents noted that there were 90 adults and 13 children in this inexplicably named "embarkation camp" (*camp d'embarquement*).[2]

Under police supervision, the detainees were permitted freedom of movement around the city. There was even a provision for absence from the premises at night, which required written permission. As one detainee, Miriam Gerber, recalled, the hotel's provisions were poor and inadequate.[3] Historian Donna Ryan described the site, which with some 90 refugees was not overcrowded, as ramshackle.

With the help of Dr. S. M. Weill-Raynal, at least four children from 6 to 12 years old managed to escape the Hôtel le Terminus de Port and join a colony under the authority of Christian Friendship (*Amitié Chrétien*). They thus escaped the convoys that transferred deportees from Les Milles to Drancy in August and September 1942.[4]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp of Marseille, Hôtel le Terminus de Port, are Renée Dray-Bensousan, *Les Juifs à Marseille pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres Éditions, 2004); Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois

Press, 1996); André Fontaine, *Un camp de concentration en France: Le camp d'étrangers des Milles: Aix-en-Provence, 1939–1945* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1989); Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990), in particular André Fontaine, "L'internement au camp des Milles et dans ses annexes (septembre 1939–mars 1943)," pp. 227–268, and Christian Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt: Les camps du midi de la France d'après le Journal de voyage de Jubitz (juillet–août 1940)," pp. 213–226; Christian Oppetit, ed., *Marseille, Vichy et les nazis: Le temps des rafles. La déportation des Juifs* (Marseille: Amicale des déportés d'Auschwitz et des camps de Haute-Silésie, 1993); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le transfert des Juifs de la région de Marseille vers les camps de Drancy ou de Compiègne en vue de leur déportation. 11 août 1942–24 juillet 1944* (Paris: FFDJF, 1992); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; and Renée Dray-Bensousan, "Nicole Salon née Weil, assistante sociale et résistante," *Aju* 31: 2 (1998): 122–124.

Primary sources on the camp at Marseille, Hôtel le Terminus de Port, can be found in ADB-R, collections 2Y787-789 (the prisons for exceptional political detainees); 76W1-8 (prefect's cabinet/office); 7W112 (Terminus des Ports emigration center); and 142W (camps at Les Milles, Saliers, which mentions detainees' origins). Additional documentation can be found in CDJC, collection FSJF CDJC-CCXIX-69a_001 (statistics from May 1942 regarding the population of internment camps in France). USHMMA holds a collection of sketches by Lili Andrieux (Acc. No. 1988.1), which represent Marseille, Hôtel le Terminus de Port, among other camps. VHA holds one interview with a survivor of Hôtel le Terminus de Port, Jules Wallerstein (#15926). A published testimony is Miriam Gerber, *The Life of Miriam* (n.p.: Xlibris Corp., 2010).

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NOTES

1. Bericht von Oberstleutnant von Studnitz, September 18, 1940, Akten der Kundt-Kommission, PAAA, R XII, Zu Kult E/Nf., vol. 67, cited in Eggers, "Le périple de la mission Kundt," p. 218.
2. CDJC, collection FSJF CDJC–CCXIX-69a_001.
3. Gerber, *The Life of Miriam*, pp. 55–56.
4. Weill-Raynal's letter to the prefect, June 12, 1942, ADB-R, 76W111, quoted by Dray-Bensousan, *Les Juifs à Marseille pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, p. 168.

MARSEILLE/LE BRÉBANT

As early as September 1939, the performance hall, "Le Brébant," which was located on Chartreux Avenue in Marseille, was converted into a screening center for foreigners (*centre de criblage pour les étrangers*). Marseille is 661 kilometers (410 miles) southeast of Paris. After the Fall of France in June 1940, Le Brébant became a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), which held communists, foreigners, and common-law prisoners. Historian Donna Ryan characterizes the site as a prison.

Before the German occupation of the Southern Zone in November 1942, Le Brébant, in the Bouches-du-Rhône Département, also functioned in part as an emigration center. In December 1940, German left-wing publisher Alfred Kantorowicz, a Jew, was released from Le Brébant in preparation for immigration to the United States via Haiti. He received sponsorship through the American Committee of Assistance (*Comité americain de Secours*, CAS), which was affiliated with the American rescuer, Varian Fry.[1]

The Brébant camp appeared on the list of various internment camps in France and North Africa at the end of 1941.[2] In his testimony, Albert Reich mentioned his arrest in August 1942 and transfer to the "sorting camp" (*camp de triage*) at Le Brébant, before being sent to the Rivesaltes camp.[3] Le Brébant remained operational until Marseille was liberated by American forces on August 28, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Marseille Le Brébant are Renée Dray-Bensousan, *Les Juifs à Marseille pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres Ed., 2004); André Fontaine, *Le camp d'étrangers des Milles: 1939–1943: Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1989); Jacques Grandjonc and Theresia Grundtner, eds., *Zone d'ombres 1933–1944: Exil et internement d'Allemands et d'Autrichiens dans le sud-est de la France* (Aix-en-Provence: Alinea, 1990); Christian Oppetit, ed., *Marseille, Vichy et les nazis: Le temps des rafles. La déportation des Juifs* (Marseille: Amicale des déportés d'Auschwitz et des camps de Haute-Silésie, 1993); Donna E. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); and Serge Klarsfeld, *Les transferts de Juifs de la région de Marseille vers les camps de Drancy ou de Compiègne en vue de leur déportation, 11 août 1942–24 juillet 1944* (Paris: FFDJF, 1992).

Primary sources on the camp at Marseille Le Brébant can be found in ADB-R in collections 2Y787-789 (regarding special political prisons); 142W (Les Milles, Saliers camps, with camps of origin); and 142W103-107 (regarding detainees held between 1941 and 1944 at Marseille-Brébant). Files 142W24 to 142W43 are copied to USHMMA in RG-43.038M. At CDJC, two relevant collections are FSJF CDJC-CCXV-40 (list of various camps in France and North Africa from the end of 1941); and FSJF CDJC-CCXVIII-23_021 (Albert Reich's testimony given to Léon Poliakov on June 22, 1945). A published testimony is Alfred Kantorowicz, *Exil in Frankreich: Merkwürdigkeiten und Denkwürdigkeiten* (Hamburg: Christians, 1983).

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NOTES

1. Kantorowicz, *Exil in Frankreich*, pp. 196, 203.
2. CDJC collection FSJF CDJC-CCXV-40.
3. Reich testimony, June 22, 1945, CDJC collection FSJF CDJC-CCXVIII-23_021.

MASSEUBE

The Masseube camp was located in the Gers Département in southwestern France, approximately 72.3 kilometers (44.9 miles) southwest of Toulouse. It was built in the spring of 1940 to hold French refugees coming from the northern and eastern part of France. In all, the Gers Département probably received about 23,000 exiles, mostly from the Alsace-Lorraine region.

From the June 1940 Armistice until February 1941, the camp was gradually emptied until it resumed its activities in March 1943. At that time, according to the Masseube city archives, approximately 20 detainees—Spaniards and Jews from the Récébédou camp in the Haute-Garonne Département—prepared the camp for the arrival of 250 internees from the Nexon camp in the Haute-Vienne Département; in addition a few dozen interns from Gurs in the Pyrénées-Atlantiques Département were detained in Masseube between June and September 1943. German Jews from Baden, Palatinate, and the Saarland who had been expelled from the Reich to the southwestern French camps as early as October 22, 1940, made up 94 percent of the camp population. These male and female detainees were all over 60 years old, which gave Masseube the nickname "old men's camp." Most of them remained in the camp until 1945. However, 85 internees were redirected to other camps during the summer of 1943, and 58 were arrested in 1944 and deported to Auschwitz via Drancy. Between 1943 and 1945, there were 364 internees and 26 deaths (12 from March to May 1943) in Masseube.

According to archives and maps dated from March 19 to July 1, 1943, the camp consisted of 16 wooden barracks that were well built and had tiled roofs. It was located along a main artery. There were two entrances, one in the north and the other in the east. One building served as a staff room and another as the hospital, which had 22 beds. Another building had a foyer with a reading room. Various activities were offered in the reading room, such as social services meetings conducted by the Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE), Quakers, Secours Suisse, and Secours National. Yet another building was reserved for the major and head nurse, and the last two barracks were designated for the storage of equipment and stock.

The camp was under the local prefecture's authority. It was managed by regional prefect Léopold Chénaux de Leyritz and Michel Cacaud, the Gers prefect until August 1942. André Aulanier was in charge of Masseube from its opening until April 8, 1943. Aulanier came from the Gurs camp, where he had been temporarily in charge before the arrival of Colonel Louis Royer. On May 1, 1943, Aulanier was succeeded by police officer Paul Périnat. Approximately 21 to 26 officers from the Garde Civil and the French gendarmerie were in charge of surveillance. Suzanne Galerne was the head nurse.

During the night of January 20, 1944, two Allied planes strafed the camp, seriously injuring five female internees.

It is important to note that the towns of Gers and Masseube were liberated in July 1944, but the camp itself was not "freed" at that time. Living conditions improved, but it took several campaigns of questioning and protesting before the authorities decided to handle the case of the Jews at the Masseube camp. The organizations that made the protests were the Jewish Committee for Community Care and Reconstruction (*Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction*, COJASOR) and the National Movement against Racism (*Mouvement National contre le Racisme*, MNCR).

As of November 1945—five months after the cessation of hostilities in Europe—there were still 90 Jews living in the Masseube camp. They were all released and directed to Lacaune in the Tarn Département, where they received medical attention.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Masseube are Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). Emmanuel de Luget has posted online his research on the Masseube camp at http://e.de-luget.pagesperso-orange.fr/.

Primary sources on the camp at Masseube can be found in ADGe under signatures R 1059 and in 1W591–W617. Survivor Wilhelm Byk's testimony on Masseube may be found in CDJC, CCXVI-47—FSJF collection. Additional testimonies by survivors Roger Misrahi and Gabriel Saint-Mézard may be found at de Luget's website.

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MÉRIGNAC

Mérignac is a small town in the Gironde Département in southwestern France, 5.2 kilometers (3.2 miles) west of Bordeaux. A former laundry was located in the district of Beau-Désert, near Fort du Hâ, where the Germans ran a prison. In 1939, the French prefectural authorities decided to repurpose the laundry as a camp for Spanish refugees. In 1940, it became a confinement center (*camp de séjour surveillé*). Shortly after the Fall of France, the German authorities briefly used the former laundry as a prison. Starting on November 17, 1940, in accordance with an order from the Bordeaux Feldkommandantur, the prefect of Gironde, François-Pierre Alype, arranged for the internment of between 297 and 321 Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the Mérignac camp. All of the internees came from coastal departments; half were children.

At that time, the camp only comprised a wooden barrack and a barbed-wire fence. In February 1943, an electrified fence was added, but was never used. The Roma lived in their own caravans and were in charge of building additional barracks. By the end of December 1940, they had built a total of 20 barracks.

René Rousseau managed the Mérignac camp. The French gendarmerie was in charge of surveillance. According to a February 26, 1943, report, 16 civil guards (*gardes civils*) were appointed to assist the 5 police sergeants.[1] An escape by two inmates on April 21, 1941, prompted the French authorities to restrict the movement of internees. In response, the detainees initiated a hunger strike.

Beginning on December 10, 1940, the police redirected the Roma internees to the Poitiers camp, called La Route de Limoges. Soon thereafter, political detainees from the Bordeaux region replaced them: 148 communists arrested and held in a commandeered building in Bordeaux were transferred to Mérignac in March 1941. From then on, the camp was divided into two zones of "undesirables": one for the French and the other for foreigners.

Beginning in April 1941, foreign Jews as well as prostitutes were held in Mérignac. In June 1941, 40 French members of the Resistance were arrested following the sabotage of a voltage transformer in Pessac and were first held in Fort du Hâ prison before being sent to the camp adjacent to Beau-Désert. In May 1942, 173 people were interned for "economic" reasons; that is, mainly for black marketeering.

On several occasions, the German authorities selected detainees to be shot in retaliation for anti-German actions. On October 24, 1941, 50 hostages were killed in the Souge military camp in response to an attack that had occurred three days earlier. Thirty-five of these victims came from the Mérignac camp. In September 1942, an additional 70 Mérignac internees were killed as "hostages" in Souge.

The number of internees at Mérignac continued to fluctuate until November 1943, when the camp held 560 detainees. By April 1944, there were 224 prisoners.

Jews in the region were rounded up, arrested, and temporarily held in Mérignac, and later transferred to the Drancy camp via the Bordeaux train station. On July 18, 1942, the first convoy left with 171 Jews, 38 of whom were French. On August 26, 1942, the second convoy had 444 Jews (including 140 French and 57 children). On October 19, 1942, the third convoy deported 73 people. Between February and June 1943, 107 Jews held in Mérignac were deported. In November 1943, there were only 70 to 85 Jews left in the camp. In December 1943, there were none. Meanwhile, the deportations continued in the department until June 1944, as facilitated by the prefect of Gironde, Maurice Papon (appointed in June 1942).

Among the Jewish prisoners who passed through Mérignac was Fernand Bybelezer. Bybelezer was first held by the German authorities at Fort du Hâ where he subsisted on watery soup and bread. He was later dispatched to Mérignac. He recalled that Jews in the camp were segregated from other prisoners, but could receive mail and were permitted to work. He exchanged wood that he chopped for food. He subsequently escaped near Orléans from a transport bound for Drancy.[2]

On August 26, 1944, with the German abandonment of Bordeaux, the Forces of the French Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) freed the remaining detainees at Mérignac and at the neighboring German prison at Fort du Hâ and replaced them with collaborators awaiting trial.

SOURCES The camp at Mérignac is discussed in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Peter Gaida, "Camps de travail sous Vichy: Les 'Groupes de travailleurs étrangers' (GTE) en France et en Afrique du Nord Française pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Bremen University and University of Paris 1, 2008), pp. 1–13; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Mérignac camp begin with AN F7 15099 (Report from l'Inspecteur général des camps, André Jean-Faure, on the Mérignac camp, February 18, 1942); ADG 61W6; ADG files A8, A33, and A43; CDJC/ADG (photographs of the Mérignac camp, files MII_1058–1070 or MII_65–80); and CDJC, signature CCXXXVI-72 (letter from the camp director listing Jews deported to Drancy between July 1942 and November 1943). Unpublished survivor testimonies on the Mérignac camp may be found in VHF: Jacques Graubart (#49095), Charles Strassberg (#12576), Felix Dratwa (#8762), Fernand Bybelezer (#44268), Ida Bar (#18740), Jean Weill (#29599), and Salomon Goutmann (#5032). As part of his Ph.D. research, Gaida interviewed former communist prisoner Georges Durou.

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NOTES

1. ADG A43.
2. VHF #44268, Fernand Bybelezer testimony, May 19, 1998.

MIRAMAS

Miramas is located in the Bouches-du-Rhône Département, about 43.5 kilometers (27 miles) northwest of Marseille between Arles and Aix-en-Provence. Since it was connected to the southern French railroad network, Miramas was selected as a collection point for foreigners and Spanish refugees in 1939. Beginning on September 27, 1940, in accordance with a Vichy law on foreign workers, two groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs) were created and quartered in the Miramas camp. Most were foreign Jews removed from the internment camp at Les Milles, which was located in the same department. The other workers came after being arrested in a series of roundups conducted in southern France after August 1942. Between 1940 and 1944, the Miramas camp also accommodated Indochinese forced laborers assigned to the Saint-Chamas gunpowder factory about 5.8 kilometers (3.6 miles) southeast of the city.

The camp at Miramas was located in the countryside, about 1.6 kilometers (a mile) outside the city. To increase the daily food ration, the camp major allowed the prisoners to cultivate a few nearby plots of land, on which there were a henhouse and rabbit hutch. Brick barracks were built to accommodate ap-

proximately 30 forced laborers. The camp was divided into two distinct parts. The first part was designated GTE No. 701 and was populated by Spaniards and foreign Jews in approximately equal numbers. The second part, GTE No. 212, contained mostly young Jews.

In June 1942, in GTE No. 212, there were 160 foreign Jews and 140 Spaniards. This part of the camp was directed by Organisation Todt (OT), the Nazi building directorate. The prisoners used dynamite to remove rocks and made gravel to be used in construction work, including fortification.

Under German authority, Dutch soldiers guarded the camp. In his testimony, former prisoner Albert Veissid recalls that a member of the French militia (*Milice*) was also appointed to the Miramas camp.

Living conditions were harsh and included frequent roll calls, censorship of letters, and inspection of packages. Very often the guards confiscated the prisoners' mail. For their labor in the camp, the detainees received payment from which was deducted the cost of food and housing.

On February 26, 1944, the Gestapo came to Miramas to deport the Jews from GTE No. 701. Ten Jews were absent because they had been given a day-leave pass immediately before the Germans arrived. Two days later, on February 28, 1944, the Gestapo deported 10 Jews from GTE NO. 212 to make up for the shortfall of prisoners from the previous roundup. Once arrested, the Jews were imprisoned in Baumettes (Marseille) and then transferred to Auschwitz by way of Drancy.

In March 1944, all the Jews remaining in GTE No. 212 were deported toward Estonia and Lithuania, where they were shot.[1]

SOURCES One secondary source that mentions the Miramas camp is Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000)

Primary sources that document the camp at Miramas can be found in ADB-R, signature 142W6, and 9AV21 (testimony of Albert Veissid, a survivor of the Miramas camp). The report made by Rabbi I. Salzer on GTE 701 in Miramas, June 2, 1942, is CDJC, under signature CCXIX-49_001 (FSJF coll.).

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NOTES

1. Testimony of Albert Veissid, ADB-R, signature 9AV21.

MOISDON-LA-RIVIÈRE

Moisdon-la-Rivière is located approximately 10.6 kilometers (6.6 miles) south of Châteaubriant in the Loire-Atlantique Département. The local prefecture selected Moisdon-la-Rivière as the site for a camp at the same time as Juigné-des-Moûtiers, a camp for Spanish refugees, was opened on May 31, 1939. The Moisdon-la-Rivière camp was built in a basin at the location of an abandoned ironworks. At the center of the camp was a large open square, which was still covered in leftover waste from the ironworks when the site was selected.[1] Most of the surrounding buildings were in very poor condition and lacked windowpanes, and the main building was not used because its dampness made it uninhabitable. Barracks were built to supplement the living space carved out of the buildings on site.

By mid-October 1940, the Feldkommandantur of Nantes issued a decree to detain all of the so-called nomads in the department, the local Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) replaced the Spanish refugees in the camp.[2] In a letter to the Feldkommandantur on the selection of the site, the prefect noted that in its current state, the camp could hold no more than 150 people.[3] The sub-prefect of Châteaubriant, Raymond Arnaud (soon to be replaced by Roland Manescau), was responsible for organizing the camp's administration. Direction of the camp was delegated to an administrative team that included both a director (Charles Moreau, who was also in charge of the neighboring camp Choisel) and an administrator (Captain Louis Leclercq, who had previously commanded a disciplinary unit of Moroccans working in the iron mines at nearby Rougé). The sub-prefect also appointed an assistant to Leclercq named Brellier, who was a former prisoner of war. The camp's infirmary, located in three buildings at its entrance (two with around 10 beds each for housing sick prisoners and one for medical visits), was staffed by a nurse named Fignon, who lived on the premises, and two doctors named Faivre and Bourrigault.[4]

Also known as "The New Forge" (*La Forge Neuve*), the Moisdon-la-Rivière camp was guarded by 21 French gendarmes (1 warrant officer, 2 field marshals, and 18 gendarmes). They lived in a manor 150 meters (492 feet) south of the camp with its administrators. In addition to its natural eastern border—a local river called Don or Rivière des Bourbiers—the camp was also enclosed by barbed wire. Living conditions were harsh. For instance, floorboards were used as fuel to heat the barracks in winter.[5]

The chief of the gendarme detachment was in charge of organizing work, which primarily consisted of general camp chores: men and boys able to work were charged with cleaning, repairs, and collecting wood and drinking water, and women were given tasks such as peeling vegetables.[6] According to a December 6, 1940, report from Sub-Prefect Manescau to the prefect, it was determined to be too difficult to organize a communal workshop, so each family was allowed to practice its chosen craft, such as basket weaving or repairing chairs. The chief was to facilitate the procurement of raw materials and the selling of finished goods.[7]

On November 24, 1940, 116 Roma (32 men, 28 women, and 56 children) were brought to Moisdon-la-Rivière from Pontivy in the Morbihan Département, and by December 6 there were 242 Roma (52 men, 44 women, and 146 children) at the camp.[8] Most of them arrived in their caravans and were allowed to live in them on the camp's grounds. Those who arrived on foot were given a place in the barracks.[9] On January 1, 1941, there were 308 Roma and itinerants in the camp (151 adults, 103

children aged 5 to 15, and 54 children under 5).[10] That same month, an anonymous letter from some prisoners protesting camp conditions (signed "a group of fathers and mothers") was sent to the prefect. "Our physical and moral strength is beginning to leave us," they wrote, due to forced manual labor and a lack of food, wood, and clothing and shoes for their children. They did not understand why conditions at camps in neighboring departments (Sarthe, Vienne and Mayenne) were better than at Moisdon.[11]

In a refutation of this letter sent to Sub-Prefect Manescau, Leclercq noted that, although "it would be inaccurate to claim that everything is for the best at the camp," conditions were not as bad as stated. With regard to rationing, he reported that 123 kilograms (271 pounds) of bread, 250 kilograms (551 pounds) of potatoes, or 18 kilograms (40 pounds) of vegetables plus a smaller quantity of potatoes were distributed daily to the prisoners, as well as 39 kilograms (86 pounds) of meat every other day and 19 kilograms (42 pounds) of sausage or boudin each Sunday and Wednesday. Each prisoner of age was also given one quart of cider twice a day. In turn, he accused the prisoners of bad behavior such as stealing wood and trading the meager clothing and shoes distributed to the worst-off children for tobacco and extra cider.[12]

In March 1941, all the Roma were temporarily transferred to the camp at Choisel. Indeed, the harsh winter of 1940 made the Moisdon-la-Rivière buildings uninhabitable. Four new barracks were built to accommodate the detainees, who were transferred back in early July. German authorities considered transferring a group of political prisoners to Moisdon instead, but according to Manescau, they felt this was a bad idea because political prisoners would be less tolerant of the lack of cleanliness and comfort.[13] A September 1941 supply request from the prefect puts the number of prisoners at Moisdon as 354.[14]

Yet living conditions did not improve much, according to a December 1941 report by a M. H. Billot, president of the Central Council of the Nantes chapter of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, who visited the camp on December 11 and 26. Billot noted that adult prisoners received only 400 grams (14 ounces) of bread a day plus a portion of vegetables so small that it could have fit "without any exaggeration" in the palm of his hand.[15]

There was at least one escape from the camp. According to a report from Captain Biteau, the commandant of the gendarme detachment at Choisel, a prisoner named André Adam escaped from Moisdon on May 11, 1942, while on a foraging detail outside the camp. Biteau wrote that Adam might be headed toward Rennes, as an earlier request he had made for permission to visit a sick relative there had been denied.[16]

As 1942 began, it became clear that the camp still needed too many costly improvements, and outside observers, including Billot and a Dr. Aujaleu who inspected the camp on March 9, 1942, suggested that the best solution was to transfer all of the prisoners to the camp at Montreuil-Bellay in the neighboring Maine-et-Loire Département.[17] In a January 23 letter to the prefect, Manescau wrote that if improvements could not be made, he hoped the transfer could take place as soon as February 15; however, it did not happen for several months.[18] On May 13, 1942, 267 Roma, including 150 children, were transferred from Moisdon-la-Rivière under an escort of 50 gendarmes to the Mulsanne camp (Sarthe Département) and from there to Montreuil-Bellay.[19]

SOURCES The following secondary sources contain information on the camp at Moisdon-la-Rivière: Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–133; Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000) and *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946* (Paris: CNRS ed., 2010); and Émilie Jouand, "L'internement des nomades en Loire-Inférieure: Les camps de La Forge et de Choisel, novembre 1940–mai 1942," *ABPO* 115: 1 (2008): 189–220.

Primary documentation on the camp at Moisdon-la-Rivière can be found in AN F7 15100 (Dr. Aujaleu's report on Moisdon-la-Rivière, March 9, 1942); and ADL-A, in collections 43W3–17; 43W148; and 1694W59–60. Some of this documentation is available on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.053M.

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NOTES

1. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, January 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053M (ADL-A), reel 6, 43W148, p. 384 (USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, with page).

2. FK/Nantes, October 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, p. 1799.

3. P/L-I to FK/Nantes, November 7, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, p. 1797.

4. S-P Châteaubriant, "Note sur la fonctionnement présent et à venir du camp du concentration Moisdon-la-Rivière," February 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, pp. 378–383; structure of the infirmary, Le Médecin Inspecteur de la Santé/L-I, "Camp de Concentration de la Forge à Mosidon-la-Riviere, Organisation Sanitaire," November 30, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1641–1642; names of doctors and other paid staff, S-P Châteaubriant, "Complément au rapport du 6 décembre 1940 sur la fonctionnement du camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière," January 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, pp. 453–460.

5. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, "Rapport sur le fonctionnement de camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière (Loire-Inf.)," December 6, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1643–1653.

6. Leclercq to S-P Châteaubriant, January 25, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1680–84.

7. "Rapport sur le fonctionnement de camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière (Loire-Inf.)."

8. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, November 26, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1638–1639.

9. "Rapport sur le fonctionnement de camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière (Loire-Inf.)."

10. Leclercq to S-P Châteaubriant, January 25, 1941.

11. Quotations from an anonymous letter attached to P/L-I to S-P Châteaubriant, January 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1685–1688.

12. Quotation from Leclercq to S-P Châteaubriant, January 25, 1941.

13. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, April 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, p. 1698.

14. P/L-A to Directeur Interdepartmental de l'ONACVG, September 7, 1962, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W60, pp. 1808–1809; supply list, P/L-I to P/Délégué du Ministre de l'Interieur–Délégation Generale du Gouvernement français dans les territoires occupés, September 2, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W60, pp. 1823–1826.

15. Quotation from Billot, "Rapport sur les camps de Romanichels de Moisdon-la-Riviere," January 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, pp. 387–390.

16. Biteau to S-P Châteaubriant, May 12, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1590–1591.

17. Billot to P/L-I, January 22, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1713–1714; Dr. Aujaleu, March 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1719–1722.

18. S-P Châteaubriant to P/L-I, January 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1709–1711.

19. S-P Châteaubriant to P/Sarthe, May 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.053/4/1694W59, pp. 1574–1575.

MOLOY

The Moloy camp was located in the Bourgogne region in the Côte d'Azur Département. Surrounded by forests in the locality of En Cimeraux, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside of the village of Labergement-lès-Moloy, the Moloy camp was just over 28.9 kilometers (about 18 miles) north of Dijon. In response to a prefectural order issued in the summer of 1941, the camp, also called Labergement-lès-Moloy, opened to detain all the Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the department. According to the monthly report of July 21, 1941, written by the regional prefect Charles Donati, the camp opened in response to pressure from local communities. Donati rationalized its creation by citing accusations of larceny made against local Roma.[1]

The Moloy camp held approximately 80 inmates, confined in two wooden barracks surrounded by a three-meter (approximately nine-foot) barbed-wire fence. Of these, 50 to 60 prisoners were Roma. The remaining inmates were foreigners: two foreign Jewish families and six Spanish republicans were held as illegal immigrants. The Roma families were mostly French.

Moloy's male internees worked under the direction of Water and Forest (*Eaux-et-Forêts*) agents, cutting wood in the surrounding Ignon Forest. Female internees cooked and made baskets. The food was inadequate, particularly in light of the heavy labor performed, and consisted mostly of soups and vegetables. The children were privileged to receive a daily ration of milk. There were instances of tuberculosis in Moloy, and at least four people, all members of the Weiss family, died as a result. According to local historian Joël Mangin, two Spanish prisoners attempted to escape in December 1941. A subsequent attempt to stage a mass breakout miscarried in March 1942.

The Moloy camp closed in December 1942. In small groups the prisoners were dispatched throughout the fall of 1942 to camps at Arc-et-Senans (Doubs Département), Peigney (Haute-Marne Département), and St. Maurice aux Riches Hommes (Yonne Département).

SOURCES To date the most important secondary source on the Moloy camp is Joël Mangin, "Des Barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire (Labergement-lès-Moloy internment camp)," *BSHTI* 1 (2003), n.p. This local historian's account contains detailed information, but is somewhat polemical; he attributes the camp's founding to a conspiracy of local French and German business interests, based on discussions he had with his father's erstwhile employer, the former French IMT prosecutor, François de Menthon. Brief mention of the Moloy camp may be found in Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Emmanuel Filhol, "L'indifférence collective au sort des Tsiganes internés dans les camps français, 1940–1946," *GMCC* 55: 226 (April 2007): 69–82; François Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–147; and Christian Bernadac, *L'Holocauste oublié: Le massacre des Tziganes* (Paris: France Empire ed., 1979), p. 59. In 2005, a commemorative stele was erected in Moloy; see www.memoires-tsiganes1939-1946.fr/steles.html.

Primary sources on the camp at Moloy may be found in AN, collections AJ 40 and AJ 41 369; and ADC-O, series W 6568 (an invoice for barracks construction).

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NOTE

1. AN, AJ 40, as cited in Mangin, "Des Barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire," n.p.

MONSIREIGNE

For a few weeks in 1940, in the village of Monsireigne in the Vendée Département, located in the Occupied Zone of the Pays de la Loire region, there was a camp that held Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Monsireigne is 69.9 kilometers (43.4 miles) southeast of Nantes. The authorities selected its open granite quarries as the camp's location. In 1914, the French Army had erected barracks just yards away from the quarries to house units of workers formed from the ranks of deserters during World War I. During the interwar period, foreign workers stayed there.

On April 6, 1940, the French Third Republic decreed the assignment of all Vendée Roma to residences (*assignations à residence*). In conformity with the German authorities' order on October 24, 1940, requiring the internment of all Roma in Occupied France, six centers (Cheffois, Velluire, Treize-Septiers, La Verrie, St Julien-des-Landes, and

Sallertaine) were ordered to transfer the local Roma to Monsireigne.[1]

The Monsireigne camp was under the authority of Vendée prefect Gaston Jammet, who in turn answered to the regional prefect of the Poitiers area, Louis Bourgain.

According to historian Christophe Potier, on November 18, 1940, the German authorities ordered the camp's closure. The prisoners were sent to Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire Département) and Boussais (Deux-Sèvres Département). The camp was only used again after the Liberation in September 1944 to hold about 10 German POWs.

Among the few available sources on the camp, there is an administrative report made during a police check in Maine-et-Loire.[2] It noted that an itinerant grinder (*rémouleur*), whose name was Alphone A., had been arrested in Mortagne-sur-Sèvre and sent to Monsireigne where he stayed for the first two weeks of November 1940. Afterward, he was transferred to Boussais and then to several other camps for Roma.

SOURCES Secondary sources that discuss the short-lived camp at Monsireigne are the pamphlet by Christophe Potier, *1940: Un camp de nomades à Monsireigne* (La Roche-sur-Yon: ONACVG, 2001); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Jacques Perruchon, *Camps d'internement en Poitou-Charente et Vendée, 1939–1948* (Saintes: Le Croît Vif ed., 2003); and François Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6:2 (1995): 79–147.

Primary sources on the camp at Monsireigne are found in AN, file 737/MI/2, and in AD-Ve, file 4M59.

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NOTES

1. AD-Ve 4, M 59.
2. Administrative report, ADM-L, as quoted in Sigot, "Les Camps," p. 115.

MONTECH

Located 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) southwest of Montauban in the area of the Midi-Pyrénées region closest to Toulouse, Montech was the third camp hastily created in the Tarn-et-Garonne Département following the September 27, 1940, law for the formation of groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). The other two GTE camps were Septfonds and Caylus. GTE No. 881 was quartered in Montech.

According to Montech resident Jean Gailhard, the camp was established in the facilities of a bankrupt cellulose factory that had been shuttered since 1926. In 1939, the French Army commandeered the buildings to set up a POW camp, but the site was never used for that purpose. After the June 1940 Armistice, Montech opened as a camp for foreign workers—Spanish, Hungarian, Polish, and Russian, some of whom were Jewish. Gailhard characterized Montech as more of a refugee camp (*camp d'hébergement*) than an internment camp, because the GTE workers could move freely around town and the site was not enclosed with barbed wire.

In the spring of 1942, Rabbi Marc Kahlenberg visited the camp.[1] Noting that a former captain of the enlisted volunteers managed the camp, he added that workers were divided into teams and sent to various local construction sites to do tasks the rabbi characterized as "hard." Those who were unfit for hard labor and who could not be part of those teams remained in camp and cut wood. The rabbi's report highlighted the authorities' "benevolence" and the barracks' "good equipment." According to him, Passover services were held in Montauban that all Jewish families from Montech were able to attend, as no authorizations were denied. The 30 Jewish workers in GTE No. 881 were also able to obtain unleavened bread from the rabbi.

Kahlenberg reported that the Friends of Enlisted Volunteers of Montauban (*Amicale des Engagés Volontaires de Montauban*) subsidized Montech's operation beginning in January 1, 1942, giving the camp some 20,000 francs to improve living conditions for the workers. Seventeen thousand francs were used to purchase 100 pairs of shoes. A later report, from July 1942, observed that the same association had spent a total of 30,000 francs for Montech "since 1940."[2]

According to that July 1942 report, the camp closed between May and July 1942, when GTE No. 881 was transferred to Corrèze at Neuvic-d'Ussel under the management of reserve officer Emile Moulinet. In addition, Rabbi Kahlenberg was denied a visit to the camp around that same time.

In 1943, the Wehrmacht settled in Montech, in the former camp for "auxiliaries," who were also nicknamed the "Mongols" (referring to their Central Asian origins). Between August 10 and August 19, 1944, the camp was liberated. Montech then became a POW camp for Germans until September 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the GTE camp at Montech are Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); and Jean Estebe, *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en Midi toulousain au temps de Vichy* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail ed., 1996). Jean Gailhard collected much information on the history of his town. His report about the cellulose factory appeared in the city's local newspaper, *MMVNV* 10 (January 2011), p. 10.

Primary sources on the camp at Montech are found in CDJC, FSJF collection: file CCXIX-41_001 (general report on the chaplains' work in camp and groups of foreign workers during the month of April 1942); and file CCXIX-6_001 (report from July 1942 on general chaplaincy).

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NOTES

1. CDJC, file CCXIX-41_001, Kahlenberg report, April 15–May 15, 1942, p. 5.
2. CDJC, file CCXIX-6_001, July 1942, p. 4.

MONTÉLIMAR

Montélimar is located in the Drôme Département in the Rhône River Valley, about 149 kilometers (92 miles) northwest of Marseille. In the town, an internment camp was set up inside the facilities of a former tannery near Teil Road on Bauvais Street (later Ducatez Street). After the war, the site served as the Chareton caserne. The camp was sometimes described as the "camp of the tannery" (*le camp de la Tannerie*).

The Montélimar camp opened in September 1939 and most likely closed at the beginning of 1944. Enclosed with barbed wire, the camp was made up of permanent structures from the former tannery and at least four wooden barracks. The buildings were set up in an overall U-shape. Montélimar interned undesirable foreigners whose activities allegedly jeopardized the peace. The camp came under the authority of Alexandre Angeli, the Lyon regional prefect, because the Drôme Département fell under his prefecture.

The internees came and went as they wished, but had to remain in town. According to historian Jean Sauvageon, it is not possible to give the camp's precise chronology or the number of prisoners, because only scant archival material about the Montélimar camp exists. Indeed, all the archives were destroyed when the Drôme Prefecture was bombarded in 1944. In his book, Sauvageon relied on many oral testimonies to piece together the camp's history.

The foreign internees' nationalities varied according to phases in the camp's operation. Between 1939 and June 1940, most were Spanish; then from July 1940 until the end of 1941, Germans, Austrians, Belgians, and at least one Russian were interned there. Finally, the camp held British and a few Americans from 1943 to early 1944. The Union of Jewish Charitable Associations (*Union des sociétés de bienfaisance israélites*) in Toulouse reported that many Jews were among the internees during the 1940–1941 phase. The report mentions the concentration of Jewish foreigners in Clairfond Center, "a selection center from which foreigners are sent either to Montélimar, Agde, Gurs, [Le] Vernet, or Argelès."[1] On November 28, 1940, in a note to his colleague from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Vichy Interior Minister announced the internment of German Jews from Baden and the Saar in both Montélimar and Agde (Hérault Département). He also announced the intention to transfer those German prisoners to Rivesaltes camp (Pyrénées-Orientales Département).[2] Until at least March 5, 1941, French communists, anarchists, and pacifists were also interned in Montélimar.

According to letters exchanged between the German Embassy in Paris and the General Delegation of the French Government in the Occupied Territories, Russian attorney Wladimir Schwarz was arrested with his wife, in the Free Zone, by French police for being "Soviet nationals." The two were interned at Montélimar and freed on July 4, 1941, following a decision made by the Prefecture's Screening Committee (*commission de criblage*).[3]

An average of 550 to 600 individuals were interned in Montélimar from 1939 to 1941, a number that dropped to approximately 50 internees when the camp held British and Americans from 1943 to 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources about the Montélimar camp are Vincent Giraudier, Jean Sauvageon, Robert Serre, and Hervé Mauran, *Des indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la seconde guerre mondiale*, preface by Denis Peschanski (Valence: Peuple Libre/Notre Temps, 1999), especially chapter 5 by Sauvageon, "Des camps d'internés étrangers et français à Loriol et Montélimar (1939–1941)," pp. 126–223; Robert Serre, *De la Drôme aux camps de la mort, les déportés politiques, résistants, otages, nés, résidants ou arrêtés dans la Drôme* (Valence: Peuple Libre/Notre Temps, 2006); Jean Sauvageon, "Les camps d'internement: Un chaînon manquant dans l'histoire de la Drôme," *ED*, 3/4 (1998): 19–38; Robert Serre, "Quatre lieux d'internement dans la Drôme," *EI* 115 (2009): 62–70; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources that document the Montélimar camp may be found in AN F7 15104–15105; ADDr 711W76–77 (about Loriol and Montélimar camps; those archives are in the process of being reclassified); CDJC, file CCXVIII-99_001, FSJF collection (Union des sociétés de bienfaisance israélites report on Jewish refugees' status in Haute-Garonne, November 8 to 18, 1940); and file CDJC-II-72 (German Embassy collection: correspondence, August 29, 1941, to September 7, 1941, on the internment and release of Wladimir Schwarz).

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NOTES

1. CDJC, CCXVIII-99_001, FSJF collection, November [1]8, 1940.
2. Note from Interior Ministry (DGSN) to the vice-president of the Council, Minister of Foreign Affairs (Direction politique—Europe), November 28, 1940, AN F7 15104, and a letter from DGSN to the Pyrénées Orientales prefect, on December 10, 1940, AN F7 15105, as cited by Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)," p. 393.
3. CDJC-II-72, German Embassy collection: correspondence, August 29, 1941, to September 7, 1941.

MONTLHÉRY (LINAS-MONTLHÉRY)

Montlhéry or, to be more accurate, Linas-Montlhéry, was a Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) camp located in the Essonne Département, in the Parisian suburbs, 23.7 kilometers (14.7 miles) southwest of Paris. This camp was operational from November 27, 1940, to April 21, 1942. Established near the Montlhéry motor raceway in barracks that were still unfinished, it seemed to appear overnight. The camp was unfenced and lacked bathrooms. The food was so insufficient that German authorities demanded that the French, who managed the camp, improve its living conditions. Camp officials included Edmond Bartaux and René Desoyard, the latter an inspector of special police who at one time served as camp director. Altogether approximately 250 Roma were detained in the Montlhéry camp during its existence.[1]

Historian Marie-Christine Hubert noted that on November 27, 1940, about 200 Roma were arrested by French gendarmes in the neighboring department (Seine-Inférieure), many in Rouen. The prisoners were first dispatched by train to Brétigny-sur-Orge and then marched the remaining 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the Montlhéry camp. Later, all Roma from the Normandy coast were sent to Montlhéry, because the Germans did not want to establish a camp in that strategically important zone.

Testimony by former prisoner Raymond Gurême gives some idea of Montlhéry's deplorable living conditions. Following their arrest near Rouen, Gurême and his family were held in the "assembly camp for nomads of Darnétal" (*camp de rassemblement des nomades de Darnétal*) and then dispatched to Montlhéry as part of the Brétigny-sur-Orge convoy. Describing the camp at Montlhéry as "glacially cold," he recalled that it lacked electricity and that hunger was an "obsession." Despite the cold, the French authorities rejected entreaties to burn wood in the barracks because of the fire hazard. The detainees had to appear at morning and evening roll calls, but otherwise were able to move about the camp, except near the periphery. Montlhéry, recalled Gurême, was filthy and infested with vermin. Conditions were so poor that Gurême's sister, Henriette, and two companions escaped on June 23, 1941. Subsequently rearrested, Henriette, her friends, and Gurême were subjected to punishment. Ultimately, Gurême fled the camp on October 6, 1941, and joined a Roma caravan for a time before being arrested for lacking identification papers.[2]

On April 21, 1942, the camp closed, and the 201 Roma were taken to the Mulsanne camp in the Sarthe Département. From there they were sent to the huge Roma camp at Montreuil-Bellay in August 1942. Among those transferred were Raymond Gurême's family. Historian Jacques Sigot noted that the Montlhéry prisoners sent to Mulsanne included 45 men, 35 women, 101 children under age 16, and 20 young people. Among the French and Belgian Romas deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on January 15, 1944, on convoy Z (*Zigeuner*: German for "Gypsy") from Malines, Belgium, were 40 Roma who had been arrested near Rouen in 1940 and interned in France until 1943, including at Montlhéry between 1940 and 1942.

SOURCES Secondary accounts that discuss the Roma camp at Montlhéry are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation*, 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET*, 6: 2 (1995): 79–148. On November 28, 2010, a plaque in tribute to the Montlhéry detainees was placed at the entrance of the Essone Prefecture in Evry. On November 27, 2011, another memorial was unveiled on the Place de la Gare square in Brétigny-sur-Orge.

Primary sources on the camp at Montlhéry may be found in AN, 737-MI-2 (various information on Roma camps, including Montlhéry); and F1a 4585 (report made by the general inspection of administrative services following visits in Linas and Aincourt). A published testimony of a Roma formerly interned in the Montlhéry camp is by Raymond Gurême with Isabelle Ligner, *Interdit aux nomades* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2011).

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NOTES

1. Gurême with Ligner, *Interdit aux nomades*, pp. 76–77, 87–88.
2. Ibid., pp. 56, 60–62, 70–71, 75, 77, 79, 81–82, 87–89, 93, 95–97, 113–114.

MONTMÉLIAN

Montmélian (Savoie Département) is located in southeastern France in the Rhône-Alpes region, near the Swiss and Italian borders, almost 469 kilometers (more than 291 miles) southeast of Paris and just over 46 kilometers (almost 29 miles) northeast of Grenoble. The camp was located in the Montfort military barracks, and its official name was the Montfort Center for the Social Control of Foreigners (*Centre Montfort Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, CSE). It was administered by the Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE).[1]

The internment center had a capacity of approximately 100 people. Children were sent to Montmélian from camps and children's homes, and adults were transferred there from the Gurs and Rivesaltes camps.[2] From Montmélian Jews were released or sent to other camps such as Drancy and Auschwitz.

Created after the Franco-Italian Armistice of June 25, 1940, to be an accommodation center (*centre hébergement*) for foreign Jewish women, Montmélian was subsequently transformed on May 9, 1942, into a triage center for foreign workers who were deemed unfit to work.[3] Men and women of all ages (including children) were detained at Montmélian over the course of the war. The camp held both French and foreign Jews, including Belgian, Turkish, Lithuanian, Polish, German, and Spanish Jews. Many Polish prisoners of war (POWs) were also interned at Montmélian.[4] In March 1943, eight foreign workers from the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 133, were sent to Montmélian for being unfit.[5] As of July 31, 1943, 166 men and 7 women, including 20 Jews, were interned at Montmélian. According to the prefect's report on April 17, 1944, there were always Jews at Montmélian,[6] and at that date 156 internees were detained there.[7] Roll call was held every day at 9 P.M. Workers worked both inside the camp doing chores and outside of the Montfort barracks doing such jobs as farming, tailoring, cooking, and cobbling.[8]

Marie Butchen was a French Jewish child internee at Montmélian. She recalled that the camp conditions were bad: there was no health care, the camp area was small, the internees were very hungry and were not issued clothing, each internee only received one blanket, and there was only a small square to walk around in. She and 10 to 15 children from the camp attended

a nearby school during the day where they were ignored by the local children, humiliated by their teacher, and segregated in the classrooms and during lunch. The internees were neither asked to participate in class nor given homework. The soldiers marched them through the streets to the school, and passersby would look at them and laugh, calling them "gypsies." Butchen said that "[she] used to think that people were very mean."[9]

In contrast, Janet Herman, a French and Lithuanian Jewish internee who was a teenager at the time, found the Montmélian camp to be clean during her nine-month stay there with her mother and sister. The women had to clean and scrub the camp and were responsible for janitorial work. There were sheets on each bed, and a wake-up call and bedtime were strictly enforced. The director of the camp made Herman his secretary because of her clerical background in Paris. He sexually harassed and propositioned her relentlessly. When he finally got the message that she was not going to give in to his advances, he replaced her with a teenaged German female internee and made Herman the teacher and caretaker of the kids in the camp. He would go on romantic excursions in the nearby hills with the German girl. Meanwhile Herman would take the children on hikes through the same hills, walking through fields of vegetables. She and the children began to steal the vegetables and give them to her mother and other women to prepare soup in the camp. Finally the fields' farmer stopped her while on a hike and asked her why she was stealing from him. He did not know what was happening at Montmélian. He asked her, "Are you Jewish?" with tears in his eyes. When she said "Yes," and described the situation at the camp, he promised to give her vegetables every week and asked her never to steal again.[10]

Herman recalled that there was much fraternizing between the men and women in the camp. There was not a great deal of Jewish life in the camp, although two women held private religious services. At Christmas everyone was forced to sing "*Oh, Tannenbaum*." Herman and others spent their free time reading books from the camp's library and writing letters to friends and family. Toward the end of their stay local Vichy members tried to sell rags to the internees as clothes, but no one bought them. Only Herman and her mother and her sister were liberated from the camp, due to the influence her uncle had in Rodez (also in the Southern Zone, more than 305 kilometers or nearly 190 miles west of Montmélian). Following their release, the Herman family no longer had to wear the yellow star. Herman's sister went to Switzerland to join the Jewish underground, and Herman and her mother lived under false names and in hiding in Rodez until the Liberation, when they all returned to Paris. All the Jews who remained at Montmélian were sent to Auschwitz the day after the Hermans were released.

SOURCES Secondary source material describing the camp at Montmélian includes Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Gérard Gobitz, *Les déportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942: Récits et documents concernant les régions administratives* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1997); Olivier Pettinotti, "Gilbert Lesage, l'âme du Service Social des Etrangers (SSE)," *MJ*, 172 (May–August 2001): 159–173; and Hervé Mauran *"En surnombre": un camp de travailleurs étrangers en France, 1940–1945* (Valence: Éditions peuple libre & notre temps, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the Montmélian camp can be found in digital form: selected records from AD-Ard, available at USHMMA under RG-43.111M, reel 3; and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (folders 1a and 19a). VHA holds rich interviews about the camp with Marie Butchen (#38173; February 6, 1998); Janet Herman (#26894; March 20, 1997); Albert Igual (#12559; March 21, 1996); and Maurice Rajade (#31731; May 19, 1997).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Montmélian (Savoie)," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370961.
2. VHA #31731, Maurice Rajade testimony, May 19, 1997.
3. "Montmélian (Savoie)," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370960, and "Administration," ITS, 1.2.3.5, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370961.
4. VHA #26894, Janet Herman testimony, March 20, 1997.
5. "Délégation Départementale de L' Ardèche," April 19, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.111A (AD-Ard), reel 3, n.p.
6. "Montmélian (Savoie)," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370960.
7. "Montmélian (Savoie)," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370962.
8. "Montmélian (Savoie)," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. 82370964.
9. VHA #38173, Marie Butchen testimony, February 6, 1998.
10. VHA #26894.

MONTREUIL-BELLAY

Located approximately 16 kilometers (10 miles) south of Saumur in the Maine-et-Loire Département, Montreuil-Bellay is a little town in the Pays de la Loire region. Between January and June 1940, the French War Ministry erected a township, just over 5 hectares (approximately 12 acres) in size, to accommodate the staff of the new gunpowder factory that opened at the city's entrance. After the Fall of France, French soldiers locked themselves in the town, which was subsequently taken over by the Germans. Between June 1940 and March 1941, the site served as Frontstalag 181, which held French prisoners of war (POWs) and some civilian internees, including Britons and "undesirable" foreigners. A number of Jews were among the latter.[1] In March 1941, the French POWs were sent to Germany. Single British civilians were sent to the Saint-Denis camp, where they remained until the war ended, while married couples were confined to a hotel in Vittel.

On November 8, 1941, at the behest of the German authorities, the prefect of Maine-et-Loire established Montreuil-Bellay as a camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Officially called the "concentration camp of

nomads, Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-&-Loire)" and later a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), it was also known as the Méron camp after the name of a neighboring village.[2] It was one of the few camps that remained operational well after the Liberation, not closing until January 1945. On November 8, 1941, 238 Roma arrived from La Morellerie camp in the Indre-et-Loire Département.[3] In December 1941, Montreuil-Bellay held 219 Roma and 210 itinerants. On August 3, 1942, 717 more Roma from the Mulsanne camp in the Sarthe Département were confined there, increasing the camp population to 1,018 detainees, which included some prostitutes and homeless people arrested in the Nantes area. Between October 5 and 9, 1942, 36 Roma were transferred to Montreuil-Bellay from the Barenton camp in the Manche Département. More than 300 Roma arrived from the Poitiers camp in the Vienne Département between December 1943 and November 1944. Between December 1943 and April 1944, the camp population was just over 750 prisoners. This reduction in the camp's population followed the deportation of male Roma, ages 16 to 60, to Germany for forced labor.

The camp was more than 500 meters (547 yards) long and from 80 to 150 meters (87 to 164 yards) wide. It was located on the National Road joining Montreuil-Bellay to the main Angers-Poitiers Road and was parallel to railroad tracks.[4] The camp was enclosed with two lines of barbed wire placed 2.5 meters (2.7 yards) apart. Chevaux-de-frise (spiked obstacles) plugged security gaps. The fence was electrified, and two watchtowers were added. Thirty-one electrified buildings accommodated a maximum of 1,100 detainees.[5] There were three groups of buildings. The first group consisted of 17 wooden barracks that were 12 meters (13 yards) long, 4 meters (just over 4 yards) wide, and 3 meters (over 3 yards) high. Each barrack contained 40 beds designed to accommodate three to four families. The second group was made up of cinder-block barracks. Located at the camp's center, the third group was composed of kitchens, two dining halls, wash basins, toilets, laundry, steam rooms, an infirmary, a nursery, two classrooms, workshops, and a chapel. The Mission of the Franciscan Sisters of Mary was on site, and the nuns served in the chapel. The staff's living quarters and some of the stores were situated outside the compound. Also outside the camp was a cave that served as the prison. Male inmates would often take the place of their female relatives who were consigned to it.

For most of Montreuil-Bellay's existence, the camp director was Joseph Bernard, and his deputy was Jean Renard, the former director-manager at La Morellerie. Marcel Dalloux succeeded Bernard as director in November 1943. The Gendarmerie Nationale was in charge of surveillance. This force comprised an adjudant-chef, two maréchaux des logis (sergeants), and 25 gendarmes. The number of guards was doubled after a young man tried to escape Obligatory Labor Service (*Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO) in January 1943. Feldkommandantur (FK) 588, in Tours, supplied arms for the guard force.[6]

The prisoners' living conditions were very harsh. From early on, the authorities distributed rations to heads of household, but the amount was so inadequate that, on December 4, 1941, the prisoners petitioned the prefect of Maine-et-Loire for immediate food relief.[7] The food shortage even concerned the guards. Vegetables were served only five times a week. Fuel supplies were so inadequate as to cause security lapses, because nighttime illumination was lacking.[8] The same fuel shortages may also be to blame for the freezing to death of almost all the homeless and prostitutes from Nantes in the winter of 1942. An inspection report from September 19, 1942, complained of numerous cases of tuberculosis and included a note on the lack of "the most elementary conditions of hygiene."[9] The health situation deteriorated so much that, in July 1943, the German authorities demanded Montreuil-Bellay's evacuation and closure, pending disinfection, an order rejected by the French authorities.[10]

The guards treated the detainees poorly, and the camp's atmosphere was one of enforced idleness. Except for a few morning chores, there were few labor assignments. In August 1942, 85 detainees worked for 15 days in the Renault factories in Le Mans. Another exception was the deployment of 50 Roma to a German aviation facility in May 1943.[11]

The camp operated a school that began with the first transfers from La Morellerie in late 1941. Extensive correspondence between the Academic Inspectorate of Maine-et-Loire (*Inspection académique de Maine-et-Loire*) and the camp director, among others, indicated that the camp administration took pains to equip the classrooms with desks and other furnishings. Heading the school for a time were two refugees, the O'Reillys, who previously headed La Morellerie's school.[12] By September 1942, according to an inspection report, however, conditions had so deteriorated that the children's education was "completely neglected."[13] The sub-prefect of Saumur and the gendarmerie commander, Captain Royer, expressed concern over youthful sexual activity and proposed segregating boys and girls ages 8 to 14 in dormitories.[14]

According to historian Jacques Sigot, there were 85 prisoner deaths recorded at Montreuil-Bellay. The deaths include one stillbirth, and the ages of the dead ranged from less than one year to 91 years old.[15] The camp recorded 11 births during the period from 1941 to 1944. There were also a number of escapes, including 120 that took place during repeated Allied bombings in the summer of 1944. The Angers regional prefect, Charles Donati, considered evacuating the camp, which was becoming impossible to guard.[16] During the air attacks, the camp assigned separate slit trenches to each barrack for safety.

An event in September 1943 changed the camp's history: most of the camp officers were arrested for being members of the Resistance. Those arrested were Captain Royer, Deputy Director Renard, the chief inspector, and the store accountant. Although he was not implicated in the ring, Director Bernard was arrested on October 7, 1943. After their deportation, Bernard and Renard went missing.[17]

As late as May 1944, the Vichy regime tried to use Montreuil-Bellay for propaganda purposes. Invited to visit the camp were *Nouveaux Temps* reporter Christian Guy and his photographer, André Rousseau. Donati directed that they were

to be given every consideration, because their photos "are intended for the study of centers of internment."[18]

Montreuil-Bellay was finally evacuated on January 16, 1945, four months after the town was freed. At that time, there were 498 Roma in the camp. Only a few were released. Instead, most were taken to the camps of Angoulême and Jargeau.

SOURCES Secondary sources documenting the camp at Montreuil-Bellay are Jacques Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire: Un Camp pour les Tsiganes . . . et les autres; Montreuil-Bellay 1940–1945*, preface by Alfred Grosser (1983; Bordeaux: Wallada Ed., 1994); Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation*, 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148.

Primary sources on the Montreuil-Bellay camp can be found in the following archives: AN (F7 15101); SHGN (reports and correspondence from the Maine-et-Loire company, the Saumur unit, and the brigade transferred to Montreuil-Bellay, reference R/2, temporary files 014948–014952, 014971, 014972, and 015001); and, most importantly, ADM-L (12W64–12W66; 24W39–24W44; 24W48–24W68; and 97W47–97W63). The ADM-L documentation is copied to USHMMA as RG-43.092M in digital form. Particularly useful are 12W64 (general correspondence and reports), 24W42 (correspondence with the occupying authorities), and 24W43 (periodic reports). Additional documentation can be found in ADI-L (copied to USHMMA as RG-43.096M), reel 3, 120W3, in connection with the transfer of prisoners from la Morellerie. Limited documentation on the Montreuil-Bellay Frontstalag can be found in USHMMA, Acc. No. 2006.306, Konrad Bieber collection, box 1, correspondence and documents, 1940–1950. VHF holds interviews mentioning Montreuil-Bellay with two Jewish survivors, Jack Scott (#27286) and Helmut Simon (#28258), and with one Roma survivor of many camps, Dziga Tanacs (#33507). Tanacs was three years old when taken into custody with his mother in 1940, and according to his testimony, he was only briefly confined to Montreuil-Bellay. Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, reproduces a number of ADM-L and Montreuil-Bellay municipal documents, as well as excerpts of interviews with former prisoners, guards, and bystanders.

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NOTES

1. Letter-card addressed to Konrad Bieber, August 23, 1940, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2006.306, Konrad Bieber collection, box 1, correspondence and documents, 1940–1950; VHF #27286, Jack Scott testimony, February 4, 1997; VHF #28258, Helmut Simon testimony, April 9, 1997.

2. For the concentration camp usage, le Surveillant Générale, "Rapport pour les mois de juillet à août 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.092M (ADM-L), 12W64, reel 1, p. 2615 (USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, with page); on CSS, Directeur du CSS Montreuil-Bellay to S-P Saumur, May 1, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2643.

3. On La Morellerie, see P/I-L, Jean Chaigneau, to Préfet Délégué du Ministère de l'interieur—SGPN, October 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2607.

4. S-P Saumur, M-L, "Rapport sur le camp d'internes de Montreuil-Bellay," January 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2600–2605.

5. Ibid., p. 2601.

6. Oberst Kloss, FK 588, "Carabines pour la surveillance du camp de Montreuil-Bellay," November 14, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/24W42/1, p. 4311.

7. Pétition addressé par les internés au préfet de Maine-et-Loire, December 4, 1941, reprinted in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, p. 96.

8. On electrical problems, S-P Saumur to P/M-L, April 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2832.

9. Le Préfet Délégué du Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur à Monsieur le Préfet du Maine-et-Loire, September 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2798–2799.

10. FK 895 to P/Angers, July 5, 1943, ADM-L, reproduced in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, p. 72.

11. Rapport, CSS Montreuil-Bellay, stamped June 4, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2838.

12. See the sub-file, "École du Camp de Montreuil-Bellay, 1941–1943," USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2651–2715.

13. Le Préfet Délégué du Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to P/M-L, September 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2798–2799.

14. Rapport du Capitaine Royer, Commandant la Section de Gendarmerie de Saumur, March 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, pp. 2791–2792.

15. Registre d'état civil Montreuil-Bellay, summarized in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, pp. 136–139.

16. On escapes, Rapport du l'adjutant LaFrère sur l'évasion des internés à la suite de bombardement aux environs du camp, July 7, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2855; Donati, Pr/Angers, to P/I-L, July 11, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2650; for complaints about escapes, Donati to Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD, Angers, July 12, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2873; escape figure in Rapport mensuel, July 31, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.092/1/24W43, p. 4375.

17. Rapport mensuel, November 4, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.092/1/24W43, p. 4482; report by Capitaine Viala, December 21, 1944, SHGN, R/4, temporary file 014974, as quoted by Peschanski, *La France des camps* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), p. 297; testimonies on the arrests by Mathurin Coiffard, Ernest Beauplet, Father Marie-Joseph, and René G. Maurot, excerpted in Sigot, *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire*, pp. 253–254.

18. Donati, le Préfet régional d'Angers, Ordre de Mission, May 27, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.092M/12W64/1, p. 2648.

MONTSÛRS

Montsûrs is a small village in the Mayenne Département just over 21 kilometers (more than 13 miles) northeast of Laval. The Mayenne Prefecture in Angers, directed by Regional Prefect Jean Roussillon (until the end of July 1943), chose the premises of an abandoned limestone quarry in Montsûrs to set

up one of two camps for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) in the department. The second camp was at Grez-en-Bouère, 35 kilometers (19 miles) south of Montsûrs. Before holding Roma, the Montsûrs camp housed refugees between 1939 and 1940.

Also called "the Chauvinerie camp," Montsûrs held Roma between October 1940 and April 1942. A total of 85 Roma, including 15 children, were confined in the camp. When the small camp at Grez-en-Bouère closed at the end of November 1940, its inmates were sent to Montsûrs. On February 19, 1941, there were 55 detainees in Montsûrs.

Between the Mayenne road and the Paris-to-Brest rail line, the camp had approximately 10 barracks. Barbed wire and a nearly 1.5-meter (5-foot) tall fence enclosed the camp. Montsûrs was unhygienic, and the living conditions were appalling. According to historian Emmanuel Filhol, the detainees suffered from lice, mites, and vermin, as well as skin diseases, such as impetigo, abscesses, and furunculosis.

Seven French gendarmes were in charge of surveillance. On April 9, 1942, the last 25 inmates at Montsûrs were transferred to the much larger Roma camp at Montreuil-Bellay, 144 kilometers (more than 89 miles) due south.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Montsûrs camp are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation*, 4 vols., (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and three works by Jacques Sigot: "Des barbelés pour les Tsiganes de la Mayenne pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale," *Ob* 22 (1986): 55–68; *Ces barbelés oubliés par l'Histoire: Un camp pour les Tsiganes—et les autres, Montreuil-Bellay 1940–1945* (Chateauneuf les Martigues; Wallada: Éd. Cheminements, 1994), which has Montsûrs' prisoner data (p. 77); and "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148.

Primary sources on the camp at Montsûrs are found in AD-M, 265W2, which consists of various documents on the Roma interned in the Mayenne Département.

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MULSANNE

Located 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) northwest of Mulsanne village, in a forested area near the Le Mans-Tours road, the camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) at Mulsanne opened in the Sarthe Département in the Pays de la Loire region. Mulsanne is 11.7 kilometers (7.3 miles) southeast of the city of Le Mans.

On April 15, 1942, the prefect of Sarthe, Marcel Picot, a delegate from the Interior Ministry in Occupied France, announced the creation of the Mulsanne camp and ordered that the department's Roma from the Coudrecieux, Moisdon-la-Rivière, and Montlhéry camps be transferred there. There were 370 detainees from Coudrecieux, 306 from Moisdon, and 201 from Montlhéry.[1]

The camp consisted of 35 barracks with corrugated iron roofs. After the Fall of France, the German occupation authorities used the barracks as Frontstalag 203, which held nearly 4,000 French, North African, and British prisoners of war (POWs). According to historian Jacques Sigot, the camp briefly held a few Roma who had previously been confined to the camps at Plénée-Jugon and Coudrecieux before being transferred to the Montreuil-Bellay camp (Maine-et-Loire Département). The removal of the POWs to Germany started in May 1941. On February 12, 1942, the German authorities transferred the camp to French civilian control.

Mulsanne had a capacity of 1,200 people. On April 22, 1942, there were 489 prisoners held in Mulsanne, and 711 were held there in June 1942. The population peaked on July 8, 1942, with a total of 877 detainees.

Food, water, and health conditions were very poor. Exacerbating the health problems were lice and other vermin. One indication of food scarcity at Mulsanne was the bread riot that occurred on May 12, 1942.[2] Perhaps because of the living conditions, three Roma volunteered for work in Germany and were released from the camp as a result.[3]

Some of the detainees were allowed to work for the Renault factories in Le Mans. A school was established inside the camp for children ages 6 to 14.

After the Allies repeatedly bombed targets near Mulsanne in the summer of 1942, including a marshalling yard, the Renault and Gnome-et-Rhône factories, and an airfield, the Germans demanded the camp's return. On August 3, 1942, Mulsanne's 717 detainees were transferred by train to the huge camp for Roma at Montreuil-Bellay, escorted by 50 French gendarmes and 20 civil guards.

In October 1942, more than 110 Jews, including 43 children, who had been rounded up in the Sarthe Département, were sent to the camp for later deportation; most came to the camp on October 9 and 10. They were transferred to the Drancy transit camp on October 18, and from there were deported to Auschwitz on convoy 42 on November 6, 1942.

After the camp was liberated in September 1944, the French authorities used Mulsanne to confine German POWs before closing the camp for good in August 1947.

SOURCES Secondary sources documenting the camp at Mulsanne are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation*, 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)*, preface by Henriette Asséo (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); André Pioger, "Les camps de concentration de nomades dans la Sarthe (octobre 1940–août 1942)," *PrMa* (1968): 238–246; Céline Hubert, "Les camps de nomades de Coudrecieux et de Mulsanne," *VMS* 346 (Sept.–Oct. 1999): 27; and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148. There are two

memorial placards to the Mulsanne camp, which can be viewed at www.mulsanne.fr/.

Primary sources on Mulsanne can be found in ADS, especially files Vt. 653/56 and 653/59, which consist of monthly reports and camp-related correspondence; in the same archive, there is police documentation on the camp under file PN No. 35/539.

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NOTES

1. ADS, PN No. 35/539, March 31, 1942, as quoted by Sigot, "Les Camps," p. 98.
2. ADS, Vt. 653/59, Note du chef de camp, May 12, 1942, as cited in Filhol and Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France*, p. 201.
3. ADS, Vt. 653/59, Note du préfet de la Sarthe, June 13, 1942, as cited in ibid., p. 248.

NAY

Nay (Pyrenées-Atlantiques Département) is located approximately 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) southwest of Pau and 70 kilometers (44 miles) north of the Spanish border. The village was the site of a regional detention center for foreign Jews and other "undesirables." Established by order of the Vichy Interior Ministry in late 1941, this "center of assigned residence" (*centre de residence assignée*) had the intended purpose of streamlining the detention and expulsion of foreign Jews, including naturalized citizens, from the area.[1] Most such sites operated throughout 1942 and into 1943, very often in empty hotels.[2] The inmates had to be economically self-sufficient to finance their stay. Though the number of Jews registered at the detention center in Nay is not clear, it is estimated that several hundred inmates were registered at 13 such centers, including Nay, in 1942.

The names of several German Jews possibly registered at the Nay detention center are known. Among them was Leopold Bohrmann, born on June 26, 1876, in Hassloch. Arrested in May 1940 in Bassans, Bohrmann was registered in Pau in June 1940; in Nay in August 1941; in Eaux-Bonnes, site of a national "center of assigned residence" in August 1942; and finally in Nailat in December 1942 before his release in September 1944.[3] Heinrich Wollheim, born September 11, 1894, in Loschwitz, was registered at the Gurs camp on November 1, 1940; at Septfonds between January 7, 1941, and August 3, 1942; and at Nay between October 21, 1942, and August 1, 1944.[4] The exact circumstances of his stay in Nay are unclear, and several foreign Jews are known to have occupied private residences during this time. However, scarce documentation for Margot Leyser, born on August 11, 1893, in Frankfurt an der Oder, reveals that at least some of the foreign Jews registered in Nay were detained there. According to her ITS documentation, she was registered at the Gurs camp on May 10, 1940, and subsequently endured "forced stays" at Oloron and then Nay, from where she emigrated nearly 16 months later on April 8, 1942.[5] Some evidence suggests that many of the detention center's remaining residents were likely among the Jews deported from Nay after roundups began in 1942.[6]

SOURCES The detention center at Nay is hardly documented and little researched. The main secondary source mentioning the site is Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75. For background information see also John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001).

Relevant primary documentation on centers of assigned residence can be found in AD-P-D, which holds among other documents relevant reports by police and gendarmerie in the M Series. Additional relevant police records can also be found in the N Series of ADH-L. Survivor testimony of Jewish residents of Nay includes the VHA testimony of Suzanne Ringel (#20420) from October 1, 1996, which is available at USHMMA. The ITS CNI contains the names of several German-born Jews and others believed to have occupied private residences or a detention center at Nay before emigration or deportation. See, among others, the CNI card for Leopold Bohrmann, Doc. No. 52197410; for Heinrich Wollheim, Doc. No. 52408472; and for Margot Leyser, Doc. No. 53247567.

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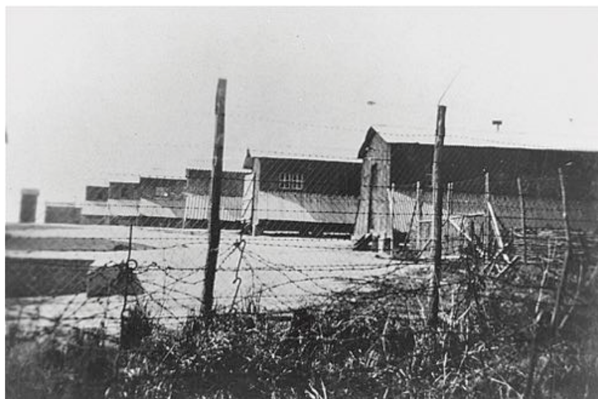
NOTES

1. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125; also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089.
2. ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, as cited in Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983), p. 76
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Leopold Bohrmann, Doc. No. 52197410.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Heinrich Wollheim, Doc. No. 52408472.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Margot Leyser, Doc. No. 53247567.
6. VHA #20420, Suzanne Ringel testimony, October 1, 1996.

NEXON

The Nexon camp (Haute-Vienne Département) was created in the summer of 1940 to house 600 refugees.[1] It was located on a wooded plateau near the Limoges-Brive line, approximately 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Limoges and about 18 kilometers north of the sub-prefecture, Saint-Yrieix-la-Perche.[2]

In October 1940, officials decided to double the number of barracks in the camp and agreed to add washrooms and heating capacity.[3] Nexon was then designated as one of two camps for French "undesirables." By December 1940 Nexon's officials added 12 barracks to the 13 already in place.[4] The camp still lacked heat, water, and washing facilities.[5] Freezing temperatures disrupted construction, delaying the camp's completion.



The confinement center at Nexon, 1942–1943.
USHMM WS #19253, COURTESY OF LAURETTE ALEXIS-MONET.

Despite ongoing construction and concerns about security, the camp's director admitted 300 detainees from the Mons and Gurs camps in January 1941.[6]

Classified as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillée*, CSS), Nexon was encircled by barbed wire and outfitted with watchtowers. The camp's buildings, some of which had courtyards, were encircled by a stone wall. The interior wall was under 24-hour guard. The camp was divided into two sections—one for men and the other for women. According to a Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), "Building J housed the terrorists" (a reference, presumably, to resisters).[7]

Nexon's population consisted of a variety of political internees and others, including black marketeers. The detainees had a broad range of national and ethnic backgrounds, including French Gaullists, other French resisters, French common criminals, Spanish Civil War veterans, Poles, and Jews. Some Belgians, anti-Nazi Germans, and Roma were also interned at Nexon.[8] As early as March 1943, the German authorities used Nexon to house British and American prisoners of war (POWs).

Two chief inspectors and seven inspectors were responsible for the detainees' daily existence and camp security. Their duties included presiding over morning roll call, overseeing daily work inside and outside the camp, censoring prisoner letters, providing surveillance during visits, and investigating the internees' activities. "The camp's chief and the assistant chief kept a book of reports about the detainees in which they described the daily roll call as well as all communications made by the internees."[9] The regulations mandated the keeping of complete dossiers, including details about each detainee's family and professional, political, and military background.

As a camp for French undesirables, the internees' radical disposition shaped Nexon's history; one police report described the camp as entirely "unrepresentative."[10] An early report by the camp director mentioned that the detainees reacted negatively after being notified of camp surveillance rules. Sanctions against some were thus required. The detainees "complained about limited correspondence, visitation rules, leave suppression, the application of Card 'A' (standard) for rations, the lack of sinks and showers and other forms of grievance . . . . (T)hey refused to do unpaid labor and construction work" for which the director punished them by "repressing correspondence for some for eight days."[11] In contrast, the director "organized workmen among the internees who did not refuse to work who (he) lodged in a separate barrack and allocated to them Card 'T' (heavy worker) for rations as directed in a circular of January 4, 1941."[12]

Early on, the problems experienced at Nexon were attributed to the "negative spirit of a great number of internees coming from Gurs."[13] Nexon's director suggested that the most influential militants in "camps of French undesirables" be isolated from their would-be followers.[14]

Detailed instructions existed for what intelligence to elicit from detainees. For example, the inspectors asked about affiliations with the Communist Party or labor unions; familial, personal, and work relationships; and links with other internees. The detainees' correspondence was monitored, and all political references were censored prior to letter delivery. The correspondence was combed for clues about the internees' mentality or ideology as noted in the camp's book.

The need for food at Nexon was "just as urgent as in the other camps."[15] Nexon relied on aid organizations for supplemental foodstuffs and other necessities such as clothing and shoes. Even before the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) agreed to work at Nexon, the camp's director "started to build a barrack to be reserved as the Quaker kitchen."[16]

At Nexon, the detainees performed work under the surveillance of the guards. Various daily work details were assigned to the prisoners.

On June 13, 1944, the detainees from the St.-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp were transferred to Nexon.[17] But three days later, following an attack by the Resistance, which caused a fire in the Nexon camp, the internees from both camps were transferred to Limoges.[18] In the aftermath of the attack, an assessment of Nexon revealed that the fire had caused extensive damage. The report noted, "The majority of the barracks to the south of the central road were destroyed. Some structures of brick, particularly the internees' kitchen, the pig farm, the personnel showers, and the forge, because they were situated to the north of the central road, were all entirely destroyed."[19]

The use of Nexon as a confinement center continued after the Liberation. On August 17, 1945, the internees still at Nexon were transferred due to insufficient manpower.[20] Approximately three months later, on November 2, 1945, the camp was officially closed. On December 16, 1945, Nexon was placed under the jurisdiction of the French Justice Ministry.[21] Following this period, the camp, its jurisdiction, and the activities conducted there were the subjects of controversy and scandal.[22]

SOURCES Three secondary sources have significant sections about Nexon: Yves Soulignac, *Les centres des séjours surveillés, 1939–1945*, 2nd ed. (Saint-Paul, France: Soulignac, 2000); Guy Perlier, *Les camps du bocage: 1940–1944*, *Saint-Germain-des-Belles*, *Saint–Paul–d'Eyjeaux*, *Nexon* (Brive-la-Gaillarde, France: Monédières, 2009); and Christian Eggers, *Uner-*

wünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deustchland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942 (Berlin: Metropol, 2002). Two other works refer to Nexon, but to a much lesser extent: Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps d'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); and Shannon Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Shannon Fogg, "'They are Undesireables': Local and National Responses to Gypsies during World War II," *FHS* 31:2 (Spring 2008): 327–358, is based on data useful for understanding an element of Nexon's population, the Roma.

Primary sources documenting the Nexon camp can be found in ADH-V, available at USHMMA as RG-43.047M. Among the materials are monthly camp reports, administrative communications, circulars, invoices, requisitions, accounting records, and photographs of the camp. Additional documentation can be found in AN (Police-Générale), available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 17. This collection provides a thorough but concise overview of the camp including monthly and quarterly reports and reports about the detainees' work regimen, nutrition, and camp surveillance. The records include detailed reports on the aftermath of the Resistance attack in 1944 and a thorough coverage of the postwar controversy at Nexon. Additional documentation can be found in UGIF, available at USHMMA as RG-43.025M (reels 27–29), which supplies information about aid requested and provided to internees at Nexon. Although similar excerpts about Nexon appear in the AFSC collection, the latter tends to be less comprehensive than those about other French camps. The AFSC material is available at USHMMA as RG-67.007M. The ITS holds a report on the Nexon camp under 2.3.5.1, available in digital form at USHMM. In addition, several survivor testimonies about life at Nexon exist in VHA. During the early postwar period, Karl Schwesig, a German communist artist, wrote about his experiences at Nexon (and at four other French camps). His unpublished manuscript is titled "Pyreänbericht" and can be found at USHMMA under Acc. No. 1988.5.

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NOTES

1. Letter, January 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.047M (ADH-V), reel 1, 185W3/61, January 31, 1941 letter, p. 1.
2. "Des Camps & centres d'internement du territoirs," February 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 17, fond 7, p. 3.
3. Letter, October 12, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 6, 993W4.
4. "Rapport de l'ingénieur des Ponte and Chaussées," October 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7, p. 1.
5. Letter, January 31, 1941, p. 1.
6. Ibid.
7. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370942.
8. Ibid., Doc. No. 82370962.
9. "Organization du camp de Nexon, Note de Service II-Service des Internes," USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 1, 185W3/61, n.p.
10. Letter, January 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, 185W3/70, reel 1, p. 1.
11. Ibid., p. 3.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. "Autumn 1942 Report," December 14, 1942, USHMMA, RG-67.007M (AFSC), Series II, Toulouse Office, Sub-Series: Reports, box 25, folder 6, p. 4.
16. Ibid.
17. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370970.
18. Ibid.
19. "Rapport sur l'état actuel et les possibilities d'aménagement rapide du Camp de Nexon," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, 993W27, reel 6.
20. Note, Pour M. le Directeur Général, May 16, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7, p. 2.
21. Letter, P. 4482 from M. Michelet, Ministre des Armées, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7.
22. Note, Pour M. le Directeur Général, May 16, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7; letter, April 3, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7; letter, Directeur, *Journal La Liberte du Centre*, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 17, fond 7.

NOÉ

The Noé camp (Haute-Garonne Département) opened in February 1941. It was located approximately 31 kilometers (19 miles) south of Toulouse and was situated in the open country about a kilometer from the village of Noé.[1] The camp was enclosed by 2 meters (6.6 feet) of barbed wire, and had a watchtower, and lookout patrols, in addition to a mobile barrier of guards policing the entrance. By 1943, there were 82 barracks in the compound.[2]

The barracks at Noé were poorly built, windowless structures that were sparsely furnished with iron beds and small white wooden armoires. Many internees at Noé slept either on the ground or on wood planks covered with rotten straw and no blankets.[3]

Detainees from Spain, France, Belgium, Russia, Poland, and Germany—communists, Resistance operatives, other political prisoners, and Jews—were sent to Noé. Spanish Republicans were the first group interned there.[4] Together with Jewish refugees, they formed the camp's majority. In the period between February and March 1941, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) reported that it provided 60 children at Noé with toys and educational materials.[5] The camp leaders organized school for 50 children in Noé. Although the camp was not designated for families or children, as of mid-May 1941, approximately 70 children were living at Noé.[6] As of mid-February 1941, 2,000 people were detained at Noé, but that number declined to approximately 1,300 prisoners within 11 months; the population averaged 1,600 internees over the camp's existence.[7]

On April 1, 1941, foreigners deemed "*unfit* for incorporation into the company of foreign workers" (*Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE; original emphasis) were sent either to Noé or one of four other camps.[8] Noé was one of two

hospital camps in the prefecture for people over the age of 60 years and disabled workers, including the sick and many amputees.[9] The AFSC (and other aid organizations) provided much-needed prostheses for amputees, eyeglasses, and other forms of medical and other assistance.[10] The patients at Noé suffered from a wide variety of ailments including tuberculosis, emphysema, parasitic infestations, gangrene, venereal disease, and diabetes.[11] As of May 5, 1941, approximately 200 people (12.5% of the camp's population) had tuberculosis.[12]

Noé was a very poorly run camp in comparison with others in the prefecture. An aid worker described the administrative staff sent from Vichy to run it as "anything but successful."[13] Conditions made the camp almost uninhabitable. In early 1941, camp officials were ostensibly unaware of potential epidemics that could be caused by the combination of exposure to carcasses of pigs, horses, dogs, and other animals with the prisoners' diminished health and severe undernourishment, poor hygiene and sanitation, and parasitic infestations, as noted by Dr. Walter.[14] Overrun with fleas, bedbugs, rats, and other vermin, the prisoners and barracks at the Noé camp required disinfection. Parasitic infestations were so severe that it was recommended that all hair be shaved from prisoners' bodies and special shampoos be given. In addition, radical suggestions for pest control were made, but ridding the barracks of rats presented a unique challenge. Rat poison could not be used for fear that hungry children would eat it.

To improve Noé's overall sanitation, repairs were required to the outbuildings where the toilets drained and waste gathered; canals needed to be extended in order to protect water from contamination; rooms where internees could bathe needed to be built; windows needed to be installed to improve air circulation and allow sunlight into the barracks; and fireplaces needed to be built. However, subsequent letters written at the end of 1942 by the camp administrators show continued problems with sanitation, infestations, and hygiene.[15]

The prisoners at Noé, even the elderly and disabled, were expected "to work to support the camp's life."[16] One postwar report remarked that it sometimes took "five or six disabled people to do the job of one able-bodied person."[17]

Noé residents relied on aid organizations that distributed much-needed clothes and food, but having a ration card did not necessarily guarantee the amount of food a card user was to receive. In the Toulouse region, the population doubled during the war. In spite of being located in an agricultural area known for its vineyards, food supplies were scarce.[18] The camps received food only after area hospitals and the local populace were allotted rations. By October 7, 1941, the fresh vegetables market had practically collapsed. Aid agencies agreed to give food provisions to hospital camps like Noé before giving foodstuffs to the local population. The AFSC, the French Red Cross (*Croix-Rouge français*, CRF), the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF), the Committee of Assistance to Refugees (*Comité d'Assistance aux Réfugies*, CAR), the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), some area churches, and other aid organ-

The internment camp at Noé, 1942–1943.
USHMM WS #03058, COURTESY OF ERIC MALO.

izations provided supplemental foodstuffs and other material goods such as soap, clothing, and shoes for Noé's inhabitants. For example, in 1941, the AFSC provided meals for 1,200 of the sickest and neediest internees at Noé. These prisoners received a daily supplemental meal of 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of chickpeas, beans, rice, and so on, and between 3 and 5 grams (0.1 to 0.17 ounces) of oil. Onions and carrots in small quantities were added to the soup that was apportioned at one ladle per prisoner. In 1942, conditions, although difficult at Noé, were marginally better than at other camps in the prefecture largely because aid organizations helped camp officials locate food supplies. Officials also began permitting prisoners to receive food parcels.[19] Nevertheless, some of the poorest detainees remained entirely dependent on the camp and the aid organizations as their sole sources for food. The internees' food deficit was highlighted by the severe illness that many prisoners experienced after eating a "real meal" on Easter 1942.[20]

In the summer of 1942 the plan to turn over foreign Jewish refugees to the Germans triggered a flurry of responses from the religious community. On July 21, 1942, the Committee of Assistance to Refugees, which had been notified about the plan by the director of the General Union of French Jews, appealed immediately to the French Red Cross. In an effort to save these refugees, CAR suggested their reclassification as prisoners of war (POWs).[21] The archbishop of Toulouse, Monsignor Jules-Gérard Saliège, distributed a letter in protest against the deportations. It was sent throughout the region and read at churches on Sunday, August 23, 1942.[22] The archbishop argued that the Jews and foreigners of Noé and Récébédou were also men, women, and children—human beings. Lamenting the transport plan, he asked, "Should we treat children, women, and men as vile cattle? Should the same family be separated from one another and sent to destinations unknown?" In the address, he appealed to Christian morality and the "consciousness of respect for humanity."[23]

The actions by the clergy forced the regional government to reckon with its opposition, but it did not stop or alter implementation of the plan.[24] Although the government did not formally censure the archbishop, the prefecture ordered the police to "end the document's diffusion," arguing that "it should not be tolerated in any fashion, in any public venue or public locale."[25]

On August 24, 1942, 135 foreign Jewish refugees who were interned at Noé (and 165 from Récébédou), who had entered France after January 1, 1936, were rounded up, put into goods wagons under French guard, taken to the Demarcation Line to the Occupied Zone, and turned over to the German authorities.[26]

The camp at Noé remained in operation until after the Liberation, when it was used to hold indigent foreign refugees until 1947.[27]

SOURCES Éric Malo, *Le camp de Noé, 1941–1947* (Pau, France: Cairne, 2009) is the most extensive secondary work on the Noé camp, but Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps d'internment, 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002) and Christian Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deustchland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002), dedicate significant discussions to the camp. There are two pertinent articles published by Eric Malo, "Les archives de Noé," CR 110: 2 (1995): 291–305; and "Les camps de la région toulousaine, 1940–1944," in Jean Estèbe, ed., *Histoire des Juifs du Midi Toulousain au temps de Vichy* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1996), pp. 91–130. Eric Malo, "Le camp du Récébédou (Haute-Garonne), 1940–1942," *MJ* 153 (1995): 76–103, also includes information about Noé. Useful background information can be found in Shannon Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

An abundance of primary documentation exists about the Noé camp. Documentation at ADH-G covers the camp from its inception in 1941 until it closed in 1947: it consists of internees' dossiers; hospital and accounting records such as invoices and requisitions for medical, pharmaceutical, and other camp supplies; administrative correspondence; circulars pertinent to the camp's operations; death certificates; and a book of the dead. This material is available at USHMMA as RG-43.058M. AN, Police Générale, available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 14, provides a more concise view of life at Noé. These documents include surveillance data. UGIF supplies details about the aid requested and given to internees; it holds lists of Jewish detainees with demographic information and sporadic reports about the camp's conditions. These records give a more intimate portrait of Noé's population because they also include dozens of internees' letters. This documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-43.025M, reels 27–29. Similarly, AFSC furnishes documentation about visits, aid, and assistance provided to detainees at Noé, as well as some monthly and quarterly reports about the camp from 1941–1947; these documents are available at USHMMA as RG-67.007M. ADL-G, collections 1W299 and 1W300, available at USHMMA as RG-43.123M, includes important records and correspondence about the transport of foreign Jews from Noé and concomitant clerical reactions. The ITS holds a report on the Noé camp under 2.3.5.1, available in digital form at USHMM. Karl Schwesig, a German communist artist, wrote an early postwar unpublished manuscript titled "Pyreänbericht," which depicts several French camps, including Noé, where he was interned from 1941 to 1942. It can be found at USHMMA under Acc. No. 1988.5.

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NOTES

1. Letter, May 5, 1941, USHMMA (AFSC), RG-67.007M, Series II, Toulouse Office, Sub-series: Correspondence, box 32, folder 51.
2. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370980.
3. Letter, February 12, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 8, p. 1.
4. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82370978, 82370980.
5. Report, April 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, Series II Toulouse Office, Sub-series: Reports, box 25, folder 8, p. 3.

6. Letter, May 5, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 32, folder 51, p. 1.
7. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82370978, 82370980.
8. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. 82370380.
9. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folders 19a and 19b, Doc. Nos. 82370380, 82370978.
10. Ibid.; Report, February 10, 1943, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 10, p. 1.
11. USHMMA, RG-43.025M (UGIF), reel 27.
12. Letter, May 5, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 32, folder 51.
13. Ibid.
14. Letter, February 12, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 8, esp. pp. 1–2.
15. For examples, see letter, March 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M (ADH-G), reel 1, 1831 1; and letters July 7, 1942, and August 4, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14, fond 7.
16. USHMMA, RG-43.025M, reel 27.
17. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82370986; USHMMA, RG-43.025M, reels 27, 29.
18. Report, October 7, 1941, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 8, p. 2.
19. Report, April 14, 1942, USHMMA, RG-67.007M, box 25, folder 8, p. 2.
20. Ibid.
21. Letter, July 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M (ADL-G), 1W300, reel 7.
22. Letter from Msg. Jules-Gérard Saliège, USHMMA, RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300; also see letter, September 2, 1942, from the Préfecture Régionale de Toulouse, USHMMA, RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300.
23. Letter from Msg. Jules-Gérard Saliège, USHMMA, RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300.
24. Letters, September 2, 1942, and September 3, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300.
25. Letter, September 2, 1942, from the Préfecture Régionale de Toulouse, USHMMA, RG-43.123M, reel 7, 1W300.
26. Letter titled "Convoi de Héberges," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.058M, reel 1, 1831W3, p. 1.
27. "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," December 30, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. No. 82370381.

PARIS/LA PETITE ROQUETTE

La Petite Roquette prison was located on the Square de la Roquette in Paris, which is on the Rue de la Roquette. The prison's construction began in 1825 (it was completed in 1832), and it was modeled after Jeremy Bentham's panopticon.[1] During World War II, La Petite Roquette served as a women's prison and was chiefly run by the Sisters of Marie-Joseph; the art of France Hamelin, who survived La Petite Roquette as a political prisoner, emphasizes the constant watchfulness of the sisters over the inmates.[2]

Both common criminals and political prisoners were interned at La Petite Roquette. The common criminals could hope for release after they served their term. Those interned for their political beliefs had no such hope. For many of the political prisoners, La Petite Roquette was a way station on the road to another prison or camp, sometimes ending in the Ravensbrück concentration camp. Numerous political prisoners were transferred to the Tourelles concentration camp in the 20th arrondissement of Paris after a stint at La Petite Roquette.[3] However, for some, it was a last stop—the guillotine was used to execute prisoners there. Perhaps the best-known prisoner guillotined at La Petite Roquette was Marie-Louise Giraud, executed on July 30, 1943, for performing illegal abortions.[4]

Some demographic data are available on political prisoners in La Petite Roquette. The number of political prisoners entering the prison peaked at 356 in 1941, and 134 political prisoners entered the prison in 1944 before the Liberation. The majority of such prisoners were between 17 and 35 years old, and they were mainly industrial or service workers before their imprisonment.[5] A small number of Jewish women were also interned at La Petite Roquette, but usually only stayed there briefly before deportation to another internment site, such as Drancy; at least one group of Jewish prisoners was deported directly from La Petite Roquette to Auschwitz.[6]

The prisoners' diet was poor and meager, generally consisting of weak soup—sometimes with a small amount of cabbage or rutabaga—for lunch and dinner, in addition to half of a roll of moldy, rat-chewed bread. Prisoners' protests had little impact on their rations.[7] However, some were able to supplement their diet with food sent in care packages by family and friends, and prisoners who were expecting were entitled to supplementary rations from the fifth month of their pregnancy.[8]

Yvette Sémard, a communist political prisoner, wrote of her internment in La Petite Roquette in her memoir. After her initial arrest in Paris in February 1942, she was taken to La Petite Roquette. Sémard comments that the prison was terribly cold, food was limited, and sanitation was poor. She estimates that between 600 and 700 other prisoners were interned there at the time, including political prisoners, common criminals, at least one "Gypsy" (Roma) woman, and briefly, a handful of Jewish prisoners. Life was not wholly miserable there for Sémard, however; she writes that political prisoners found comfort in solidarity. They formed a chorus and produced a handwritten journal, *Ahead of Life* (*Au devant de la vie*), which was passed to contacts outside the prison who distributed it to other communists. According to Sémard, some of the nuns were also willing to do favors for prisoners in exchange for good behavior.[9]

Both Sémard and numerous other survivors of La Petite Roquette testify that relations between political and common-law prisoners were tense at best. The prison was overcrowded, and common-law prisoners were given priority access to beds, while political prisoners often slept on pallets on the floor. Given the nature of their convictions and their finite prison sentences, common criminals were often less than in-

terested in cooperating with political prisoners, who had no reason to expect to be released before the Liberation. Moreover, daily prayers and religious services were a point of contention: while common-law prisoners dutifully recited the Our Father and Hail Mary prayers when prompted by the nuns, communist prisoners remained stubbornly silent.[10]

Prisoners were deported from La Petite Roquette, particularly to the Fort de Romainville (a German-run transit camp just outside Paris), until just days before Paris was liberated. Some of the political prisoners were able to escape La Petite Roquette on August 17, 1944. Another prisoner, who was in the infirmary with a fever at the time, testified that the deputy director of the prison announced to the prisoners in the infirmary on August 17 that they were free.[11]

SOURCES Secondary sources with information on La Petite Roquette are Colin Roust, "Communal Singing as Political Act: A Chorus of Women Resistants in La Petite Roquette, 1943–1944," *MaP* 7: 2 (Summer 2013): 1–19; J. Janicki, "L'enfermement des faiseuses d'anges à la prison de la Petite Roquette à Paris," *DO* 418 (2012): 33–36; and Mireille Le Maguet, *Une "faiseuse d'anges" sous Vichy: Le cas Marie-Louise Goiraud* (Saint-Martin-d'Hères, France: IEP, 1996).

Primary sources documenting La Petite Roquette can be found in Yvette Sémard's published memoir, *En souvenir de l'avenir: au jour le jour dans les camps de Vichy, 1942–1944: La Petite Roquette, les camps des Tourelles, d'Aincourt, de Gaillon, de La Lande et de Mérignac* (Montreuil sous Bois: L'Arbre Verdoyant, 1991); and in these sources by France Hamelin: *Femmes dans la nuit: L'internement à la petite Roquette et au camp des Tourelles, 1939–1944* (Paris: Phénix Éditions, 2001); *Femmes en prison dans la nuit noire de l'occupation: Le Dépôt, la petite Roquette, le camp des Tourelles* (Paris: Éditions Tirésias, 2004); *Dessins et peintures de prison: Exposition présentée au musée de la Résistance nationale du 21 novembre 2001 au 8 janvier 2002* (Champigny-sur-Marne, France: Musée de la Résistance nationale, 2001); *Les crayons de couleur* (Paris: Éditions à la carte, 1998); "La Montie aux Cellules," USHMMPA, WS #28021; and "L'heure de la Lecture," USHMMPA, WS #28029. There are also five interviews in VHA documenting La Petite Roquette: Ursula Katzenstein, April 2, 1996 (#13125); Geneviève Leider, February 19, 1996 (#9861); Marcelle Minkowski, November 3, 1996 (#22226); Esther Szerer, May 9, 1997 (#31367); and Fanny Wegliszewski, November 8, 1995 (#5689).

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NOTES

1. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, p. 137.
2. "La Montie aux Cellules" by France Hamelin, USHMMPA, WS #28021 (Courtesy of France Hamelin); "L'heure de la Lecture" by France Hamelin, USHMMPA, WS #28029 (Courtesy of France Hamelin).
3. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, p. 247.
4. Ibid., pp. 16, 146, 177–178.
5. "Tableau des entrées et détenues politiques à la Petite Roquette," Annexe 8; "Graphiques indiquant le nombre de femmes, détenues politiques, arrêtées entre 1939 et 1944, par âge et par catégorie socio-professionnelle," Annexe 9, Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 376–380.
6. VHA #13125, Ursula Katzenstein testimony, April 2, 1996; VHA #22226, Marcelle Minkowski testimony, November 3, 1996; VHA #5689, Fanny Wegliszewski testimony, November 8, 1995; "Liste date du 18 Juin 1942 des premières femmes deportees à destination d'Auschwitz (convoy du 22 Juin)," Annexe 1, Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 358–362.
7. Odette Reglait-Dugué, quoted in Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, p. 195.
8. "Le défilé des femmes enceintes," unsigned, 1943, Hamelin, *Dessins et peintures de la prison*, p. 15.
9. Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir*, pp. 13–25.
10. Madelein Zanier, Jackye Brun, and France Hamelin, quoted in Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 183–184.
11. Gisèle Robert and Marie-Louise Kergourlay, quoted in ibid., pp. 238–241; Lucie Gratadoux, quoted in ibid., pp. 242–243.

PARIS/TOURELLES

The confinement center, Tourelles barracks (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé Caserne des Tourelles*, CSS), which comprised three main barracks and several outbuildings, was a concentration camp located on 141 Mortier Boulevard in the 20th arrondissement of Paris. Originally a barracks for colonial infantry, it was adapted first to hold refugees and later to house both male and female prisoners, as well as prisoners of war (POWs), during the Occupation.[1]

In France Hamelin's memoir, she and other survivors of Tourelles—all female political prisoners—recall their confinement there. Hamelin writes that a large number of such prisoners were interned first at La Petite Roquette (Paris) before their transfer to Tourelles, and they shared many of the same experiences. Compared to the sense of constant observation in La Petite Roquette, a panopticon prison, the inmates at Tourelles had a slightly greater degree of freedom. Tourelles also held a wider variety of prisoners: "Jews, 'friends of Jews,' detained persons of all sorts, 'common law' prisoners and 'politicals,' that is to say resisters, wives of resisters, friends, accomplices of resisters, suspects of all categories."[2] There was also a substantial population of Republican refugees from the Spanish Civil War interned at Tourelles, as well as smaller numbers of Greek, Portuguese, Italian, Luxembourger, Russian, Armenian, British, and other prisoners.[3]

Yvette Sémard, imprisoned for her political beliefs, arrived in Tourelles at the end of March 1942; like Hamelin and many other women, she was previously imprisoned at La Petite Roquette and found life at Tourelles somewhat easier. In Sémard's memoir, she describes daily life at Tourelles in great detail. A vigorous black market flourished during religious services on Sundays. Prisoners kept themselves busy with exercise, organized courses and lectures, and knitted. Non-Jewish political prisoners formed a chorus and performed songs by the exiled German communist composer Hanns Eisler, along with other patriotic and revolutionary songs. Survivors of Tourelles also recall that the Spanish prisoners frequently sang together, and one of Hamelin's drawings from Tourelles depicts a flamenco

Sketch of a courtyard in the confinement center at Tourelles barracks, Paris, by Felix Pastor, circa 1940.
USHMM WS #73582, COURTESY OF THE FEDERATION NATIONALE DES DEPORTES ET INTERNES RESISTANTS ET PATRIOTES.

performance by Spanish prisoners in December 1943.[4] For Jewish prisoners, life was far more perilous; Sémard recounts the brutality with which Jewish prisoners at Tourelles were rounded up and deported from the camp (possibly to Drancy).[5]

Although the day-to-day operations of Tourelles were managed by French gendarmes under a lieutenant, Hamelin states that "the masters" were Germans operating under Gestapo orders, overseeing the camp from a building across the street. She recalls that SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker directed the first major deportations of Jews from Tourelles in June 1942.[6] Another former inmate testified that some detainees aided French officials in running the camp.[7]

Documentary evidence bears out these prisoners' memories: French authorities probably had more influence on Tourelles' everyday operations and had more contact with inmates than the Germans. Meanwhile, the German authorities occasionally issued orders that groups of Tourelles prisoners be placed at their disposition (most likely for labor), and they conducted some deportations, particularly of Jewish prisoners. Prisoners were deported from Tourelles to both French- and German-run camps. One good example of this dual administration is the case of Maurice Bonfils: he was originally detained for allegedly compromising national security, sentenced to six months' imprisonment, freed, and then rearrested in the spring of 1944 under German orders and temporarily interned at Tourelles before a planned transfer to German control. In May or June 1944, he petitioned the French General Secretary for the Maintenance of Order for his freedom, and his request was subsequently forwarded through a wide variety of both French and German offices. When it became apparent that the German authorities would not grant his release, Bonfils, in apparent desperation, wrote letters to Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain and the Interior Minister asking them to intercede on his behalf. It is unclear whether his request was granted, but the case of Bonfils gives a sense of the complexities of the chain of command at Tourelles.[8]

Under orders from the Ministries of State and Interior, the director of Tourelles prepared reports on the camp's operations either every month or every two months. Such reports exist from at least as early as June 1942 through May 1944. The numbers of prisoners fluctuated widely, depending on the rates of deportations to and from the camp, and there was a significant amount of turnover: one report from September 30, 1943, gives the total population as 342, but by early May 1944, deportations to other camps had reduced that number to 245 (167 men and 78 women).[9] Although some reports state that a proportionally large number of prisoners were "liberated" each month, closer examination reveals that Jewish prisoners transferred to German control made up the majority of this figure. For example, in June 1942, 86 prisoners were reported liberated; of those, 66 were "Jewish women taken by the [German] Authorities."[10] Some Jewish prisoners from Tourelles were sent to Auschwitz on the same transports as Jews imprisoned in Drancy.[11]

Based on the records of the Prefecture of Police in Paris, escapes were a grave problem at Tourelles, particularly from late 1943 onward. Numerous inmates escaped from the Tenon Hospital, where more seriously ill prisoners were taken for treatment. Punishments for escapes generally involved a temporary suspension of visitation rights or parcel delivery to the remaining prisoners.[12] Tourelles's gendarmes appear to have been complicit in some escapes, and camp authorities reacted by supplementing the gendarmes with armed militiamen in early 1944.[13]

Deportations from Tourelles continued until July 27, 1944. As a result, Hamelin writes that the mood in Tourelles in August 1944 was one of "extreme tension" and near-chaos. Although the French prefect of police ordered that political prisoners be freed, German authorities remained in the city, so the liberation of such prisoners from Tourelles was conducted clandestinely, in small groups, on August 17, 1944.[14] It is unclear if or when the remaining common-law prisoners were freed or if any Jewish prisoners remained in the camp at the time of the Liberation.

SOURCES A secondary source with information about Tourelles is Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary sources documenting Tourelles includes AD-E-L, collections 1W1613; 20W282; 106W13–106W50; 106W56, 53–54, and 69–72; 106W58, 3–135, 302, 304, 306, and 314; 106W63, 165–168, 179–185, and 246–249; 106W65, 37–38; and 106W76, 27–29, 38–40—all available at USHMMA as RG-43.108M. Documentation can also be found in APPP, collection GB/14, available at USHMMA as RG-43.030M, reel 8. CNI cards for some prisoners interned at Tourelles can be found in ITS, 0.1, available digitally at USHMMA. Other ITS records on Tourelles can be found in 1.1.0.6 (Documents/correspondence on persecution/detention sites), Bulletin from the Ministère des Prisonniers de Guerre Déportés et Réfugiés, February 24, 1945 to April 15, 1946, Doc. No. 82329559; multiple documents under 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco), including Brief an die Polizei-Pröfektur [*sic*] Paris, z.Hd. Herrn Direktor Tullard, July 15, 1942, Doc. No. 82197871; Aktenhaltung im Reich, July 1, 1944, Doc.

No. 82198227; Polizeipräfektur Paris (an den Kommandanten der Militärverwaltung), Paris, June 17 to 22, 1941, Doc. Nos. 82199002–82199010; 2.3.5.1 (Belgian catalogue on concentration and forced labor camps in Germany and on German-occupied territory), Rapport Définitif No. 31, Camps de France, December 30, 1951, Doc. Nos. 82370409 and 82370721. USHMMPA holds several images of La Tourelle: "Sketch of a courtyard in La Tourelle by Felix Pastor," WS #73582; "Sketch of room No. 10 for Spanish political prisoners in La Tourelle by Felix Pastor, WS #73583; and "A Room in the Barracks by Felix Pastor," WS #73589 (Courtesy of FNDIRP); "Chambre 113" by France Hamelin, WS #28014; "Noel '43. Le Flamenco," by France Hamelin, WS #28031; and "L'hiver, La Nuit, Les Barbelis," by France Hamelin, WS #28034 (Courtesy of France Hamelin). Published primary sources are Yvette Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir: au jour le jour dans les camps de Vichy, 1942–1944: La Petite Roquette, les camps des Tourelles, d'Aincourt, de Gaillon, de La Lande et de Mérignac* (Montreuil sous Bois, France: L'Arbre Verdoyant, 1991); and the following works by France Hamelin: *Femmes dans la nuit: L'internement à la petite Roquette et au camp des Tourelles, 1939–1944* (Paris: Phénix Éditions, 2001); *Femmes en prison dans la nuit noire de l'occupation: Le Dépôt, la petite Roquette, le camp des Tourelles* (Paris: Éditions Tirésias, 2004); *Dessins et peintures de prison: Exposition présentée au musée de la Résistance nationale du 21 novembre 2001 au 8 janvier 2002* (Champigny-sur-Marne: Musée de la Résistance nationale, 2001); and *Les crayons de couleur* (Paris: Éditions à la carte, 1998).

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NOTES

1. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, p. 19.
2. Ibid., p. 248.
3. "État de 43 étrangers, pouvant être transférés en province, d'accord avec les Renseignements Généraux," APPP, collection GB/14, Côte B[a] 1836, n.p.
4. Ibid., pp. 298–299; Hamelin, *Dessins et peintures de prison*, pp. 36–37.
5. Sémard, *En souvenir de l'avenir*, pp. 27–38.
6. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 247–249, 297.
7. Claudette Bloch-Kennedy, quoted in ibid., p. 249.
8. Assorted correspondence, RG-43.016M, reel 5, n.p.
9. "Effectif du personnel administrative; Effectif du personnel de garde et d'[illegible]; Effectif des internés," and "Le Commissaire Divisionnaire Chef du Camp, à Monsieur le Directeur de la Police Générale," ibid.
10. "Rapport pour le mois de juin 1942," ibid.
11. ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco), Brief an die Polizei-Pröfektur Paris, z.Hd. Herrn Direktor Tullard, July 15, 1942, Doc. No. 82197871.
12. APPP, collection GB/14, Côte B[a] 1836, n.p.
13. Hamelin, *Femmes dans la nuit*, pp. 315–316.
14. Ibid., pp. 317–318, 372–373.

PERPIGNAN

The Saint-Louis Hospital (*Hôpital Saint-Louis*) was located in the city of Perpignan, the administrative center of the Pyrénées-Orientales Département in southwestern France. Perpignan is 156 kilometers (97 miles) southeast of Toulouse and almost 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of Rivesaltes. During its existence, the hospital treated a sizable population of prisoners from nearby camps such as Rivesaltes, Saint-Cyprien, Barcarès, and Argelès (all located in the Pyrénées-Orientales Département), as well as from other smaller camps in the region.

In February 1939, the Public Health Ministry began to use a former military hospital in Perpignan as a center for the evacuation and triage of volunteers from the International Brigades (Interbrigades) sent back from Spain.[1] By March 1939, the facility became a hospital center for Spanish refugees, eventually providing a range of medical services, including treatment for tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, acute and parasitic ailments, and malnutrition; minor surgery was also performed there. Specialists in ophthalmology, otorhinolaryngology, radiology, and dentistry were also brought to the hospital to provide service there and at nearby camps.[2] There were 880 beds in the facility. Through 1939, the daily number of patients in the hospital averaged more than 800.[3]

Prisoners from the nearby camps were only sent to the hospital if they were either gravely ill or contagious, although any sick members of foreign worker groups (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs) based in the area were also sent there. Over time, patients of other types (indigent foreigners, "undesirables") were also admitted.[4] The reason for this policy was that the daily cost of care in the facility was less than half of what it would have been in a municipal hospital.[5]

In May 1940, the hospital's operations were moved to a different location, and the former military hospital was designated as an auxiliary facility. The new location was in a group of buildings that included the Lamartine School (*École Lamartine*), an elementary school with 600 pupils.[6] The hospital was set up in a former boarding facility called Saint-Louis and therefore was named Hôpital Saint-Louis. The buildings in which it was housed were described as run down and completely unequipped, "worse than medieval."[7]

The facilities at the new location contained approximately 470 beds: 250 for those with tuberculosis, 100 for minor surgery, and the remaining 120 for general medicine.[8] The paid French staff included a head doctor, 2 additional doctors, 4 administrators, and 14 nurses. There were also five doctors and two pharmacists who were foreign volunteers. In addition, a number of specialists were engaged as needed from the city of Perpignan. Among the nonmedical staff were workers, mostly Spanish, from GTEs affiliated with Rivesaltes. They were food service workers, electricians, hairstylists, shopkeepers, laundry workers, secretaries, and orderlies. The local police provided three guards on a rotating shift.[9]

In October 1940, the regional director of education lodged a complaint with the mayor of Perpignan regarding the condition of the hospital and the hazards it posed to the children who went to the school on the same grounds. The director noted in particular the strong medicinal odor, smoke from the laundry, patients' spitting onto the walkways used by the pupils, and, worst of all, cadavers in the hospital morgue that had

been set up in a former chapel and that could be seen through its broken windows.[10] In the same month the hospital was affected by a flood, which caused considerable damage to the facilities and substantial loss of materials and supplies, including foodstuffs.[11] In early 1941 the health director made an urgent proposal to the prefect that the hospital be moved from Saint-Louis back to the former military facility. The recommendation was that Saint-Louis be retained as an auxiliary facility, to be used in the event of overflow.[12] The proposal was reiterated in May 1941 in a letter from the Vichy Interior Ministry to the Secretary of State for Family and Health, but was not acted on and the hospital remained at Saint-Louis.[13] In the autumn of 1941, the number of prisoners in the hospital ranged between 491 and 595 people.

In September 1942, a member of the Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE) observed that the conditions in the hospital "from the standpoint of supplies" were "equal if not worse than at Rivesaltes."[14] One prisoner in the hospital, Heinrich Wildmann, observed in a series of letters to his children that milk was in short supply and that eggs were a "mirage."[15] He wrote of being able to buy some items of food from time to time, but noted how often a meal consisted of only soup, which was often provided by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).[16]

After its establishment by the Public Health Ministry, Hôpital Saint-Louis was successively managed by different governmental bodies. When the Interior Ministry took over the management of certain camps including Rivesaltes at the end of 1940, Hôpital Saint-Louis fell under its purview. On February 1, 1941, the prefect transferred the management of the hospital to the administrators of the camp at Rivesaltes, who then ran the hospital and directed its personnel until the end of 1942. At that time the hospital's staff was absorbed by another hospital, Hôpital Saint-Jean. The administration of Rivesaltes sent tubercular detainees to the camp in the sanatorium at Guiche (Pyrénées-Atlantiques), and others were sent to convalesce for periods of up to a month in various facilities in Montpellier (Hérault) before ostensibly being returned to Rivesaltes. It is unclear when the last detainee left Saint-Louis, but it appears to have been sometime in the latter part of 1943, based on Heinrich Wildmann's letters.[17]

SOURCES A principal secondary source of information on the Saint-Louis Hospital in Perpignan is Anne Boitel, *Le Camp de Rivesaltes 1941–1942: Du centre d'hébergement au "Drancy de la zone libre"* (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan/ Mare Nostrum, 2001), which treats the hospital as an "annex" of the Rivesaltes camp.

Primary documentation on the Saint-Louis Hospital in Perpignan can be found in AD-P-O under classification 38W176. A portion of this material is held on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.036M. Heinrich Wildmann's observations about life as a prisoner in the hospital are contained in the Manfred Wildmann family letters in USHMMA under 1998.A.037.

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Interieur to Secrétiaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M (AD-P-O), reel 3, 38W176, pp. 2736–2739 (USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, pp. 2736–2739).
2. P/Pyrénées-Orientales to Ministre de la Santé Publique, July 23, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, pp. 2706–2707.
3. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to Secrétaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941.
4. Ibid.
5. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, April 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, p. 2648.
6. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 9, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, pp. 2633–2636.
7. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to Secrétaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941; quotation from Boitel, *Le Camp de Rivesaltes 1941–1942*, p. 47.
8. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to Secrétaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941.
9. Ibid.
10. Inspecteur d'Académie to Maire/Perpignan, October 15, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, p. 2697.
11. Gestionnaire/Ancien Hôpital Saint-Louis de Perpignan to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, October 26, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, p. 2749; "Liste du matériel à sortir des comptes par suite de destruction ou disparition," October 17, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.036M/3/38W176, pp. 2740–2745.
12. Médecin-Inspecteur de la Santé to P/Pyrénées-Orientales, January 9, 1941, p. 2633.
13. Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur to Secrétaire d'État à la Famille et à la Santé, May 26, 1941.
14. Quotation from Boitel, *Le Camp de Rivesaltes 1941–1942*, p. 47.
15. Quotation from Wildmann Letter #48 (Heinrich to Lore and Manfred), September 22, 1942, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 8, pp. 256–257.
16. Wildmann Letter #19 (Heinrich to Manfred), April 22, 1942, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 3, pp. 104–105.
17. Wildmann Letter #55 (Heinrich to Lore and Manfred), November 2, 1943, USHMMA, 1998.A.037, folder 9, pp. 294–295.

PITHIVIERS

Pithiviers (Loiret Département) was a concentration camp located in the town of Pithiviers, 37 kilometers (23 miles) northeast of Orléans. It was closely associated with the camp at Beaune-la-Rolande, almost 18 kilometers (11 miles) southeast of Pithiviers. Both camps cooperated closely in the concentration and deportation of foreign-born Jews (and some French-born Jews) from France. In total, more than 18,000 Jews were interned at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande between 1941 and 1943. The vast majority left the camps on transports to Auschwitz.

Before the German authorities began deportations from Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande in May 1942, both camps were administered through the office of the Loiret prefect. Pithiviers was originally built by the French in anticipation of holding German prisoners of war (POWs). Before the Fall of France in June 1940, Pithiviers was a refugee camp; afterward, it held French POWs.[1] The first Jewish prisoners—foreign-born Jewish men living in the Paris Prefecture—arrived at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande on May 14, 1941. They had received "green tickets" (*billets verts*) the night before, instructing them to report for an "examination of their situation"; the more than 3,700 men who reported were immediately arrested and taken by train from the Austerlitz rail station (*Gare d'Austerlitz*) to one of the two camps. Of this number, 1,570 were interned in Pithiviers and were registered on arrival by French gendarmes, who also guarded the camp.[2] The vast majority of the prisoners were Polish by nationality.[3]

The camp consisted of 19 barracks, with additional buildings holding an infirmary, canteen, kitchen, workshops, and toilets; on the east side of the camp was a large vegetable garden, and the entire camp was surrounded by high fencing and guard posts. It was located less than 500 meters (one third of a mile) from the town, and prisoners arriving at the train station had to march through the town to enter the camp.[4]

Although Pithiviers was under French control for the first year of its existence, survivors testify that the SS exercised some supervisory control and made regular visits to inspect the camp during that time; the first such inspection took place at the end of June 1941 and resulted in the removal of the camp's head doctor, a French doctor from the town, who was evidently judged to be too sympathetic to the prisoners' plight. He was replaced by a "fascist" doctor who followed "all the instructions from Orléans," the prefectural seat.[5]

While in Pithiviers, prisoners performed forced labor both inside the camp, in its workshops and vegetable garden, and outside—at local farms and at the sugar refinery and malting plant in the village. Some of those who worked outside the camp, particularly those at the sugar refinery and malting plant, were paid for their work.[6] The camp infirmary was also staffed by inmates—14 Jewish doctors, plus a handful of medical students, nurses, and dentists—under the leadership of a non-Jewish chief doctor. Within days of their arrival, these Jewish doctors took the initiative to create a basic infirmary; in addition to treating prisoners, they were responsible for requesting that the most seriously ill be hospitalized or freed, for performing dental extractions, and for caring for the general hygiene of the prisoners and in the barracks.[7] Prisoners were still able to maintain some semblance of Jewish life: they held Shabbat services and recognized the major holidays at least.[8] Interned musicians and actors performed in the camp orchestra, choir, and theater, and there was a 300-volume library available.[9]

Prisoners at Pithiviers found ways to resist the French authorities both openly and clandestinely. The leaders of individual barracks represented the prisoners' concerns (for example, advocating for better food and more access to care packages) when interacting with the camp's directors. They also maintained contact with prisoners secretly working in cooperation with the Jewish Union for Resistance and Mutual Aid (*Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'Entr'aide*, UJRE) in Paris, to distribute handwritten Yiddish-language tracts and newspapers.[10] Prisoners' wives participated in resistance by throwing care packages over the camp's barbed-wire fence. Other prisoners resisted by refusing to participate in forced labor, and interned veterans organized a revolt in June 1941, although the organizers of the revolt were subsequently transferred to camps near Châteaubriant, most likely Choisel. Some prisoners escaped, chiefly during the summer of 1941. The camp authorities punished resistance by banning mail and temporarily confining particularly uncooperative inmates in prison.[11]

Sources disagree on when the German authorities, under orders from SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker, took over operations at Pithiviers. Although convoy lists state that the first transport left Pithiviers for Auschwitz on June 25, 1942, prisoners' diaries and ITS records indicate that German control of Pithiviers began as early as May 8 of that year.[12]

SOURCES Many secondary sources on Pithiviers focus on the memorializing of its victims; as such, they frequently include reproductions of primary sources (such as letters, photographs, and documents) alongside information on the camp. Perhaps the earliest secondary source on Pithiviers is of this type: Amicale des Anciens Déportés Juifs de France, *Ce fut le commencement . . . le 14 mai 1941: Pithiviers et Beaune-la Rolande/Azoy hot zikh es ongehoybn . . . dem 14tn may 1941* (Paris: SIPN, 1951), a Franco-Yiddish book. Other secondary sources with information on Pithiviers while it was under French control, many of which feature at least a small number of primary sources, include I. Bachelier and D. Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret: histoire et mémoire, 1941–1943* (Orléans: Centre de recherche et de documentation sur les camps d'internement et la déportation juive dans le Loiret, 1993); David Diamant, *Le Billet Vert: La vie et la résistance à Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande, camps pour juifs, camps pour chrétiens, camps pour patriotes* (Paris: Éditions Renouveau, 1977); Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz: La "solution finale" de la question juive en France* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 2001); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Extensive primary documentation on Pithiviers can be found in USHMMA. Materials include the Joel Kaye collection (Acc. No. 2000.537) and the Jack Isaac Groner collection (Acc. No. 2012.231.1), among other personal collections; 44 names sources, which include inmate/prisoner lists, transport lists, and a death list; 40 oral history interviews that mention or discuss Pithiviers; and a wide variety of archival sources, notably Selected Records from Fonds Diamant (CDJC, collections CMXXVIII–CMXLII), available at USHMMA as RG-43.082M, reel 8; and AN, Police Générale, available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 14. During Session 32 of the Eichmann trial, George Wellers testified and presented documents about Pithiviers as evidence against Adolf Eichmann; film of the trial may be found in USHMMA. Prisoners created a Yiddish-language newspaper, *Pitivye: konts-lager tsaytung* (sometimes transliterated as *Pitiwye: qonz-lager zaytung*),

available online through the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Published primary sources on Pithiviers include Benjamin Schatzman, Serge Klarsfeld, et al., *Journal d'un interne: Compiègne, Drancy, Pithiviers: 12 décembre 1941–23 septembre 1942. Volume 1, Journal* (Paris: Le Manuscrit: Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah, 2005); Moshe Garbarz and Elie Garbarz, *A Survivor* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992); Isaac Schonberg, *Lettres à Chana: Camp de Pithiviers, mai 1941–24 juin 1942* (Orléans: CERCIL, 1995); and Kalma Apfelbaum, *Lettres d'un interné au camp de Pithiviers*, trans. Gérard Frydman (Paris: Belin; Orléans: CERCIL, 2005). Roughly 70 photographs and other images of Pithiviers can be found in USHMMPA. CNI cards for some prisoners interned at Pithiviers can be found in ITS, 0.1, available digitally at USHMMA. A large number of ITS records on Pithiviers can be found in 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco); and 2.3.5.1 (Belgian catalogue on concentration and forced labor camps in Germany and on German-occupied territory), as well as numerous other ITS sources.

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NOTES

1. "Exposition du 15 mai 1983 sur le camp d'internément de Pithiviers," May 15, 1983, USHMMA, RG-43.082M (CDJC, Diamant), reel 8, p. 2.
2. "French 'gendarmes' register prisoners arriving at Pithiviers," 1941, USHMMPA, WS #19003 (Courtesy of FNDIRP); "A French policeman stands guard over Jewish prisoners in Pithiviers," May 16, 1941, USHMMPA, WS #55634 (Courtesy of Süddeutscher Verlag Bilderdienst).
3. Le Préfet Inspecteur General des camps et centres d'internément du territoire à Monsieur le Ministre Secrétaire d'état à l'intérieur et Secretariat Général pour la police à cabinet, February 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14, p. 4.
4. "Plan du camp de Pithiviers" and "Vue générale du camp de Pithiviers (5 hectares)," reproduced in Bachelier and Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret*, p. 36; "Jews arrested in Paris march through the town of Pithiviers while en route to the internment camp," 1941, USHMMPA, WS #78891 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld).
5. David Diamant, "Témoignage sur l'infirmerie du camp," June 1957, RG-43.082M, reel 8, n.p.
6. "Prisoners from Pithiviers at forced labor on the Solange farm," 1941–1944, USHMMPA, WS #22808 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld); "Group portrait of Jewish prisoners at the Matelotte farm, an annex of the Pithiviers internment camp," April 1942, USHMMPA, WS #97457 (Courtesy of CDJC); "Jewish cobblers at work in the Pithiviers transit camp," 1941–1943, USHMMPA, WS #22812 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld); and "Le Préfet Inspecteur General," p. 27.
7. "L'infirmerie au camp de Pithiviers," n.d.; and Diamant, "Témoignage sur l'infirmerie du camp," both in RG-43.082M, reel 8, n.p.
8. "Jewish prisoners at Shabbat religious services in the Pithiviers transit camp," 1941, USHMMPA, WS #78890 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld); Apfelbaum, *Lettres d'un interné*, p. 36.
9. "Group portrait of the Pithiviers camp orchestra," August 1941–June 24,1942, USHMMPA, WS #45454 (Courtesy of CDJC); "Members of the choir in Pithiviers, among whom is the conductor Mendel Zemelman," April 1942, USHMMPA, WS #06805 (Courtesy of Henry Bulawko); "The prisoners' library in Pithiviers," 1941–1943, USHMMPA, WS #22811 (Courtesy of Serge Klarsfeld); "Dernière Répresentation" (poster advertising a theatrical and choral performance), November 16, 1941, RG-43.082M, reel 8, n.p.; and "Le Préfet Inspecteur General," p. 30.
10. "Exposition du 15 mai 1983 sur le camp d'internément de Pithiviers," RG-43.082M, reel 8, p. 3.
11. "Note de service," July 20, 1941, "Punitions," May 11, 1942, and "Note," July 28, 1941, reproduced in Bachelier and Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret*, pp. 41–42.
12. "Dernière letter de Daniel Finkielsztein," May 24, 1942, RG-43.082M, reel 8, pp. 1–5; Apfelbaum, *Lettres d'un interne*, pp. 142, 147, 154; Serge Klarsfeld, "Liste chronologique des convoys," in Bachelier and Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret*, p. 55; ITS, 1.2.6.2 (Verschiedenes), ZdL, "Frankreich," n.d., Doc. No. 82484958.

PITHIVIERS (CSS)

Pithiviers (Loiret Département) was a concentration camp located in the Pithiviers commune, 37 kilometers (23 miles) northeast of Orléans. It was closely associated with the camp at Beaune-la-Rolande (almost 18 kilometers or 11 miles southeast of Pithiviers); together, they played a prominent role in the concentration and deportation of foreign-born Jews (and some French-born Jews) from France. For Pithiviers' first year of operations, from May 1941 until May 1942, it was operated by French gendarmes under the administrative supervision of the Loiret prefect (see the previous Pithiviers essay). In May 1942, under orders from SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Dannecker and with the cooperation of French officials, Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande came under German control. By September 1942, at least 6,080 prisoners had been deported from Pithiviers to Auschwitz.[1]

The deportations, which ended in late September 1942, almost emptied Pithiviers. The camp reverted to French control under M. Prévôt, the prefect, and became a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) primarily for non-Jewish communist prisoners.[2] Although CSS Pithiviers is less well documented than the previous periods of its existence, some sources exist. The confidential report of February 1943 by Robert Lebègue, Inspector General of Camps and Internment Centers (*Inspection Générale des Camps*, IGC), is useful for its descriptions of the camp, even though it is heavily colored by its author's personal opinions. Lebègue inspected the camp on January 23, 1943, and copies of his report were sent to nine different offices, including the General Secretary of the Police (Cabinet) and the Interior Ministry.

Lebègue reported that, at the time of his visit, Pithiviers held 1,085 prisoners, all male, although it had a capacity of 2,050. Most of the inmates were French political prisoners, but some were foreign born. He indicated that the camp's buildings were in good condition, but also made vague reference to "land clearing" that had to be done after the Germans took control of the camp. A former French artillery lieutenant di-

rected Pithiviers, and gendarmes guarded the prisoners; one prisoner represented his fellow internees to the camp administration. As during previous phases of Pithiviers' existence, hygiene was a problem; Lebégue claims that the chief problem was finding and retaining a camp doctor, yet it is also clear that some contagious illnesses, including tuberculosis, were common.[3]

Lebègue leveled numerous criticisms at Pithiviers' administrative structure. He stated that its director, M. Bouchard, was also in charge of Beaune-la-Rolande. However, the two camps had different classifications: Pithiviers was a camp of the "3rd category," meaning that it held prisoners arrested under orders of both French and German authorities (even though it was under French administration), whereas Beaune-la-Roland and nearby Jargeau were camps of the "1st category, at the demand of the occupation authorities." Pithiviers' classification meant that its finances, along with those of camps of the "2nd category," were controlled by the Interior Ministry, unlike "1st category" camps, whose finances were under German supervision. Such divisions in responsibility rendered administration of the Loiret camps significantly more difficult, Lebègue wrote. He also criticized the police inspectors assigned to Pithiviers, arguing that they should attend more carefully to inmate conditions and relate their observations to the camp director and the prefect, particularly when making recommendations that certain inmates should be released or punished. Other targets of Lebégue's critique included the guards' exhaustion, their outdated weapons, and tense relations with the German police. Nonetheless, he noted that escapes had not been recorded since October 1942, while they had been "extremely numerous when the camp harbored Jews."[4] This last observation was incorrect: although no escapes were recorded under German administration, many escapes occurred during Pithiviers' first year of existence.

Little documentation exists on prisoner experiences at CSS Pithiviers. Both Lebègue's report and camp records indicate that prisoners worked, both inside the camp and in businesses nearby, and at least some received salaries. Writing in early 1943, Lebégue claimed that the prisoners were reasonably well fed with potatoes, fresh and dried vegetables, and baked goods, but it seems that these conditions did not last.[5] A report from October 1943 stated that the prisoners' diet was of exceptionally poor quality: it mostly consisted of dried vegetables, which caused "serious digestive troubles."[6]

One of the few available sources from an inmate's perspective is David Diamant (David Erlich)'s 1976 interview with Philibert Boyer, a former political prisoner at Pithiviers. Boyer arrived in Pithiviers in November 1943 on a transport of 400 prisoners from the Voves camp. At Pithiviers, he found that, in sharp contrast to other camps for political prisoners, there was little organized resistance. Georges Beaugrand, a former high-ranking member of the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*, PCF), was the de facto leader of Pithiviers' prisoners (probably the same prisoner leader Lebègue mentioned in his report). Boyer accused Beaugrand of close collaboration with Vichy authorities and of leading other prisoners into collaboration. However, Boyer also indicated that prisoners from Voves used what they had learned from the Resistance there to conduct similar activities at Pithiviers. Political solidarity was reinforced through theater, education, and sport, creating what Boyer calls a "barracks family" that shared care packages and other supplies with one another. A camp newspaper was distributed that reported "the successes won by the Soviet Army" in order to keep up prisoners' spirits.[7] The camp's administration did not look kindly on these displays of resistance and, according to Boyer, attempted to foster divisions between the prisoners. Nonetheless, inmates successfully organized an escape in March 1944 by building an 18-meter (60-foot) tunnel leading from the camp canteen out of the camp; 10 inmates, including Boyer, escaped and rejoined the Resistance in Paris.[8]

In the summer of 1944, Pithiviers came under Allied bombardments, some of which killed and injured prisoners and guards and damaged or destroyed buildings, including the infirmary.[9] The camp was liberated on August 9, 1944.[10]

SOURCES There are few primary or secondary sources on CSS Pithiviers after October 1942. I. Bachelier and D. Bastidon's *Les camps d'internement du Loiret: histoire et mémoire, 1941–1943* (Orléans: Centre de recherche et de documentation sur les camps d'internement et la déportation juive dans le Loiret, 1993) briefly examines CSS Pithiviers; as does Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). David Diamant treats it in more detail in *Le Billet Vert: La vie et la résistance à Pithiviers et Beaune-la-Rolande, camps pour juifs, camps pour chrétiens, camps pour patriotes* (Paris: Éditions Renouveau, 1977).

Primary documentation on CSS Pithiviers can be found in USHMMA, including RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14; RG-43.080M, Selected records of Lucien Lublin related to resistance (CDJC, collection CMXXI), reel 2; and RG-43.082M, Selected records from Fonds Diamant (CDJC, collections CMXXVIII-CMXLII), reel 8.

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NOTES

1. Serge Klarsfeld, "Liste chronologique des convoys," quoted in Bachelier and Bastidon, *Les camps d'internement du Loiret*, p. 55. A discussion of Pithiviers under German administration will appear in a later volume of this encyclopedia.
2. Rapport de M. Robert Lebègue, Chargé de l'IGC, sur le camp de Pithiviers (Loiret), February 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 14, p. 2.
3. Ibid., pp. 1, 5, 7, 11–12.
4. Ibid., pp. 2–5.
5. Le Secrétaire Général au Maintien de l'Ordre, DGPN, à Monsieur le Préfet du Loiret, May 24, 1944, RG-43.016M, reel 14, n.p.; Rapport de M. Robert Lebègue," pp. 7, 13.
6. Le Préfet Régional, Monsieur le Préfet délégué du Secrétaire Général à la Police, October 1, 1943, RG-43.016M, reel 14, n.p.
7. David Diamant and Philibert Boyer, "Témoignage avec récit d'une évasion collective," 1976, USHMMA, RG-43.082M (CDJC, Diamont) reel 8, pp. 1–2.
8. Ibid., pp. 3–4.

9. Le Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, DGPN, à Monsieur le Chef de Camp de Pithiviers, July 21, 1944; L'Inspecteur Principal aux Renseignements Généraux, détaché au camp de Pithiviers, à Monsieur le Directeur de l'Administration de la Police (8ème Bureau—Service des camps)—Vichy, July 4, 1944, both in RG-43.016M, reel 14, n.p.

10. "Exposition du 15 mai 1983 sur le camp d'internément de Pithiviers," May 15, 1983, RG-43.082M (CDJC), reel 8, p. 4.

PLÉNÉE-JUGON

The Plénée-Jugon camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) was set up on the domain of the abandoned Villeneuve-Sainte-Odile castle in the Côtes-d'Armor Département. It was located along National Road 12, about 274 meters (300 yards) northwest of Langouhèdre, a small village closely tied to Plénée-Jugon. By car, Plénée-Jugon is approximately 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Rennes and 32 kilometers (20 miles) southeast of Saint-Brieuc.

Between October 29 and November 20, 1940, the prefect of Côtes-du-Nord, Jacques Feschotte, sent approximately 40 Roma families to Plénée-Jugon. Feschotte's action followed the October 18, 1940, order by Feldkommandantur 748, then stationed in Saint-Brieuc, demanding the detention of all Roma in the Côtes-du-Nord Prefecture. On November 11, 1940, five Roma children and adolescents attending Langouthèdre elementary school were arrested and sent to the camp, where they joined their parents, who had already been detained there. When the Plénée-Jugon camp closed on November 20, 1940, the Roma were transferred successively to the camps at Coudrecieux, Mulsanne (Sarthe Département), and finally Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire Département).[1]

Although the camp operated for a very brief period, the registry of Langouthèdre elementary school still provided the names of all the Roma children who attended school at that time to the prefecture.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Plénée-Jugon are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation*, 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997), and "1940–1946: L'Internement des Tsiganes en France," *Hommes et Migrations* 1188–1189 (June–July 1995): 31–37; Association "Les Bistrots de vie du pays briochin," ed., "1940: le camp d'internement des Tziganes de Plénée-Jugon sorti de l'oubli," *Journal* 16 (November 12, 2010): 1–4; Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148. As announced in *Le Télégramme*, November 12, 2010, a commemorative stone was dedicated at the camp.

Primary sources for the camp at Plénée-Jugon can be found in AMP-J, including a postcard of the castle, and AN/ONACVG.

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NOTE

1. Le Prefet des Cotes-du-Nord à Monsieur le Major Commandant la Kreiskommandantur-Saint-Brieuc, December 9, 1941, Objet: "Internement des nomades," AN/ONACVG, reproduced at www.ldh-france.org/section/loudeac/accueil/dossiers/le-camp-dinternement-des-nomades-de-plenee-jugon/reponse-du-prefet-au-kreiskommandantur/.

POITIERS

The city of Poitiers is located 94 kilometers (59 miles) southwest of Tours. After the Armistice of 1940, it was just inside the Occupied Zone in the Vienne Département. The camp at Poitiers first opened in October 1939 as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) for Spanish refugees. From December 1940, it held Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) and then local Jews, becoming one of the few mixed camps of France that confined more than one persecuted group. Poitiers was under the authority of the local prefect, Louis Bourgain.

The Poitiers camp was located on the road to Limoges and was spread over more than 21,000 square meters (25,116 square yards). The French authorities obtained this space in two plots: one amicably, the other commandeered when the owner asked for too much money.[1] Poitiers was also known as the Route de Limoges camp. It was first enclosed with a barbed-wire fence, which was doubled after 1941, and two watchtowers were added. Fifteen wooden barracks, each 50 meters (55 yards) long and 6 meters (6.6 yards) wide, were lined up on the western side of the main road. The administration, infirmary, and guards occupied the first three barracks. The camp's construction, which started in the fall of 1939, was completed in May 1941. Separate, fenced-in compounds for Roma, Spaniards, and Jews were set up at the end of 1941. East of Limoges Road were additional barracks for administrative staff, stockrooms, kitchens, bathrooms, a chapel, and a gendarmerie station.

Living conditions were harsh. The barracks lacked furniture, such as chairs, tables, and benches. Inadequate insulation caused air leaks, and there was insufficient heating. Maintenance and hygiene were poor; the water and sewage systems were defective according to the chief engineer's report in the spring of 1941.[2] Survivor Ruth Kissinger described the barracks as ridden with vermin.[3] The camp was also overpopulated. The 15 barracks had a maximum capacity of 650 people, but held 800. In actuality, because 3 barracks were not used for housing, the inmates occupied only 12 barracks. There were approximately 67 people per barrack.

Between 1939 and 1944, the Poitiers camp held a total of 800 Spanish refugees, 500 Roma, 1,800 Jews (including more than 500 children), and between 200 and 300 political detainees. The first Roma detainees arrived on or around December 5, 1940, in caravans and trailers.[4] Ninety-five percent of the first 200 Roma entering Poitiers were French; the remainder were foreigners. Within days, there were 456 prisoners. Following two censuses conducted in April and May 1941, the

French authorities detained all Jews in the region around Poitiers on July 15, 1941: 151 adults and 158 children were interned in the camp at that point. The Jews came from the Charente, Charente-Maritime, Deux-Sèvres, and Vienne Départements and from the Vendée. On December 1, 1941, the camp held 452 Roma, 322 Jews, and 27 Spaniards.

Six months later, on July 1, 1942, a new census listed a total of 841 people in Poitiers, including 368 Jews, more than half of whom were French nationals. The deportations began that month. Except for convoy 8 of July 18, 1942, the trains passed through the Drancy transit camp before reembarkation for Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Convoy 8 contained 824 Jews deported from the Poitevin and the Pays de la Loire regions directly from Angers (119 kilometers or 74 miles northwest of Poitiers) to Auschwitz. On October 1, 1942, there were only 13 Jews left in Poitiers. For the Jews of Poitevin, as noted by historian Paul Lévy, the camp served as the gateway to the Holocaust.

In 1942, the Obligatory Labor Service (*Service de Travail Obligatoire*, STO) dispatched able-bodied Roma men from Poitiers to Germany. In July 1942, 100 male Roma were deported from Poitiers to the Nazi concentration camps at Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen. There were still 459 Roma in the camp by late 1942, but the remaining men were taken to the Reich on January 13, 1943. On December 29, 1943, the German authorities ordered the remaining 304 Roma women and children transferred to the Montreuil-Bellay camp.

Between December 1943 and April 1944, the prisoner population fluctuated between 207 and 278. The detainees were mainly communist women, political prisoners from the Paris area, and wives or mothers of Resistance members. By the end of June 1941, the Poitiers camp served as an annex for the Pierre Levée prison in Poitiers, when it held about 30 communists awaiting transfer to Compiègne, Frontstalag 122, the entrepôt (collection center) for French political prisoners deported to the Reich.

Members of the Goldstein family pose with Nechemia and Esther Kluger (standing, center) in the Poitiers internment camp, 1941.
USHMM WS #09805, COURTESY OF SABINA AND SAMUEL GOLDSTEIN.

The camp had a succession of directors, and initially, five gendarmes and a Poitiers deputy police officer guarded the camp. This number was doubled at the end of 1941. In 1942, the camp director denied a request for six additional gendarmes to watch over Jews about to be deported, instead hiring approximately 30 civil guards. Survivor Toptia Barbanel recalled that the guards stole prisoners' possessions, including watches and jewelry.[5]

Work assignments for Roma differed from those for Jews. From the outset of the Occupation, the German authorities tried to take sole advantage of Roma labor. For Jews, work opportunities were intermittent. There was a basket-making workshop inside the camp, and private companies occasionally deployed detainee labor in the city of Poitiers.

According to survivor Felicia Barnabel, solidarity existed between Roma and Jews in Poitiers: "The Gypsies were wonderful," she said. "They would play music for us. They would also engage in fake fights to help Jews escape."[6]

The prisoners regularly escaped, but it was hard to keep an actual list of escapees before the camp was fully operational in August 1941. Between August and December 1941, 49 Roma and 19 Jews managed to flee.[7]

In the spring of 1942, the French authorities granted permission for the establishment of a school inside the Roma compound. Among the instructors was Madame G. L'Huillier, who wrote an account and took photographs of the camp. She recalled that, aside from basic literacy and religious instruction, the students enjoyed closely supervised walks outside the camp. Despite the worsening food situation in 1943, the Roma women managed to hold back some rations to use for care packages for their deported men.[8]

The Jewish chaplain, Rabbi Elie Bloch, aided the prisoners until his arrest and removal to the Drancy camp on February 24, 1943.[9] Another source of help for Jews and non-Jews alike was the Catholic chaplain for Roma, Father Jean Fleury, who was Rabbi Bloch's close friend. Local nuns also gave assistance. The detainees benefited for a time from the assistance of the French Red Cross through its on-site representative, Madame Marcelle Valensi, who died of a heart attack in late 1942. Some gendarmes, prefectural employees, and the delegate-prefect for Vienne, Robert Holveck, also assisted. In November 1943, Holveck was deported for ignoring orders from Feldkommandantur 677 based at Poitiers. This collective aid led to the rescue of 106 Jewish children.

On August 26, 1944, with the German retreat, the Poitiers camp was evacuated and the remaining prisoners released. The evacuation took place thanks in part to Father Fleury. After the Liberation, the camp held German prisoners of war (POWs), collaborators, and black marketeers from September 6, 1944, to October 31, 1945. In December 1944, the camp held 390 prisoners.

Arrested in September 1944 on charges of collaboration, Prefect Bourgain was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment and lifetime national dishonor. In 1964, Yad Vashem honored

Father Fleury as a Righteous Among the Nations for saving Jewish lives at Poitiers.

SOURCES The following secondary sources document the history of the Poitiers camp: Paul Lévy, *Un camp de concentration français: Poitiers (1939–1945)* (Paris: SEDES Ed., 1995), and "Poitiers, antichambre de la Shoah," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 120–143; Raphaël Pillosio, *Route de Limoges* (DVD, 2003, 40 min.); Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation*, 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148. Additional details on the camp's history can be gleaned from Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001). Some biographical information on Louis Bourgain by Jean Henri Calmon can be found at the VRID website, www.vrid-memorial.com/afficher/rubrique/14/Situation-dpartementale/article/29/Louis-Bourgain.html.

Primary sources on the Poitiers camp can be found in ADV: 109W22 (Poitiers-Route de Limoges, 1940–1945); 109W26 (German and French police reports, reports to IGC, and correspondence); 109W33–109W35 (camp population); 109W36–109W40 (prisoner movements, such as transfers, hospitalizations, releases, and the camp directors' reports); 109W42–109W43 (escapes); 109W44 (camp labor); 109W45–109W68 (information and administrative inspections with detainees' names); 109W152–109W167 (camp staff); and 109W211 (camp operations, including administration, official directives, management, and camp police). Additional primary sources can be found in AN 737/MI/2 (documents and various information about the camp, including lists of detainees and transfers to the Drancy transit camp). Limited information on the fate of Rabbi Elie Bloch can be found in ITS, 0.1 (CNI), with conflicting deportation dates from Drancy of May 24, June 24, and December 17, 1943. Copied to USHMMPA are numerous photos of Jewish families and children at Poitiers from YIVO, CDJC, and UL. The documentary film *Route de Limoges* includes interviews with a former Jewish detainee, Félicia Combaud (née Barnabel), and a Roma detainee, Jean-Louis Bauer. VHF holds testimonies by Jewish survivors of Poitiers: Paulette Angel (#23235); Maurice Baran-Marszak (#11430); Toptia Barbanel-Nguyen-Van-Canh (#15766); Fanny Bialka (#25461); Ruth Kissinger (#29823); Nora Stiefel (#02524); and Henri Zajdenwergier (#23517). Two published testimonies are Father Jean Fleury, "Le camp de la route de Limoges à Poitiers," *Mg* 31 (1974): 1–7; and G. L'Huillier, "Reminiscences of the Gypsy Camp at Poitiers 1941–1943," *JGLS* 27: 1–2 (1948): 36–41.

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. ADV, 104W32, quoted by Lévy, *Un camp de concentration français*, p. 18.
2. ADV, 104W32, rapport de l'ingénieur en chef, April 18, 1941, quoted in ibid., p. 47.
3. VHF #29823, Ruth Kissinger testimony, June 5, 1997.
4. ADV, 104W40, cited in Lévy, *Un camp de concentration français*, p. 26.
5. VHF #15766, Toptia Barbanel-Nguyen-Van-Canh testimony, May 29, 1996.
6. Interview with Felicia Combaud (née Barnabel), n.d., recorded in Pillosio, *Route de Limoges*.
7. ADV, 104W1, Rapports d'évasions, 1941–1942, cited by Lévy, *Un camp de concentration français*, pp. 133–134.
8. L'Huillier, "Reminiscences of the Gypsy Camp at Poitiers 1941–1943," pp. 36–39; USHMMPA, WS #48530, A group of Roma girls take First Communion at the Poitiers camp, 1943, courtesy of UL, SMGC PX L'Huillier.
9. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Rabbi Elie Bloch (DOB July 8, 1909), Doc. Nos. 14801389, 14801388, 14801385.

PONTIVY

Also known as the Toulboubou camp, this temporary camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) was located in the Bretagne region in the Morbihan Département, 48 kilometers (approximately 30 miles) northwest of Vannes. It was built on lands belonging to the local village. As part of the internment policy for Roma in Occupied France, the Morbihan prefectural authorities, headed by Henri Piton, started rounding up the local Roma in Pontivy on October 14, 1940. They were then transferred to the Moisdon-la-Rivière camp (Loire-Inférieur Département; today: Loire-Atlantique) on or around November 22, 1940.

There are conflicting details concerning the camp's physical layout and location, with historian Marie-Christine Hubert indicating that it occupied the abandoned chateau, a claim challenged by historian Jacques Sigot, who notes that the area not only lacked a castle but is today a sports complex.

Two reports from Moisdon-la-Rivière (La Forge); a detailed letter from the camp registrar of November 25, 1940; and a December 6, 1940, report by the sub-prefect of Châteaubriant described the arrival of 116 Roma from the Toulboubou camp, escorted by Morbihan gendarmes. The Roma were members of 18 families from Vannes and Lorient, consisting of 32 men, 28 women, and 56 children.[1] An undated report in the same file placed the total number of arrivals from Pontivy at 115.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Pontivy are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation*, 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997), and "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), 2: 59–88; Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148.

The scant primary documentation on the camp at Pontivy can be found in ADL-A, copied to USHMMA as RG-43.053M,

reel 6, 43W148. The AD-Mor does not hold any extant documents on the camp.

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NOTES

1. S-P/Chateaubriant, "Rapport sur le functionnement du camp de concentration des nomades de Moisdon-la-Rivière (Loire-Inf.)," December 6, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.053M (ADL-A), reel 6, 43W148 (Moisdon-la-Rivière), frame 447 (USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, with frame); lettre du régisseur, Moisdon-la-Rivière, November 25, 1940, reprinted in Sigot, "Les Camps," pp. 86, 88.
2. Camp de Moisdon, "Repartition des nomades," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.053M/6/43W148, p. 463.

PORT-VENDRES

Port-Vendres (Pyrénées-Orientales Département) is a Mediterranean fishing port located 11 kilometers (7 miles) southeast of Argelès-sur-Mer and 10 kilometers (6 miles) north of the Spanish border. In 1939, as tens of thousands of Spanish Civil War refugees poured across the border into France, two commercial vessels were anchored in Port-Vendres to serve as hospital ships for wounded members of the retreating Spanish Republican Army. Some evidence suggests that, like Argelès-sur-Mer, Port-Vendres was the site of one or more refugee camps.[1] For example, more than 70 Spanish refugees were still registered as occupants of the Scolaire School for Boys on Pasteur Street in August 1940, where they received care from the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).[2]

Port-Vendres was a main point of embarkation for French troops serving in Algeria and also became a place of hiding and escape for some Jews.[3] In the later war years, the town became part of a heavily fortified coastal defense zone built up by Organisation Todt (OT). There is evidence to suggest that foreign forced laborers were housed in OT camps in the area around Port-Vendres during this time.[4]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Port-Vendres camp or camps are scarce. See especially Evelyn Mesquida, *La Nueve, 24 aout 1944: Ces republicains espagnols qui ont libéré Paris*, preface by Jorge Semprun; trans. Serge Utge-Royo (Paris: Le Cherche Midi, 2011).

Primary sources documenting the detention sites at Port-Vendres include USHMMA, RG-67.007M (AFSC), records relating to humanitarian work in France, folder 84, Correspondance officielle et individuelle, école des filles (Port-Vendres); USHMMA, RG-50.030*0576, oral history interview with Sami Dorra (April 30, 2010); and VHA testimony of Michelle Gourarier (#14154), April 25, 1996.

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NOTES

1. Mesquida, *La Nueve 24 aout 1944*, p. 32.
2. USHMMA, RG-67.007M, Box 16, Folder 84.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0576, Sami Dorra, oral history interview.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Francisco Martinez Marquez, Doc. No. 51043819.

PRÉMOL

Situated at the foot of the French Alps in the Isère Département in southeastern France, Prémol is located approximately 13 kilometers (8 miles) southeast of Grenoble. Nearby towns include Vaulnavays-le-Haut and the spa Uriage-les-Bains. It is known as the site of the Chartreuse-de-Prémol, a partially destroyed monastery of the Carthusian Order. There is some evidence to suggest that the monastery or another site at Prémol briefly served as an internment camp after the signing of the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. Members of the 1st Company of the special companies of military workers (*Companies Spéciales de Travailleurs Militaires*) were registered at a camp in Prémol before being transferred to an internment camp for demobilized soldiers that opened at Fort-Barraux in July 1940.[1] Postwar documentation also suggests that an internment camp for a Company of Foreign Workers (*Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE), CTE No. 351, operated in Uriage.[2] The available evidence is not clear, but there is a possibility that the Uriage and the Prémol camps were identical sites and that foreign forced laborers were interned there after the transfer of the soldiers.

SOURCES Although there is significant research available on the history of camps in the Isère Département in general, the Prémol camp is scarcely documented. One of the few references to this site in secondary literature can be found in Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983), pp. 117–118.

Primary documentation can be found at ADI, including 52M117 (2) and 52M112. Specific references to a camp at Prémol can also be found at ADI, 15W119 and 15W247. Finally see ITS, 1.1.0.6. (Dokumente/Schriftwechsel zu Verfolgung/Haftstätten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ADI, 52M117 (2) and 52M112, as cited by Merley, ed., *Répression*, pp. 117–118.
2. ITS, 1.1.0.6, folder 53, Doc. No. 82341639.

PUY-L'EVÊQUE

Located in the Lot Département in southwestern France, the Puy-l'Evêque camp was approximately 402 meters (440 yards) south of the village and 25 kilometers (15 miles) northwest of Cahors. Originally called the "camp for the sorting of foreigners of Puy-l'Evêque" (*Camp de triage des étrangers de Puy-l'Evêque*), it was later designated as a camp for foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE).[1] It was set out on a 125 × 72 meter (137 × 79 yard) field, the borders of which were

delimited by the Cahors-Monsempron-Libos railroad and the Lot River. The detainees were accommodated in wooden barracks that were 49 meters (161 feet) long. One barrack was built for the administrative offices and another for the guards. There were also bathrooms (with toilets and showers), a vegetable garden, and a watchtower. Until September 1940, the camp held interned foreigners seeking asylum: Germans, Austrians, and Czechoslovakians. It is unclear whether the camp was erected before or after the Armistice of June 1940.

During its transition from an internment to a GTE camp, Puy l'Evêque was the subject of extensive correspondence concerning its contingent of Germans and "ex-Austrians." Because it partially originated from the prefecture's Foreigners' Service (*Service des étrangers*) and the timing coincided with the activities of the Kundt Commission, it is likely that this correspondence was sent on the German authorities' behest. Among other details, this exchange indicated that Puy l'Evêque held, in addition to Central European internees, some Poles and Spanish Republicans. Among the Central Europeans were a few women. In sorting out the destinations of the foreigners under his charge, the commandant, Capitaine de réserve de Breuvery, placed them, in accordance with directions from the department's Sorting Commission (*Commission de triage*), into three categories: "1. Put at liberty; 2. Directed to different camps of foreigners or companies of foreign workers on 5 November; 3. Kept in the Camp of Puy l'Evêque."[2]

From September 1940 until the end of 1942, Puy-l'Evêque came under the Vichy Labor Ministry's control, specifically the anti-unemployment commission (*le commissariat de la lutte contre le chômage*). After December 26, 1942, the camp was turned into a special internment camp for foreigners.[3] It was designed to hold "citizens from countries that were at war with or occupied by countries of the Axis powers. These foreigners had been made prisoners after the Armistice and had managed to escape to the Southern Zone. They were from Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Poland, and Yugoslavia, and had either escaped from units that had been created to fight against the Axis, or they were incorporated workers who came from those same countries and were susceptible to escape for the same reasons."[4]

The camp directors were M. Vieil and M. Bouquillard, who were part of or answered to the Catus GTE camp authority. In August 1940, the camp surveillance consisted of "one captain, two lieutenants, six noncommissioned career officers, as well as thirty men."[5]

At this time the camp was referred to as the "special internment center of Puy-l'Evêque" (*centre spécial d'internement de Puy-l'Evêque*), which distinguished it from other GTE camps.[6] Indeed, this camp was intended more for the detention of foreigners deemed security threats than for forced labor, in contrast to other camps in the department, such as Cajarc or Catus.[7] The prisoners only worked inside the camp, raising vegetables and cleaning the compound.[8]

The maximum number of detainees was estimated to be 88, the minimum not lower than 50.[9] Instead of uniforms, the prisoners wore civilian clothes. Between February 9 and August 26, 1943, there were six escapes.

After receiving orders from the Vichy Interior Ministry to disband, the camp closed on November 9, 1943, and the detainees were sent to the Noë camp (Haute-Garonne Département).

SOURCES The camp at Puy-l'Evêque is described in Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Puy-l'Evêque camp can be found in AD-L: 1W925 (Prefecture Collection), 1180W6, and 1W78, and in AN, 737/MI/2. At USHMMA under RG-43.110M (AD-L), signature 1W78, is available in digital form as RG-43.110M and contains documentation on German and "ex-Austrian" detainees held at Puy-l'Evêque.

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NOTES

1. Capitaine de réserve de Breuvery, Camp de triage des étrangers de Puy l'Evêque, État nominatif des étrangers dirigés sur le camp du Vernet, November 4, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.110M (AD-L), 1W925 (Dossiers AS des ressortissants allemands, sub-folder, Camp de Puy l'Evêque), 0096 (USHMMA, RG-43.110M/1W925, with page).
2. P/L à Commissaire spécial á Cahors, October 22, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.110M/1W925, 26; on Spaniards, see, for example, Breuvery, État nominatif des étrangers dirigés sur le Camp du Vernet, November 4, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.110M/1W925, p. 96; quotation in Breuvery à P/L, November 7, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.110M/1W925, p. 95.
3. Circular letter, December 29, 1942, Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur (Police, 4th Bureau, Vichy), AD-L, 1W78.
4. AD-L, 1W925.
5. General Lenclud to P/L, August 22, 1940, AD-L, 1W925.
6. AD-L, 1W78.
7. See AD-L, 1180W6.
8. AD-L, 1W78.
9. AD-L, 1180W6.

RABÈS

On March 8, 1943, at the direction of the French National Police, the prefect of the Corrèze Département established a small camp for elderly foreign inmates, mostly Jews, in the village of Rabès (about 10 kilometers (6 miles) southwest of Tulle), and 83 kilometers (52 miles) southeast of Limoges. Vichy and prefectural sources variously described the Rabès camp as an asylum (*asile*) for elderly foreigners, a confinement center, or a camp. A report commissioned in the 1990s by the Study Commission on the Spoliation of the Jews of France—the Mattéoli Commission (*Mission d'Étude sur la Spoliation des Juifs de France*, *Mission Mattéoli*)—classifies Rabès as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS).

On March 10, 1943, 60 elderly inmates from Nexon, a camp 18 kilometers (11 miles) south of Limoges, arrived by train at Rabès. The first group consisted of 29 men and 31 women. Ex-

cept for three Catholics (two French and one Spanish), the detainees were all elderly Jews from Germany, Austria, Poland, Russia, and the Saar.[1] The oldest female internee was born in 1856, and the oldest male was born in 1860. The center's intake cards indicate long paths of persecution through French camps, beginning in 1940, with passage for some through the camps at Gurs, Les Milles, Noé, Récébédou, Rivesaltes, and Saint-Cyprien.[2] On June 1, 1943, the camp had 55 inmates.[3]

For detainees who had experienced Nexon and Gurs, Rabès signaled an improvement in conditions. Accommodated in a former maternity ward with space for 60, the site afforded reasonable comfort in bedding and an ample vegetable garden.[4] The able-bodied female detainees performed kitchen and limited garden duties, whereas the men cleaned the latrines. The internees received substantial relief parcels and books not only from surviving family and friends but in some instances also from the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Geneva and the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) in Brive-la-Gaillard (more than 14 kilometers or 9 miles southwest of Cornil).[5] In March 1943, the internees received 66 parcels weighing approximately 77 kilograms (approximately 170 pounds).

When the Nexon group arrived, many of the internees were filthy. The camp's first order of business was to send them to get cleaned up. In the first month, one detainee died. Rabbi David Feuerwerker came from Brive to preside over the funeral.[6]

According to camp regulations, the internees were not allowed to hold more than 300 francs at a time (excess money was kept on account by the director). They were expected to report for roll call three times daily, but were free to practice their religion. Under censorship the inmates sent and received letters. With the director's permission, they were able to visit Cornil, but travel outside Cornil required prefectural permission. The six-man staff consisted of three guards, two inspectors, and the camp director, Raymond Bazin.

On June 23, 1943, the French National Police informed the Corrèze Prefecture that it was handing over responsibility for the center to the Social Control of Foreigners (*Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, CSE) in the Labor Ministry.[7] This change in status took place by the middle of July 1943, with the transfer of the six staff members to the camps at Écrouves, Gurs, Noé, and Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe.[8] Some of the police property was transferred to the camp at Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, with the remainder left for the new administration at Rabès. Under the auspices of the CSE, the center continued as an asylum for elderly foreigners, including Jews, until well after the Liberation.[9]

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Rabès center is Serge Klarsfeld and André Delahaye, et al., *Fiches typologiques par lieu d'internement* (Paris: Mission d'étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France, n.d.), available at www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-matteoli.htm. This report is part of a series by the Mattéoli Commission.

Primary sources documenting the Rabès center can be found in AD-Cor, available at USHMMA as RG-43.125, collections 529W71 and 529W72; AN Police Générale, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.016M, reel 13; and ITS, collection 6.1.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

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NOTES

1. Centre de Rabès, "État nominatif des hébergées en provenance du Camp de Nexon, arrivés et installés au Centre de Rabès le 10 Mars 1943," March 11, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125 (AD-Cor), 529W72, p. 31; and CSS Nexon, "État nominatif des hébergés du CSS de Nexon dirigés le 10 Mars 1943 sur le Centre de Rabès (Corrèze)," 529W72, p. 31.
2. Intake cards for Hirsch Apfel, Alfred Bernstein, and Josef Kassewitz, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W71, pp. 281, 285, and 297.
3. "Nombre d'étrangers présents au Centre," June 1, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W71, p. 394.
4. P/Corrèze à Conseiller d'État, Sécrétariat Générale de la Police, February 9, 1943, Obj.: "Envoi d'Israélites à l'Asile Départemental de Rabès," USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W71, pp. 447–448.
5. Correspondence log, June 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W72, pp. 165–166.
6. Rapports mensuel, March 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W72, pp. 255, 259.
7. Police Nationale, 14th Bureau à P/Corrèze, June 23, 1943, Obj.: "Titres de séjour et circulation des étrangers hébergés au centre de Rabès," USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W72, p. 604.
8. "Mutations du Personnel," July 1–18, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W72, p. 595.
9. ID card, Berthe Friedmann née Frankenburger, USHMMA, RG-43.125, 529W71, p. 320.

RÉCÉBÉDOU

The camp at Récébédou was located in southwestern France, in the Tarn Département of the Midi-Pyrénées region. It was approximately 9.5 kilometers (6 miles) southwest of Toulouse, near National Road 20.

The camp's buildings were among a group of 87 barracks that were built in 1939 as housing for workers from the Toulouse National Gunpowder Factory (*Poudrerie Nationale de Toulouse*). The workers' housing was laid out in the manner of a small town, with seven internal axes surrounded by the barracks, which the administration called "pavilions" (*pavillons*).

Managed by the Toulouse town administration, Récébédou was at first a temporary detention site for refugees from northern France and Belgium during the Phoney War (September 1939 to May 1940). The camp also held Spanish refugees, some of whom worked in the gunpowder factory.

On February 7, 1941, after consulting with Dr. Limousin and his representative, Vichy's Interior Minister Marcel Peyrouton officially announced in a communiqué that Récébédou

Part of the internment camp at Récébédou, after 1940.
USHMM WS #33426, COURTESY OF MARIE GENEVIEVE DAGAIN.

and the neighboring camp at Noé would become "camp hospitals" (*camps-hôpitaux*) under the prefecture's authority and that they would hold "a certain number of aged, sick, or injured refugees and foreigners."[1] There were to be special accommodations made at Récébédou for tubercular detainees, such as rooms for X-rays and for insufflation treatments, arranged by the prefecture in conjunction with the military health services (*les services de santé militaire*).

Between March 17, 1941, and the August 1942 roundups of Jews, the detainee population ranged between 1,500 and 1,600. As of May 31, 1942, there were 1,511 people detained at Récébédou, of whom at least 976 were Jewish. The majority of these Jews—687—were aged 55 and older.[2]

Over the course of three convoys on August 8, 10, and 24, 1942, approximately 380 Jews from Récébédou (along with an equivalent number from Noé) were deported to Drancy from the Portet-Saint-Simon train station, and the majority of this group was subsequently sent from Drancy to Auschwitz.[3] The famous letter written on August 13, 1942, by Monsignor Jules-Géraud Saliège, the Toulouse archbishop, to be read "without commentary" at Sunday Masses throughout the region, described "scenes of horror" in the camps of Récébédou and Noé. Archbishop Saliège reacted angrily to the "sad spectacle" of families being separated and sent off to "an unknown destination."[4] The letter's rhetoric concerned the departmental administration enough that the regional prefect of Toulouse wrote to the prefect of the neighboring department, Lot-et-Garonne, that "the diffusion of this document will not be tolerated." It was published in several area newspapers regardless.[5] As of September 30, 1942, there were 749 foreigners (324 Spaniards and 425 Jews) remaining in confinement at Récébédou.[6]

Living conditions in the camp were very tough, even if reports seem to indicate that the situations at Récébédou and Noé were satisfactory. Despite their "camp hospital" designation, there were not enough doctors for the number of detainees. In 1941, there were three doctors for 1,500 detainees, whose average age was between 60 and 65 years old. The cold, as well as diseases, afflicted those already weakened by age. Between 1941 and 1942, 314 people died, including 254 Jews. The winter of 1941 was especially harsh and caused 118 deaths.

Because many of the prisoners were unable to work due to age or ill health, labor performed by detainees at Récébédou was limited.[7] Like most French camps, Récébédou was undersupplied, but reports indicate that the camp was able to sustain a separate kosher kitchen for about 650 Jewish detainees. There was also a school for children set up with desks sent from the camp at Rivesaltes.[8]

Most of the camp was not enclosed, but a small section of four pavilions ("*le Camp surveillé*") was surrounded by barbed wire. According to a February 7, 1942, police report, there were 64 guards, 14 of whom lived in a barrack on the camp grounds and 50 of whom lived in town. The inspector noted that the camp director estimated that he needed 16 additional guards, but "personally, I got the impression that the personnel lacked discipline and were not employed to the maximum."[9]

Detainees were able to escape the camp. According to the testimony of Annie Lichtman, another prisoner told her and her mother about a location where it was possible to crawl under the camp's fence, and they escaped to Toulouse, where they received aid from the Jewish community.[10] In her testimony, Gizela Lerner described hiding with other Jews in a barrack for several days while preparations were being made for a large transfer and thereby escaping deportation.[11]

The prefecture had notable problems with discipline and corruption among Récébédou's administrators and personnel. In 1941 two camp directors were removed from their posts for stealing camp supplies, including food, tobacco, and leather. Camp director Ducoin was removed on April 9, 1941, and replaced temporarily by Noé's director, Laurelli, until André Morin assumed the post by the beginning of June.[12]

According to a detailed November 21, 1941, report from the Attorney General of the Republic (*Procureur de la République*) to the prefect, on September 25, a Belgian detainee named Schaeys who worked in the camp's storerooms first alerted the camp's special police superintendent, Lichgott, to irregularities in the distribution of food. An investigation found Morin and his camp manager, Estèbe, to be at the center of a corruption ring involving several other camp employees; their activities included selling tobacco meant for detainees to personnel out of a makeshift bar on the camp's grounds, using leather meant for fixing prisoners' shoes to have new shoes fashioned for themselves, and creating a scheme involving ration tickets to get more food (particularly more meat) for themselves. At the end of his report, the attorney general urged the prefect to advise whether criminal prosecution should be dropped in favor of "administrative internment" in order to avoid "publicity that could only be unpleasant."[13] Morin was replaced as director by a man named Fourniols, who appears to have remained until Récébédou was closed.

Other complaints received by departmental and Vichy administration were less serious, but illustrated a level of fractiousness among personnel. In July 1942, an anonymous letter sent to Vichy accused two of the camp nurses of "prostitution" with "non-French" detainees, thereby giving the other foreigners at Récébédou the incorrect impression that "France is the country of debauchery and lack of restraint

(*laissez-aller*)."[14] The prefect investigated, found no truth to this accusation, and suspected that a member of the camp's staff sent the letter.[15]

Prisoner solidarity was encouraged by large charitable organizations, which regularly visited and provided care that helped make up for the lack of health staff: these organizations included the French Red Cross, the Society of Friends, Caritas (Catholic Relief Services), the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), and the Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE). The General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) and the Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work (*Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda*, ORT) also rallied to help. Indeed, a kind of sponsorship system was established between Jewish detainees and free Jews in Toulouse. This project was directed by Raymond Bloch and Toulouse Rabbi Moïse Cassorla and coordinated with Récébédou by Rabbi René Kapel. From February 1941 on, visits facilitated the implementation of sponsorship. For instance, the writer Clara Malraux was able to visit her uncle, Professor Gunther Stamm, until the summer of 1942, when visits were revoked in anticipation of the deportations.

Récébédou was closed on October 5, 1942. The detainees who had not yet been deported were transferred to the camps at Noé and Nexon (Haute-Vienne Département).

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Récébédou include Eric Malo, "Le camp du Récébédou (Haute-Garonne), 1940–1942," *MJ* 153 (1995): 76–103; Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs en France, 1940–1944, 1 juillet 1940–31 août 1942*, vol. 2 (Paris: Fayard, 2001).

Primary documentation concerning Récébédou is found in ADH-G 1272W1, 1831W3 (deportations), 1867W60 (monthly reports), 1867W138, 1867W208, and 2517W45, but a 1944 fire at the prefecture in Toulouse destroyed many departmental records, making it difficult to collect precise figures relating to the camp's management. Portions of these records are held at USHMMA under RG-43.058M. Some additional sources are AN 737/MI/2 and F7 15098 (Dr. Aujaleu's December 26, 1941, report), and CDJC Collection FSJF, CCXIX-143_001/123_001 (Rabbi Kapel's reports from the winter of 1941–1942), and CCXIX-40_002 (January 1942 report on the camp commission's activities). CDJC also holds a collection of photos of the camp. Further documentation on the deportations from Récébédou can be found in ITS, 1.1.9.1 (List Material BdS France), Ord. 65, available in digital form at USHMMA. The AFSC also collected information on the deportations, available at USHMMA under RG-67.007M (Records relating to Humanitarian Work in France, 1933–1950), Series VIII, box 57, folder 18. There are 23 VHA testimonies on Récébédou, including those of Annie Lichtman (#30526) and Gizela Lerner (#12286). Published testimonies that discuss Récébédou include Clara Malraux, *Et pourtant j'étais libre* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1979); René Kapel, "J'étais l'aumônier des camps du sud-ouest de la France (août 1940–décembre 1942), suite et fin," *MJ* 88 (1977): 154–182; and Thérèse Dauty, "Départ des hébergés des camps-hôpitaux de Noé et Récébédou en date des 8 et 10 août 1942," in Denise Hervichon, "Le décès de Monseigneur Louis de Courrèges," *MJ* 94 (1979): 52–59.

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NOTES

1. Quotation from "NOTE," April 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M (ADH-G), reel 15, 1867W208, p. 3152 (USHMMA, RG-43.058M/15/1867W208).
2. "NOTE," April 1941, p. 3152; "Camp de Récébédou, Rapport mensuel du mois de mai 1942," May 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/14/1867W138, pp. 3259–3264.
3. Pr/Toulouse to Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Interieur-Secrétariat Général à la Police, August 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/1/1831W3, p. 1111; August 24, 1942, convoy, Interieur Police 9ème Bureau to Regional Prefects (Zone Libre), August 18, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/1/1831W3, p. 1080; Pr/Toulouse to Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Interieur-Secrétariat Général à la Police, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.058M/1/1831W3, p. 1090; "Camp du Récébédou, Liste Définitive Partants Sûrs du 8/8/42 . . . du 11 Août 1942 . . . du 24 Août 1942," USHMMA, RG-67.007M/VIII/57/18, pp. 74–87.
4. Quotations from Jules-Géraud Saliège, "Lettre de S. E. Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Toulouse sur la personne humaine," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.123M/7/1W300, p. 61.
5. Pr/Toulouse to P/L-G, September 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.123M/7/1W300, p. 65.
6. "Camp de Récébédou, Rapport mensuel du mois de septembre 1942," September 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/14/1867W138, p. 3292.
7. Commandant Morin to Pr/Toulouse, June 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/13/1867W60, p. 3219.
8. "Camp de Récébédou, Rapport mensuel du mois de mai 1942," May 31, 1942, pp. 3261–3262.
9. Quotation from Pr/Toulouse to P/H-G, April 13, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, pp. 47–49.
10. VHS #30526, Annie Lichtman testimony, July 2, 1997.
11. VHS #12286, Gizela Lerner testimony, February 21, 1996.
12. P/H-G to Secrétaire d'État à l'Interieur, Direction Générale de la Sûreté, April 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, p. 170; interim replacement for Ducoin, Inspecteur Général des Camps (Amiral Ven), "Décision," April 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, p. 151.
13. Quotations from Procureur de la République to P/H-G, November 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, pp. 144–147.
14. Quotations from Anonymous to Directeur des Camps at Vichy Interior Ministry, July 26, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, p. 41.
15. P/H-G to Chef du Gouvernement, Ministre Secrétaire d'État à Interieur, Secretariat Général à la Police, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.058M/17/1272W1, p. 37.

REILLANNE

Reillanne (Alpes-de-Hautes-Provence Département) was a reception center for the French Office of Social Services for Foreigners (*centre d'accueil du Service Social des Étrangers*, SSE) and a subcamp of the Fort Sisteron camp. Reillanne is located in southeastern France, more than 41 kilometers (almost 26 miles) southwest of Sisteron and more than 68 kilometers (42 miles) northeast of Marseille.

The Reillanne administration was directly subordinate to Fort Sisteron.[1] A residential center and internment site were installed in a convent in Reillanne (called "Notre-Dame des Près" or simply "Mas-des-Près"). Initially it served as a camp for Spaniards after the Spanish Civil War. In 1941 it was turned into a camp for Jews of different nationalities and their families assigned to stay in the convent by the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF). It held 40 to 70 internees at any given time for indeterminate stays.[2] The internees were allowed to go out during the day as long as they returned by evening curfew.[3] The town of Reillanne was also a place of assigned residence. Jews occupied the majority of the homes.

The commandant was named Darlay. In a monthly report completed by UGIF, a staff member stated that Reillanne from the standpoint of food provision was once again a good center, after a previous report complained of insufficient food. The camp's doctor was Doctor Braustein. According to his records the internees were in overall good health, although the elderly were in need of constant care. Many had to go to the dentist in nearby Manosque. The clothing needs of the Reillanne internees always outstripped the supply, and the UGIF was constantly trying to address this issue.[4] UGIF was responsible for providing the necessities at the Reillanne camp in general, including medicine and toiletries.[5]

In December 1942, non-Jewish internees included a Belgian, two Armenians, a Spaniard, a German, and a Pole.[6] As of July 31, 1943, the Reillanne camp held 41 men, 17 women, and 9 children, totaling 67 internees. Forty-four of the internees were Jewish.

On May 5, 1944, the Jewish families in the camp were arrested in a roundup by German police and deported to Auschwitz, Mauthausen, or Dachau. At least 53 Jews held at Reillanne were deported, including 28 women and 9 children. Within the group were 25 Germans, 12 Romanians, 5 Hungarians, 5 Austrians, 3 Poles, 2 French, and 1 Turk. They were first sent to Marseille. The Jewish children who were deported were part of convoys 74 and 75.

The Reillanne camp was not closed until the Liberation.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Reillanne camp include Serge Klarsfeld et al., *French Children of the Holocaust: A Memorial* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Robert Mencherini, *Provence-Auschwitz: De l'internement des étrangers à la déportation des Juifs, 1939–1944* (Marseille: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2007); Vincent Giraudier, *Des indésirables: Les camps d'internement et de travail dans l'Ardèche et la Drôme durant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Valence: Peuple libre, 1999); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the Reillanne camp can be found in AD-A-H-P, available at USHMMA under RG-43.089M, reels 1 and 4; UGIF, Camp Commission, available at USHMMA as RG-43.025M, reel 29; CDJC, UGIF collection, available at USHMMA as RG-43.027M; and ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Reillanne (Basses Alpes): Annexe du camp de Sisteron," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371041.
2. Ibid., Doc. Nos. 82371038, 82371042.
3. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371049.
4. Rapport Mensuel sur le Centre de Reillanne, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.025M (UGIF, Camp Commission), reel 29, n.p.
5. Monsieur le Chef du Centre d'Accueil Reillanne, October 18, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.025M, reel 29, n.p.
6. "Reillanne (Basses Alpes): Annexe du camp de Sisteron," ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371043.

RENNES

The city of Rennes, 98 kilometers (61 miles) north of Nantes, in the Ille-et-Vilaine Département in the Bretagne region, was the location of several detention facilities.

On Le Guen de Kérangal Street, at the corner of Albert I Boulevard, there was a camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports). Following orders from the German authorities, on November 2, 1940, the prefecture opened the camp, which was placed under the administration of Rennes's central police commissioner.

The camp was also used to hold so-called administrative prisoners from October 1941 until approximately December 1942, when the camp reverted to detaining only Roma. The departmental archives refer to two barracks comprising this camp, whereas witnesses remember more barracks. The barracks were located on a 100-meter long by 50-meter wide field (328 × 164 feet). This camp was in use until the Roma were released in December 1944.

During the entire time it was operational, there were regular transfers to the larger Roma camps at Moisdon-la-Rivière, Montreuil-Bellay, and Jargeau. In January 1942, the camp at Le Guen de Kérangal Street held 209 people (including 186 Roma). By January 1944, the number had dropped to 130 detainees, but by July 1944 it had increased to 145.

There was a second camp in Rennes, on Jacques-Cartier Boulevard, in a location that had been commandeered for British prisoners of war (POWs) in April 1940 near the Margueritte garrison house that was occupied by the Wehrmacht. Beginning in the summer of 1940, the German authorities

built about 15 barracks there. They were used to detain "administrative" prisoners until August 3, 1944, when most of the detainees were deported to Germany. Only one archive is available for this camp; it recounts an episode in June–July 1944 involving hostages in Barrack 14.

After Rennes was liberated on August 4, 1944, the site of the Margueritte camp was used again—first to hold people suspected of collaboration; then, in January 1945, to hold German POWs from the Bas-Rhin region; and finally to hold German civilians who came from U.S. displaced person (DP) camps starting in June 1945. This second Rennes camp held approximately 300 people during the war and, according to historian Denis Peschanski, more than 978 after the Liberation.[1] It closed permanently on February 28, 1946.

In addition to these two sites, the Jacques Cartier prison (*maison d'arrêt*)—alternately referred to as the Rennes Penitentiary (*La Maison Centrale de Rennes*)—held approximately 300 female political prisoners, according to the research historian Yves Boivin.

In April and May 1944, 245 of these women were sent in three convoys to the camp at Romainville outside Paris; from Romainville they were subsequently deported to Ravensbrück. This site was in use until August 4, 1944, when U.S. forces freed its four remaining prisoners.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources that include information on the camps in Rennes are Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation*, 4 vols. (Paris: University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: un sort à part, 1939–1946* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Arlette Dolo, "Du rejet séculaire au camp d'internement: le camp de nomades de la rue Le Guen de Kérangal, 1939–1945" (MA thesis, IUT de Rennes, 1986); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); Marie Drouart, "La '3' de Margueritte, journal de bord des internées de Rennes, 25 janvier–23 mars 1945" (MSS, n.d.), available at ADI-V, 2J907; and Jacques Sigot, "L'internement des Tsiganes en France," *ET* 6: 2 (1995): 29–196.

Primary documentation on the camps can be found in ADI-V under classifications 46W20, 4W38–4W39, 134W17–134W19 (camp on Le Guen de Kérangal Street), and 1439W19 (the only archive on the Margueritte camp). Additional sources can be found in AN 737/MI/2 (detainees and POWs during the Occupation and after the Liberation). An unpublished manuscript about the female political prisoners detained in Rennes is Yves Boivin, "Les condamnées des Sections Spéciales incarcérées à la Maison Centrale de Rennes, Déportées les 5 avril, 2 mai, et 16 mai 1944," available at USHMMA under Acc. No. 2009.174.

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1. According to two reports from August 1944 in ADI-V, 1439W19.
2. USHMMA, Acc. 2009.174, Yves Boivin, "Les condamnées des Sections Spéciales incarcérées," 2004.

RIEUCROS

The Rieucros internment and disciplinary camp was located just outside Mende (Lozère Département), which is nearly 203 kilometers (126 miles) northwest of Marseille and 193 kilometers (120 miles) northeast of Toulouse. The camp operated from January 21, 1939, until February 13, 1942. The French government originally established the site as one of numerous detention camps to control unwanted foreigners. In 1940, Rieucros became an important "disciplinary camp" (*camp disciplinaire*) for political detainees; by October 1941 the inmate population consisted exclusively of female "undesirables," many of whom were interned there with their children. Most inmates were foreign nationals, although French citizens were detained there as well.

The Rieucros camp was fenced in, and it extended along one side of the main road from Mende. Inmates were housed in 14 wooden barracks with a total capacity of about 600. A Mademoiselle Vallot served as camp administrator, and several local women worked as guards. Camp staff occupied two brick buildings inside the camp compound.[1] The original inmate population consisted mostly of refugees from the Spanish Civil War. In addition to Spaniards, at least 62 members of the International Brigade (Interbrigade) were registered at Rieucros as of March 7, 1939. The nature of the camp began to change by October 18, 1939, when several dozen women of German and other nationalities were transferred there by special train from the La Petite Roquette prison in Paris. The women were incarcerated as enemy aliens immediately after the outbreak of World War II in September 1939.[2] Among them were leftist activists and Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany. The number of inmates rose from about 100 in October to 250 in December 1939. By May 1940, no fewer than 425 women of 20 nationalities were registered at the site.

The camp's administrative structure and inmate population changed again after the Franco-German Armistice of June 22, 1940. On October 4, 1940, the Vichy government assigned the administration of so-called disciplinary camps to the departmental prefects. They answered to the Inspector General of the Camps (*Inspecteur Général des Camps*, IGC) of the Interior Ministry and used policemen to guard such sites.[3] The Kundt Commission, a Franco-German commission, inspected the camp on August 4, 1940, and the number of Germans interned at the site increased quickly thereafter. Many of the German inmates testified after the war that their daily life was marked by fear of extradition to Nazi Germany. A significant number of inmates were able to avoid that fate by securing emigration permits.[4] In the first half of 1940, about a dozen inmates left Rieucros each month for a women's transit camp at the Hôtel Bompard in Marseille. From there, they emigrated to various foreign countries. By September 1940, the number of inmates decreased from 553, including 24 children, to 405, including 9 children.[5]

During this period, many male inmates were released or assigned to forced labor details. In October 1941, the French authorities transferred all remaining male inmates to the penal

Female prisoners carry containers of food along a road in the Rieucros disciplinary camp, 1939–1942.
USHMM WS #82629, COURTESY OF THE BUNDESARCHIV.

camp at Le Vernet d'Ariège. The Rieucros camp now functioned as a "*camp répressif*" or disciplinary camp exclusively for women who were deemed subversive primarily because of their leftist political allegiances.[6] Official camp statistics reveal that the average occupancy for 1941 was 80 Spanish women, 70 Polish women, 50 German women, and 40 French women. By the end of the year the number of French inmates began to increase steadily. Eighty-eight French women, 56 Polish women, 45 Spanish women, and 23 German women were among the inmates registered at the camp in January 1942.

As a result of the high concentration of artists and activists among the inmates, daily camp life was marked by extensive artistic activities and vigorous political activism. Notable inmates included the Russian writer Ida Mett, the German actress Steffie Spira-Ruschin, the Swiss photographer Gertrude Duby-Blom, and well-known antifascists or Resistance figures such as Dora Schaul and Cläre Quast. Famous escapees from Rieucros include the Italian political activist Ernesto Bonomini, who escaped from the camp in April 1939, and the Czech writer Lenka Reinerová. Several of those interned at Rieucros as children rose to prominence after the war. These included the writer Michael del Castillo and the mathematician Alexander Grothendieck, both of whom were interned at Rieucros as young boys alongside their mothers.

Three hundred forty-six inmates, including 320 women and 26 children, were still registered at the site when the Vichy authorities closed the camp on February 13, 1942. The remaining inmates were transferred to the camp at Brens (Tarn Département, Midi-Pyrénées). For several of the Jewish inmates, Rieucros thus became a way station to extermination camps in Eastern Europe.[7]

SOURCES The Rieucros camp is well documented and researched. Important secondary sources include Mechthild Gilzmer, *Fraueninternierungslager in Südfrankreich: Rieucros und Brens 1939–1944* (Berlin: Orlanda Frauenverlag, 1994). The author establishes the historic context for internment camps for women in France and details camp operations at Rieucros and Brens. In addition, she reproduces the diary entries of Rieucros inmate Ursula Katzenstein to illuminate day-to-day camp life. Another focus of her study is the cultural and artistic output of inmates, especially at Rieucros. See also Gertrud Rast, *Allein bist du nicht: Kämpfe und Schicksale in schwerer Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Röderberg-Verlag, 1972); and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Collections of primary documentation are available in several archives, including AN: F 1 A 3345, 3346, 4538, 4553, 4680, and 4683; CDJC: CCCLXIII-70, DLXXV-2, and CCCLXXIII- 3, 4, 5; AD-Lo: 2W2603, 2W2604; and 2W2805; ADT: 1238 W 1-25 and 495 W 1-28; and ADT-G, Dossier 15. The ITS collections contain various contemporaneous reports, often assembled by aid organizations, detailing various aspects of camp life and inmate populations. See, especially, ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Persecution action in France and Monaco), folders 1, 8, and I455, available in digital form at USHMMA. There are also several oral history interviews with former Rieucros inmates in VHA among others. See especially #13125 (Ursula Katzenstein, April 2, 1996); #15402 (Dora Schaul, May 21, 1996); #11335 (Paula Tattmar, January 22, 1996); and #34278 (Simon Salomon Haïm, July 16, 1997). For a published collection of contextualized primary documents and photographs of camp artifacts of AD-Lo see Sandrine Peyrac, ed., *Le camp d'internement de Rieucros, 1939–1942: l'internement, de la République à l'ètat français* (Mende: Archives dèpartementales de la Lozère, Service éducatif, 2009).

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NOTES

1. See a camp map reproduced in Peyrac, *Le camp d'internement de Rieucros*, p. 69.
2. See camp diary and drawing by inmate Dora Schaul, reproduced in Gilzmer, *Fraueninternierungslager in Südfrankreich*, pp. 33–39.
3. ITS, 1.2.7.18, fol. 1, p. 306.
4. For an undated report by aid organizations detailing "the problem of emigration" from camps like Rieucros, see ITS, 1.2.7.18, fol. 8.
5. AD-Lo, 2 W 2603, as cited in Gilzmer, *Fraueninternierungslager in Südfrankreich*, pp. 43–45.
6. ITS, 1.2.7.18, fol. 1, p. 174.
7. AD-Lo, 2 W 2603, as cited in Gilzmer, *Fraueninternierungslager in Südfrankreich*, pp. 45–47.

RIVEL

A short-lived camp in the Haute-Garonne Département, Rivel was situated 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the village of Rivel, which is about 22 kilometers (14 miles) south of Toulouse, along the Chemin de Grande Communication (CGC) 120 line.

The French Army began construction on the camp at the end of 1939 on land requisitioned from an owner in Toulouse.[1] By the fall of 1940, Rivel had begun to operate as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) under the direction of the Interior Ministry.[2]

By the end of 1940, Rivel held around 210 political detainees (*indésirables*), most of whom were communists sent to Rivel after being held for several months at the prison in Limoux.[3] The camp's administration included an Interior Ministry official charged with running the camp, a military doctor, 4 noncommissioned officers, and 13 guards (*guardiens*), most of whom came from the Forbidden Zone (*zone interdite*).[4]

Despite the renovations that occurred before the prisoners were transferred from Limoux, the camp's facilities remained inadequate. They comprised six masonry buildings, two of which were uninhabitable, as well as a kitchen with an unused dining hall and an office. There were neither fireplaces nor electricity, so prisoners used candles for heat, and a shortage of beds and mattresses forced some prisoners to sleep on bundles of ferns collected from the nearby woods. In a November 21, 1940, report to Vichy, the camp director noted that "the most anomalous fact" about the camp was that the guards and some of the prisoners slept in the same building because of a lack of space. Although they received some dried food supplies, the prisoners were in charge of their own cooking.[5]

Security was also lacking. Both postal service and visits were unregulated, according to the camp director.[6] The camp was not enclosed, and escapes occurred frequently. In early December 1940, the mayor of Rivel visited the sub-prefect of Limoux to express his concerns about the relative freedom the prisoners had to leave camp and that they could often be found spending time in his town's cafes.[7] Camp administrators also received complaints from people living in the neighboring village of Chalabre, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the camp, about detainees walking around the village "engaging in unwholesome propaganda."[8] A report compiled by the local gendarmerie from interviews of townspeople echoed the complaints about prisoners drinking and spreading propaganda in Chalabre, although some witnesses disagreed with these claims.[9]

According to a December 17, 1940, letter to the prefect of Aude, the camp director attempted to address these complaints and to reduce the number of escapes by implementing measures such as terminating the employment of two prisoners who had been allowed to work in Chalabre during the day, ending the practice of allowing prisoners to go to Chalabre to bathe on Saturdays, and banning all political discussion.[10] However, according to subsequent reports, prisoners continued to escape.[11]

At the end of January 1941, all 260 prisoners at Rivel were transferred to the newly created CSS at Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe in the Tarn Département.[12] According to departmental and prefectural correspondence from the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, work began on March 1, 1942, to renovate the empty camp at Rivel to receive more prisoners, but apparently this project was not completed.[13]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Rivel include Jean Tisseyre, "Les Derniers témoins du camp de Rivel (Aude) 1940–1944," *Bulletin de la société d'études scientifiques de l'Aude* 92 (1992): 125–133; and Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary documentation on the camp at Rivel can be found in ADAu under the classifications MW2625, MW3695 (transfers to and from the camp, instructions), MW4582, and 90W30 (descriptions of camp and reports on escapes). Some of this documentation is available on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.039M.

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NOTES

1. Chef du Centre de Séjour surveillé de Rivel to Directeur de l'Administration de la Police et des affairs Générales à Vichy, November 21, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M (ADAu), reel 12, 90W30 (USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, pp. 814–816).
2. Général de corps d'armée Hanote to P/Au, September 4, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/11/MW3695, p. 2201.
3. S-P Limoux to P/Au, October 14, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, 828–829; transfer from Limoux, Colonel Toussaint to P/Au, March 7, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/11/MW3695, p. 2194.
4. S-P Limoux to P/Au, October 14, 1941.
5. Quotation from Chef du Centre de Séjour surveillé de Rivel to Directeur de l'Administration de la Police et des affairs Générales à Vichy, November 21, 1940, pp. 814–815.
6. Ibid., p. 815.
7. S-P Limoux to P/Au, December 4, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, p. 824.
8. Quotation from S-P Limoux to P/Au, December 15, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, p. 820.
9. Ernest Peytavy and Jules Schaller, "Constatant des renseignements sur les détenus du Camp de Rivel," December 17, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/11/MW3695, pp. 2205–2206.
10. Chef du Centre de Séjour surveillé de Rivel to P/Au, December 17, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, p. 823.
11. Chef du Centre de Séjour surveillé de Rivel to P/Au, December 20, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, p. 821.
12. P/Au, "Télégramme Officiel," January 25, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/11/MW3695, p. 2203; number of prisoners transferred, Commissaire Spécial/Tarn to P/T, February 15, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W4, p. 299.
13. L'Ingénieur Principal Dautezac to S-P Limoux, March 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.039M/12/90W30, pp. 836–837.

RIVESALTES

The camp at Rivesaltes was located 8 kilometers (5 miles) northwest of Perpignan and 124 kilometers (77 miles) southwest of Montpellier in the Pyrénées-Orientales Département. In 1938, it was established as the Joffre military instruction camp, named in honor of the World War I marshal born in Rivesaltes. Camp Joffre remained the camp's alternative name under the Vichy administration. In 1939, in response to the flood of refugees from the Spanish Civil War, it became a refugee camp. After December 10, 1940, a large section of a

612-hectare (1,512-acre) field located south of the camp was used to intern refugees from Nazi Germany. Starting on January 14, 1941, the camp became a collection point for foreigners and their families. There were 16 compounds (*îlots*) in Rivesaltes, but a storm on January 3, 1941, reduced that number to 7. According to historians Violette Marcos and Juanito Marcos, the camp had 500 wooden barracks that could hold up to 8,000 people. It was spread over a little more than three kilometers (two miles), extending almost to the coast of the Mediterranean. More than 20,000 detainees passed through the Rivesaltes camp between 1940 and 1942.

The prefect of Pyrénées-Orientales, Pierre-Olivier de Sardan, oversaw the camp. Between 1941 and September 1942, its director was Capitaine de réserve David-Gustave Humbert, assisted by Deputy Fourniols. After Fourniols's promotion in early 1941, Humbert's deputy was Jack Littaye, who later served as camp director from September to November 1942. From December 1941 to February 1942, there were also 4 administrators and approximately 10 secretaries. The National Police (*Sûreté Nationale*) and civil guards (*gardes civiles*) were in charge of camp surveillance. There were approximately 40 officers and 40 corporals from the Sûreté Nationale. In September 1941 there were about 290 civil guards, and the number decreased to 142 in October 1942.

The detainee population was diverse. In addition to the Spanish and "stateless" people, there were French, Poles, Germans, Austrians, Russians, Portuguese, Czechs, Italians, Romanians, Yugoslavs, Belgians, Hungarians, Armenians, and British. In April 1941, there were 8,000 prisoners in the camp, including 2,000 children. In September 1941, there were more than 6,600 detainees in Rivesaltes.[1] At that time about one-half were Spanish and one-third were Jewish. There were also a few Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) and political dissidents. After the closure of the Pyrénées-Orientales Département camps of Argelès-sur-Mer and Le Bacarès, the former at the end of June 1941 and the latter in July 1942, their Roma populations were transferred to Rivesaltes.

In April 1941, the camp's director ordered the confinement of all Jewish families in a single compound. After the roundups in August 1942, Rivesaltes became the collection point for Jews in the Southern Zone. It was used to classify and hold all Jews from the Southern Zone before their transfer to the Drancy transit camp and then to the Nazi killing centers. Compounds F and K were set aside for this purpose. Between August 11 and October 20, 1942, nine convoys departed Rivesaltes with a total of 2,313 foreign Jews, including 209 children. Serge Klarsfeld famously described the camp as the Drancy of the Southern Zone.

The living conditions were very tough. The Jewish family members were separated: the men were segregated from women and children. Despite assistance from numerous aid organizations, the death rate among children was quite high: between July and September 1941, 60 of 140 children died in the "children's city" (*cité des enfants*), which was part of the camp's "family gathering" area. In addition to the filth, vermin, and lack of food, Manya Breuer recalled that the toilets

Children in the Rivesaltes internment camp wait in the cold for soup, 1939–1942.
USHMM WS #62397, COURTESY OF ELIZABETH EIDENBENZ.

at Rivesaltes consisted of open pits.[2] Consequently disease—dysentery, typhoid, and septicemia—spread within the camp. According to Klarsfeld, 128 Jews died at Rivesaltes between 1941 and 1942. The weather conditions were also difficult, with freezing wind in winter and scorching heat in summer. In addition, tramontane winds with gusts reaching 120 kilometers (75 miles) per hour blew frequently during one-third of the year, blowing sand and dust into the camp. After being transferred to Rivesaltes from the Agde camp in 1941, Abraham Dresdner described it as the worse camp, in part because of the bitter cold.[3] According to historian Anne Boitel, there were 249 escapes recorded in 1941 and 853 in 1942.

A number of international organizations provided relief at Rivesaltes. They included the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA); the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), which had an office in neighboring Perpignan; the American Mennonites; the Swiss Relief Organization for Children (*Secours Suisse aux Enfants*) of the Swiss Red Cross; the Protestant Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE); the Jewish aid organization, Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work (*Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda*, ORT); and the Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE). Assistance from the YMCA enabled Egan Gruenhut to organize a library and a barrack dedicated to cultural pursuits.[4] With support from the OSE and YMCA, Czech-born Protestant aid worker Josef Fišera was able to secure the release of some Jewish children and their parents from Rivesaltes, moving them to a children's home called the Christian Welcome Home for Children (*Maison d'Accueil Chrétienne pour Enfants*, MACE) in Vence (Alpes-Maritimes Département). In 1988, Yad Vashem honored Fišera as a Righteous Among the Nations for his rescue efforts.

With aid from the relief organizations, compound J became a health center. Secours Suisse enabled pregnant women to deliver babies outside the camp at the Elne Swiss maternity clinic at Château d'en Bardou in Pyrénées-Orientales. Nearly 600 children of 22 different nationalities were born in the clinic during the war. After delivery, the women were introduced to members of

the Resistance, particularly due to the efforts of Elisabeth Eidenbenz, a nurse from the Swiss Red Cross who organized the maternity home. In 1990, Yad Vashem honored August Bohny-Reiter and his wife, Friedl Bohny-Reiter, as Righteous Among the Nations for their rescue work with Secours Suisse, and it extended the same recognition to Eidenbenz in 2001.

A portion of the able-bodied male detainees, mostly Spanish, were dispatched as forced laborers with the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) at Goudex and to GTE No. 157 at Rivesaltes.

After occupying the Southern Zone, the Germans transported detainees out of the camp on November 22, 1942. The Roma were dispatched to the newly opened camp in Saliers (Bouches-du-Rhône Département), and the rest of the remaining 1,000 Rivesaltes detainees were sent to Gurs. In her diary, Friedl Bohny-Reiter noted, "Rivesaltes is full of Germans. Cars, tanks, swastikas. Perpignan, the same scene of war."[5] German troops remained at Rivesaltes until the Liberation on August 19, 1944. Thereafter, the camp served as a prisoner of war (POW) camp for German and Italian captives.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Rivesaltes are Anne Boitel, *Le Camp de Rivesaltes, 1941–1942: Du centre d'hébergement au "Drancy de la zone libre"* (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan; Mare Nostrum, 2001), which includes a detailed chart on the guard force (pp. 285–286); Joël Mettay, *L'archipel du mépris: Histoire du camps de Rivesaltes de 1939 à nos jours* (Canet: Trabucaire, 2001); Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du Sud-Ouest de la France: Exclusion, internement, déportation—1939–1944* (Toulouse: Privat Éditions, 1994); Serge Klarsfeld, *La Shoah en France*, 4 vols. (Paris: Fayard Éd., 2001); Violette Marcos and Juanito Marcos, *Les camps de Rivesaltes: une histoire de l'enfermement (1935–2007)*. Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, c. 2009; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources on the Rivesaltes camp can be found in AD-P-O, in the prefect's cabinet collections (31W9–10, 20, 52, 78, 112, 178; 39W6, 44, 85–88, 101; 39W116; 53W116; and 1060W2); and in various collections (38W69, 150–176; 109W297–338; 134W29–31; 1260W1–34, 68, 78–103; 1287W1–2; 26W13–14). Some of this documentation is available at USHMMA in RG-43.036M. Additional primary sources can be found in AN 737/MI/2 and at CDJC in collections CCXXXVI-96 (about a request to free a few Jews from Rivesaltes), CCXXXVIII-184 (Jewish workers), and CCXIX-38, 41, 42, 58 (reports on the Rivesaltes camp). USHMMA holds extensive photographic, artifact, and documentary collections concerning Rivesaltes. Among them are the AFSC records relating to humanitarian work in France, 1933 to 1950 (RG-67.007), which document relief work and camp conditions by AFSC's Perpignan, Toulouse, and Marseille offices. Under RG-02.098, USHMMA holds the unpublished testimony of Gurs and Rivesaltes prisoner Kurt Bigler. Among the nearly 200 oral history interviews on Rivesaltes held at USHMMA are two with Swiss relief workers August Bohny-Reiter (RG-50.030*0031) and his wife, Friedl Bohny-Reiter (RG-50.030*0032). Under USHMMA Acc. No. 2006.154.1 is a watercolor of the camp produced by Friedl Bohny-Reiter. USHMMA, RG-43.028M (Archiv Joseph Fišera—Joseph Fišera Archive, 1937–1996) includes some documentation on Jewish children rescued by Fišera from Rivesaltes. USHMMPA holds more than 400 photographs of Rivesaltes and its detainees, including some views of the camp layout, such as WS #62388. USHMMA also has some film footage of Rivesaltes in RG-60.0531, "The Other Side of War: In a Concentration Camp in France" (Fox Movietone newsreel, April 1941). VHA has 178 testimonies by Rivesaltes survivors, as well as by aid worker Joseph Fišera (#41886). Friedl Bohny-Reiter's published diary, *Vorhof der Vernichtung: Tagebuch einer Schweizer Schwester im französischen Internierungslager Rivesaltes 1941–1942*, contains a foreword by Margot Wicki-Schwarzschild; introduction by Michèle Fleury-Seemuller; edited by Erhard Roy Wiehn (Constance: Hartung-Gorre, 1995). A published collection of letters from Rivesaltes is Manfred Wildmann and Erhard Roy Wiehn, eds., *Und flehentlich gesegnet: Briefe der Familie Wildmann aus Rivesaltes und Perpignan; jüdische Schicksale aus Philippsburg 1941–1943* (Constance: Hartung-Gorre, 1997).

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NOTES

1. Camp registers in AD-P-O, 1260W78, as cited by Marcos and Marcos, *Les camps de Rivesaltes*, pp. 36–37.
2. VHA #6059, Manya Breuer testimony, August 28, 1995.
3. VHA #7078, Abraham Dresdner testimony, November 9, 1995.
4. VHA #40167, Egon Gruenhut testimony, April 7, 1998.
5. November 15, 1942 entry, Bohny-Reiter, *Vorhof der Vernichtung*, p. 125.

ROUILLÉ

Rouillé (Vienne Département) is located almost 29 kilometers (18 miles) southwest of Poitiers and nearly 96 kilometers (over 59 miles) northeast of La Rochelle. On September 6, 1941, the Vichy authorities opened an administrative internment camp (*camp d'internement administratif*) at Rouillé for the purpose of detaining communists, "undesirable foreigners," black marketeers, and common criminals. Overlooked by a castle and paralleling the Poitiers-La Rochelle railway line, the camp consisted of 24 buildings, including 8 barracks for prisoners, and was 1.5 hectares (3 acres) in size. The castle is visible in a prisoner's graphic representation of the site.[1] A double barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp. The fencing not only enhanced security but also obscured local inhabitants' view of the camp. The prisoners' accommodations were spartan.

The first 127 prisoners in the camp were communists from the Paris area who had been previously held in the Aincourt camp. Over the three years of its existence, the size of Rouillé's population fluctuated considerably: in November 1942 there were 638 internees, 274 in November 1943, and 379 in June 1944. Overall, 1,780 prisoners passed through the camp. There were three reasons for variations in the camp population. First, the close proximity of the Feldkommandantur (FK)

Sketch of the closed chateau or manor at Rouillé, by Felix Pastor, circa 1940.
USHMM WS #73584, COURTESY OF THE FEDERATION NATIONALE DES DEPORTES ET INTERNES RESISTANTS ET PATRIOTES.

at Poitiers meant that Rouillé was an easy target for taking political prisoners as hostages, who were then usually shot in "reprisal" for Resistance attacks. The German authorities viewed Rouillé's political internees as a sort of hostage reserve. Second, as documentation from the Voves and the German-run Pithiviers camps shows, there were numerous transfers between Rouillé, Voves, and later Pithiviers, especially in October 1942, November 1943, and April 1944. Such transfers were sometimes an intermediary step before a handover to the German authorities, via the SS police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) at Compiègne.[2] Third, Organisation Todt (OT) recruited some Rouillé prisoners for labor deployment at Royan, nearly 121 kilometers (75 miles) southwest of the camp on the Atlantic coast.

In December 1941, the Commander-in-Chief in France (*Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich*) ordered a survey of French camps in preparation for the deportation of 1,000 Jews and 500 communists to Nazi concentration camps. The deportation was planned as a form of retaliation for a Resistance attack in Paris. For logistical reasons, the transport was postponed until February 1942 and limited only to communists. In the survey, the District Chief (*Bezirks-Chef*) in Bordeaux reported that 130 communists were available at Rouillé for deportation, a number inexplicably reduced to 110 in a cover letter.[3] In fact, some 52 political prisoners were dispatched from Rouillé to Compiègne as part of the February 1942 deportation.

According to historian Roger Picard, the first nine hostages shot by the German authorities in the Vienne Département were Rouillé prisoners. The first such action took place in March 1942, when Oberst von Hausch informed the prefect of Vienne that three Rouillé prisoners were shot and specified the cemeteries in which to inter the remains.[4] The shooting took place at Biard Hill (*Butte de Biard*), a killing site operated by the German authorities more than three kilometers (two miles) west of Poitiers. In a follow-up communiqué to the Poitiers regional prefect, SS-Hauptsturmführer Herold granted permission for the remains of a subsequent victim from the Rouillé camp, Pierre-Gabriel Dejardin, to be transferred to his widow for burial, but forbade any patriotic display on the grave marker.[5] Typically, political prisoners selected for hostage taking and reprisal were confined to the German-run prison at Poitiers called Pierre-Lévée.[6]

At Rouillé, the internees resided in barracks according to arrest categories.[7] In part this arrangement reflected the camp administration's gradations of security, in which the communists were held under the tightest supervision. Foreign prisoners occupied Barracks 11 and 12. They included Armenians, Spaniards, Yugoslavs, Poles, stateless people, and at least one individual of Chinese background.[8] According to Picard's research, at least 704 prisoners were labeled black marketeers. The camp had a small orchestra, and there were occasional theatrical performances, featuring the comedies of Molière, including *The Doctor in Spite of Himself* (*Le Médecin malgré lui*).[9] The prisoners further maintained a semblance of cultural life by conducting secret classes, including courses on foreign languages and mathematics.

The prisoners' diet was strictly vegetarian. An important exception came in the form of relief parcels furnished by a Catholic nun, Sister Jeanne Chérer. In addition to furnishing books, costumes (for the Molière play), and clothes, Chérer helped ensure that at least some prisoners got a more nutritious diet. The camp administration assured the Vienne Prefecture that such assistance, when furnished, was carefully monitored.[10]

There were several escapes from Rouillé, but given the site's tight security regime, escapes often took place at the camp's affiliated hospital, Hôtel-Dieu, in Poitiers. In March 1942, a communist cell in Paris arranged a 50,000-franc bribe to ensure the assistance of a guard at Rouillé in the escape of three political prisoners.

On the night of June 11, 1944, as part of the stepped-up Resistance attacks following D-Day, a maquis unit attacked the Rouillé camp, breached its defenses, and helped 47 internees, mostly Spanish Republicans, to escape. Given that the foreign prisoners occupied Barracks 11 and 12, which were closest to the rail line, the maquis likely attacked from that direction. The escapees joined the maquis, sharing in the disaster that befell the unit on June 27, when the German authorities cornered and massacred them at Vaugeton, almost 10 kilometers (6 miles) southeast of Rouillé. The Rouillé camp closed as a result of the successful maquis attack.

SOURCES Studies describing the Rouillé camp include the following works by Roger Picard: *La Vienne dans la Guerre 1939–1945* (Clermont-Ferrand: De Borée, 2001); "Rouillé (septembre 1941–juin 1944)," in Jean-Pierre Rioux, Antoine Prost, and Jean-Pierre Azéma, eds., *Les communistes français de Munich à Châteaubriant, 1938–1941* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1987), pp. 192–198; and "La répression du marché noir entre 1941 et 1944: Le camp de Rouillé (Vienne)," in Dominique Veillon and Jean-Marie Flonneau, eds., *Le temps des restrictions en France (1939–1949)* (Paris: Institut d'histoire du temps présent, 1996), pp. 411–416. On

Sister Jeanne Chérer, see Roger Picard, *Hommes et combats en Poitou, 1939–1945* (Amiens: Ed. Martelle, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Rouillé camp can be found in AD-V. Of particular interest are collections 109W27–109W28 (camp reports) and 109W78 (escapes). Some documentation is available in AD-E-L, collections 106W51–106W54, which include intake cards of Rouillé prisoners transferred to Voves (available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43-108M). ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco), contains some documentation on the camp; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. Former prisoner Felix Pastor's sketches are available at FNDIRP. André Forestier's testimony, excerpted at www.crrl.fr/module-Contenus-viewpub-tid-2-pid-78.html, is available in a two-volume, unpublished MSS at CRRL. The testimony of Rouillé and Voves prisoner Henri Crotti is available at www.amicale-chateaubriant.fr/spip.php?article46.

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NOTES

1. USHMMPA, WS #73584, Felix Pastor, sketch of Rouillé, ca. 1940 (Courtesy of FNDIRP).
2. On prisoner transfers, see ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Jean Émile René Bach, Doc. No. 14877648.
3. "Meldungen der Feldkommandanturen über die für einen Abtransport nach dem Osten zur Verfügung stehenden internierten Kommunisten," n.d., ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco), Doc. No. 82197696; Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich, Verwaltungsstab Abt. Verw. Betr.: "Deportierung von 500 Kommunisten für seinen Arbeitseinsatz im Osten," December 24, 1941, ITS, 1.2.7.18, Doc. No. 82197695.
4. Oberst von Hausch, FK 677, to P/Vienne, March 9, 1942, Objet: "Exécution d'otages," AD-V, reproduced in Picard, *La Vienne dans la Guerre 1939–1945*, p. 102.
5. SS-Hauptsturmführer Herold, Kommando Poitiers, to P/Regionale Poitiers, September 8, 1942, AD-V, reproduced in Picard, *La Vienne dans la Guerre 1939–1945*, p. 104.
6. Testimony of André Forestier, available at www.crrl.fr/module-Contenus-viewpub-tid-2-pid-78.html.
7. Testimony of Henri Crotti, n.d., available at www.amicale-chateaubriant.fr/spip.php?article46.
8. Intake card for Cheng-Ku Zé, Voves, USHMMA, RG-43-108M (AD-E-L), 106W51, p. 151.
9. Forestier testimony, available at www.crrl.fr/module-Contenus-viewpub-tid-2-pid-78.html.
10. CSS Rouillé to P/Delegue Vienne, 8/19/1943, Obj: "Role des Assistante Sociale au Camp de Rouillé," AD-V, reproduced in Picard, *La Vienne dans la Guerre 1939–1945*, p. 104.

RUFFIEUX

In 1941, the Savoie Département established a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 974, at Ruffieux. Ruffieux is just over 32 kilometers (20 miles) northwest of the departmental capital, Chambéry, and only some 3 miles north of Lake Bourget. Originally, GTE No. 974 consisted of Polish and Spanish forced laborers. But with the implementation of the Vichy policy of segregating Jews from non-Jews in the foreign labor groups, GTE No. 974 came to consist exclusively of foreign Jewish males, numbering approximately 200, by January 1942.[1]

Under gendarme escort, GTE No. 974 was set to work on an estate in Chautagne near Lake Bourget, removing cattails and clearing the Savières Canal. The group also did forestry work. These Jewish prisoners worked 11-hour days. Their spartan rations consisted of 350 grams (almost 12.5 ounces) of bread daily, morning coffee, and bean soup at lunch and dinner. They received meat only once per week. They lived in seven barracks with roughly 30 people per barrack.

The Central Name Index (CNI) cards from the International Tracing Service (ITS) and Shoah Foundation testimony reveal a number of persecution tracks for the Jewish prisoners at Ruffieux. Some members of GTE No. 974 had been previously confined to the French-run camps at Gurs, Les Milles, Montreuil-Bellay, and Saint-Cyprien.[2]

During the August 1942 roundup of Jews from the Southern Zone, Ruffieux served as both the target of deportation and a temporary transit camp. The other Jewish GTE in the Lyon region (today: Rhônes-Alpes region), GTE No. 514, was at Savigny (Haute-Savoie Département). On August 23, 1942, 104 members of GTE No. 514 were dispatched to Ruffieux, along with 8 Jews from a GTE in Pontavenaux (Saône-et-Loire Département). On August 24, 168 Jewish men were sent from Ruffieux to Drancy. Fifty-six of the deportees were from GTE No. 974.[3] An additional deportation of 41 Jewish men to Drancy took place on August 25. The Savoie Département's remaining 65 Jews, including women and children, passed through the Ruffieux camp along the way to the temporary detention site at Vénissieux during the August 26, 1942, roundup. From Vénissieux, they were sent to Drancy in preparation for deportation.

The Ruffieux camp censor intercepted letters from GTE No. 974 prisoners, indicating their dread of deportation. Some believed their final destination was to be German-occupied Poland.[4] Many members of GTE No. 974 consequently fled the camp in the weeks prior to deportation and lived under assumed names; some remained free until the Liberation. The escapees included survivor K. D. and Jacob Szmulewicz.[5] The Auschwitz Numbers Registry (*Nummernverzeichnis*) indicates that some of the inmates deported from Ruffieux were deployed in the Blechhammer subcamp.[6]

SOURCES Two secondary sources describing the Ruffieux camp and its role in the deportations are Cédric Brunie, "Le camp de Ruffieux et les déportations de 1942 en Savoie," in Jean-William Dereymez, ed., *Le refuge et le piège: Les juifs dans les Alpes, 1938–1945* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 137–144; and Serge Klarsfeld, André Delahaye, et al., *Fiches typologiques par lieu d'internement* (Paris: Mission d'étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France, n.d.), pp. 96–97, available at www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-matteoli.htm.

Primary sources documenting the Ruffieux camp, GTE No. 974, can be found in AD-S, collections CAB 67/98bis and 336/R7. Additional documentation can be found in CDJC, collections CCXIII and CCXIX. ITS collections 0.1 (CNI) and

6.3.3.2. (T/D) contain a few references to Ruffieux prisoners. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds two interviews with survivors who were held at Ruffieux.

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NOTES

1. On Poles and Spaniards in GTE No. 974, see AD-S, CAB 67/98bis, as cited in Brunie, "Le camp de Ruffieux," p. 139.
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Gerhard Lewandowski, DOB June 17, 1910, Doc. No. 31726484; ITS, 6.3.3.2, K.D. file, T/D 729995, Doc. No. 105118972; VHA #28258, Helmut Simon testimony, April 9, 1997.
3. Liste des Juifs deportes de Ruffieux par l'administration francaise, August 24, 1942, AD-S, 1362W4, available at www.savoie.fr/archives73/expo_savoie_des_ombres/pano12/pages/09-03-Liste_juifs_deportes_2.html.
4. AD-S, 336/R7 (Contrôle postale), as cited in Brunie, "Le camp de Ruffieux," p. 141.
5. ITS, 6.3.3.2, K.D. file, T/D 729995, Doc. No. 105118987; VHA #6860, Jacob Szmulewicz testimony, August 23, 1995.
6. ITS, 1.1.2.1, folder 98, Nummernverzeichnis der KL Auschwitz; see also VHA #28258; and ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Gerhard Lewandowski (DOB June 17, 1910), Doc. No. 31726484.

SAINT-CYPRIEN

Saint-Cyprien is located 12.4 kilometers (8 miles) southeast of Perpignan, on the Côte Radieuse by the Mediterranean Sea, in the Pyrénées-Orientales Département. It was selected as a reception center (*Centre d'accueil*) for Spanish refugees under the direction of Général Ménard. The camp was operational on February 8, 1939, and held nearly 90,000 Spanish refugees a month later. It comprised 364 wooden barracks, with tarpaulins and corrugated iron for roofing. The barracks spread over four compounds (*îlots*) measuring 100 × 70 meters (328 × 230 feet). Among the notable internees held during the early phase of the camp were Spanish Civil War veterans Manuel Andújar and Hermann Langbein.

After June 1940, Saint-Cyprien became a collection point for foreigners (*Centre de rassemblement des étrangers*) under the authority of the Montpellier regional prefecture. Its population consisted of German nationals and Jews from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, and the Netherlands. In June 1940, there were approximately 1,000 "Reich Germans" in Saint-Cyprien. According to various reports, some were Jewish refugees from the SS *St. Louis*.[1] A prisoner held during this phase was the leftist German artist, Karl Schwesig, who documented aspects of camp life at Saint-Cyprien in a series of watercolors and sketches.[2]

In May 1940, there were 5,000 detainees in Saint-Cyprien. According to a report from August 1940, the camp population stood at 3,923, including 14 detainees younger than 17 years old and 16 over 65 years old. The oldest detainee was 83 years old.[3]

The Saint-Cyprien camp for refugees fleeing the Spanish Civil War, later an internment camp for Jews and political prisoners, 1939–1941. USHMM WS #97484, COURTESY OF THE CENTRE DE DOCUMENTATION JUIVE CONTEMPORAINE.

Complaints about living conditions started as early as the summer of 1940; detainees cited poor water quality, vermin, and unsanitary bathrooms, as well as the lack of straw mattresses, food, and clothes.[4] Conditions were so bad that the Swiss media stigmatized the camp and published photographs to prove their point.[5] Recurring diphtheria, dysentery, and typhoid epidemics led to a high death rate in the camp, especially among young children. The camp administration listed 262 deaths in Saint-Cyprien. Testimonies collected by the Shoah Foundation attested to Saint-Cyprien's poor conditions. Some detainees, like Erich Elkan, were hospitalized in nearby Perpignan as a result.[6] Survivor Laure Levine recalled that her mother got sick while in Saint-Cyprien and subsequently succumbed to her illness while in the Rivesaltes camp.[7] Grave lists collected by the International Tracing Service (ITS) suggested that epidemics were particularly rife during the summer of 1940, at which time 9 Jewish detainees were buried near the Saint-Cyprien camp (out of 12 listed); of the 12 burials of Jews that took place at Perpignan near the Saint-Jean Hospital, 7 occurred during the same period.[8]

One Belgian Jewish prisoner, Leo Ansbacher, served as the camp's rabbi. With his brother Max's assistance, he organized support networks in Saint-Cyprien. The American Joint Distribution Committee and the Hebrew Immigration/Jewish Colonization Association/Emig-Direkt (HICEM) greatly helped improve the detainees' situation. Rabbi René Kapel, the head of the Toulouse Executive Committee, also organized many supportive activities.[9]

According to historian Pierre Cros, there were 28 escapes recorded during Saint-Cyprien's existence. A successful escapee was Bulgarian-born David Davidoff, who slipped under the barbed-wire fence in 1940.[10]

According to one detainee's testimony, prisoners from the Reich (approximately 1,300) were allegedly taken to Langon, past the Demarcation Line, to await possible repatriation. However, only 300 detainees were actually sent back to the Reich. The others, who were not given clear instructions where to go, returned to Saint-Cyprien.[11]

Between May 1940 and October 1941, there were five companies of foreign workers (*Companies des Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTEs) affiliated with or otherwise deployed at Saint-Cyprien. Not all were stationed in the camp at the same time. The first two were CTE Nos. 225 and 227, both of which consisted of Spanish refugees. In January 1941, months after the camp's official closure, CTE Nos. 218, 402, and 37 occupied some of the barracks at various times. Their forced labor consisted of dismantling the camp's physical plant.[12]

Between October 16 and 19, 1940, exceptionally strong floods rendered the camp's access roads inaccessible and bisected the camp, necessitating its evacuation. According to a list from October 30, 1940, 3,858 Saint-Cyprien detainees were sent to the camp at Gurs, and 300 "refugees from neutral countries" were sent to the camp at Argelès-sur-Mer. The camp closed on October 30, 1940.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Saint-Cyprien are Pierre Cros, *Saint-Cyprien, 1939–1945: Le village, le camp, la guerre* (Canet: Trabucaire, 2001); Marcel Bervoets-Tragholz, *La liste de Saint-Cyprien: L'odyssée de plusieurs milliers de juifs expulsés le 10 mai 1940 par les autorités belges vers les camps d'internement du sud de la France, antichambre des camps d'extermination* (Brussels: Alice Éd., 2006); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary sources about the Saint-Cyprien camp can be found in AD-P-O, available in microform as USHMMA, RG-43.036M. This collection includes a small number of reports, mostly prewar, related to the camp, including a file (109W341) on escapes in reel 10. Additional documentation can be found in AD-P-A, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.035M. Noteworthy in RG-43.035M is the collection of dossiers of detainees transferred from Saint-Cyprien to Gurs, reels 39 to 41, files 72W271–72W295. At AN are files 737/MI/2 (documents about the camp) and F9 5578 (report by ICRC representative Dr. Junod on visits to the camps, including Saint-Cyprien, between June 17 and 25, 1940, and July 5, 1940). At PAAA, there is the Kundt Commission report on Saint-Cyprien, 1940, under Inland II A/B 8326 Frankreich—R 99225 and 99226. At CDJC, FSJF collection, there are several documents on the camp: CCXIX-149_002 (report written after a visit to the camp on September 11, 1940) and CCXIX-147_010 (report from August 14, 1940, and a letter from Professor Feigl to Rabbi Kapel about living conditions for Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria held in Saint-Cyprien). The ITS holds grave surveys on Saint-Cyprien and nearby Perpignan under 1.1.47.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds a number of unpublished collections about Saint-Cyprien: Curt Bamberger, "A Chemist in the Internment Camps of Vichy France" (Acc. No. 1995.A.037); Inge Berg Katzenstein papers, 1938 to 1948 (Acc. No. 1989.305); Schönberger family collection, 1887 to 1987 (Acc. No. 1988.108); Singer family collection (Acc. No. 2005.115); and an illustrated memoir by the leftist German artist, Karl Schwesig, "Pyrenäenbericht" (Acc. 1988.5.21). USHMMA also holds an oral history interview with former prisoner Lilly Gottlieb (RG-50.002*0034). VHA has 64 testimonies by Saint-Cyprien detainees. Contemporaneous newspaper reports on the camp can be found in *BN* and *ZIZ*. Perhaps the earliest published testimony about Saint-Cyprien by a prewar internee is Manuel Andújar, *Saint-Cyprien, plage . . . campo de concentración*, edited by Antonio Mancheño Ferreras (Huelva: Diputación Provincial de Huelva, 1990), first published in exile in Mexico in 1942. It is also available in a 2003 French edition. A testimony by an early internee, held in the winter and spring of 1939, was that by Hermann Langbein, *Die Stärkeren: Ein Bericht aus Auschwitz und anderen Konzentrationslager*, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Bund-Verlag, 1982). Another published testimony by a German Jew who escaped during the transfer from Saint-Cyprien to Gurs is that by Gret Arnoldsen, *Silence, on tue* (Paris: La pensée universelle, 1981).

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1. Junod, ICRC report, AN F9 5578.
2. Karl Schwesig, "Pyrenäenbericht," USHMMA, Acc. 1988.5.21.
3. CDJC, FSJF collection, file CCXIX-147_010.
4. Junod, ICRA report, AN F9 5578.
5. *BN*, October 8, 1940; *ZIZ*, November 1940, quoted by Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement," p. 408.
6. VHA #35654, Erich Elkan testimony, September 30, 1997.
7. VHA #26509, Laure Levine testimony, January 21, 1997.
8. ITS, 1.1.47.1, "Liste der auf dem Friedhof von 'Saint-Cyprien' beerdigten Juden (Aus dem Lager St-Cyprien)," n.d., Doc. No. 5159180; ITS, 1.1.47.1, "Liste der auf dem Friedhof von PERPIGNAN beerdigten Juden," n.d., Doc. No. 5159187.
9. CDJC, FSJF collection, file CCXIX-147_010.
10. VHA #4017, David Davidoff testimony, July 22, 1995.
11. Testimony quoted in Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement," pp. 260–261.
12. USHMMA, RG-43.036M (AD-P-O), reel 11, files 1260W114 (227th CTE) and 1260W129 (225th CTE).

SAINT-GEORGES D'AURAC

Saint-Georges d'Aurac is 95 kilometers (59 miles) east-southeast of Mauriac and 77 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Clermont-Ferrand. The camp at Saint-Georges d'Aurac (Haute-Loire Département) held the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 664. The experiences of GTE No. 664 illustrate the fluid and complicated histories of such units in Vichy France. Originally based at Mauriac (Cantal Département), GTE No. 664 was a "Palestinian" (in the Vichy context, meaning Jewish) labor battalion from its inception in June 1941.[1] A Central Name Index (CNI) card from the International Tracing Service (ITS) and Shoah Foundation testimony underscore this point.[2] As a Jewish unit, GTE No. 664 was subjected to harsh discipline.

As of October 1, 1941, while still based at Mauriac, the unit consisted of 177 men assigned to water and forestry work, dam repairs, and agriculture. At the end of March 1942, the unit

was transferred to Saint-Georges d'Aurac, which remained its base until the early spring of 1943.[3] Even though Saint-Georges was its base, the unit had widely scattered labor assignments. A report by the unit's group chief, Capitaine Lévy, listed an arsenic factory at Auzon (31 Jews), road construction for the Bertrand de Brioude firm in Beysseyre St. Mary (35 Jews), and additional road construction for the Promeyrat firm in Langeac (15 Jews). The remaining 67 prisoners at the time were either awaiting deployment or unable to work.[4]

The unit's chief for most of this time, Lévy, was allegedly a baptized Jew.[5] In reports to his superior, he accused the Jewish workers of black marketeering, listening to the radio illegally, shirking work, and writing illegal correspondence.[6] He said the men were "in opposition to the government of the Marshal (Pétain),"[7] noting that they sang anti-Vichy songs in German and Polish. He named as the instigators in such activities the unit's secretary of Jewish Social Work (*Oeuvres sociales israëlites*), Wertheimer, among others. Grand Rabbi René Hirschler, who inspected the Saint-Georges camp in April 1942, found the conditions deplorable. A confidential note from the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF), probably based on Hirschler's findings, observed that the unit's food was poor and that those who refused to do certain types of work ended up being given harder work at the factory in Auzon. Lévy's obsession over the black market, the report went on, led him to "menace" the peasants who tried to deliver food to the camp. The report further accused Lévy of dispatching a dozen Jews from GTE No. 664 to the penal unit at Égletons (GTE No. 101) in as many days.[8] Among those the captain dispatched to Égletons was survivor Max Oling, whose persecution path subsequently included Drancy and the Auschwitz III-Monowitz subcamp Blechhammer.[9] According to findings by Serge Klarsfeld, the August 26, 1942, roundup of Jews in the Southern Zone included some forced laborers from GTE No. 664.

One small group whose members were not fully part of the roundup were the Jews based at the Auzon arsenic factory. It is not clear whether there was turnover in the workforce at Auzon, but given the complaints of recurrent illness, it is highly likely.[10] Accommodated at the Chateau de Flageac and later at the factory itself, the Jewish workers at Auzon, who from the spring of 1943 became part of what was called GTE No. 190, were kept under a stricter regimen than the non-Jews. The Jews' identity cards labeled them as such. In January 1944, GTE No. 190 numbered 177 prisoners, most of whom were Spanish. The Auzon plant continued to have a small, but dwindling, Jewish contingent as late as June 1944. At the time of D-Day, there were a number of escapes by non-Jewish members in response to German threats of arrests and deportations.[11]

There is a coda to the history of GTE No. 664 that further illustrates the complex experiences of such units. A former member of GTE No. 664, Samuel Gilden, requested a certificate of persecution from the prefect of Cantal in late May 1946. Gilden reported that he had been a member of the unit from July 1941 at Mauriac until the Liberation and that his forced labor was based on the "racial laws." The prefect advised him to make his request through the Haute-Loire prefect, because the GTE in question was part of the latter's department.[12]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the GTE No. 664 camp (Mauriac and Saint-Georges d'Aurac) include Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Christian Eggers, "L'internement sous toutes ses formes: Approche d'une vue d'ensemble du système d'internement dans la zone de Vichy," *MJ* 153 (Jan.–Apr. 1995): 7–75; Bernard Reviriego, *Les juifs en Dordogne, 1939–1944: De l'accueil à la persécution* (Périgueux: Fanlac; Archives départementales de la Dordogne, 2003); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II*, trans. Nathan Bracher (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001).

Primary sources documenting GTE No. 664 (Mauriac and Saint-Georges d'Aurac) can be found in AD-H-L, collection 996W159, available at USHMMA as RG-43.137M; AD-Can, collection 1W210, available at USHMMA as RG-43.116M; and CDJC, collection CMXX (Lucien Lublin collection), available at USHMMA as RG-43.079M. Additional documentation can be found in AD-Do, collection 1W79, and ITS, particularly 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco). The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds one testimony on these sites.

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NOTES

1. Le Chef de Groupement No. 1 des formations étrangers, "État de stationnement des Groupes," June 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.137M (AD-H-L), 996W159, p. 18.
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Szyia (Schya) Schwarz, Doc. No. 52481207; VHA #7423, Max Oling testimony, December 19, 1995.
3. AD-Do, 1W79, as cited in Reviriego, *Les juifs en Dordogne*, pp. 141–142.
4. Lévy, "Rapport sur l'État moral du Groupe 664," May 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.137M, 996W159, pp. 36–37.
5. "Note confidentielle sur la situation des TÉ du 664 G St. Georges d'Aurac anciennement Mauriac," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.079M (CDJC—Lucien Lublin collection, CMXX), reel 2, CMXX-14.
6. Ibid.; Lévy, "Rapport sur l'État moral du Groupe 664," July 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.137M, 996W159, p. 44.
7. "Rapport sur l'État moral du Groupe 664," May 15, 1942, p. 36.
8. "Note confidentielle sur la situation des TÉ du 664 G St. Georges d'Aurac anciennement Mauriac," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.079M, reel 2, CMXX-14.
9. VHA #7423.
10. "Note confidentielle sur la situation des TÉ du 664 G St. Georges d'Aurac anciennement Mauriac," USHMMA, RG-43.079M, reel 2, CMXX-14.
11. A. Dieulot, Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service des Renseignements Généraux du Puy à P/H-L, January 10, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.137M, 996W159, pp. 105–106; Dieulot,

Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service des Renseignements Généraux du Puy à P/H-L, June 20, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.137M, 996W159, pp. 137–138.

12. Gilden correspondence (May 27, 1946) and prefectural reply (June 5, 1946), USHMMA, RG-43.116M (AD-Can), AD015_2MI_316-4, collection 1W210, pp. 226, 228.

SAINT-GERMAIN-LES-BELLES

Saint-Germain-les-Belles (Haute-Vienne Département) is a village approximately 37 kilometers (23 miles) southeast of Limoges. An internment camp called "Bagatelle" operated at Saint-Germain-les-Belles between February 1940 and April 1941. Initially, the site served as a military camp mainly for the detention of German enemy nationals. Over the course of 1940 and 1941, however, additional categories of "undesirables" were incarcerated there, including French communists, many of them women, and others deemed unreliable, including Central European Jewish refugees.

On January 5, 1940, the War and National Defense Ministry authorized the construction of a barracks camp at Saint-Germain-les-Belles. The location was appealing for logistical and security reasons. The town had a train station and was close enough to Limoges to relieve overcrowded detention facilities there. Ultimately, the Haute-Vienne Département of Bridges and Roads (*Service des Ponts et Chaussées de la Haute-Vienne*) constructed the site on the eastern outskirts of town on the road to Saint-Vitte-sur-Briance, even though the railway station was located on the western outskirts. Consequently, the arriving inmates had to walk for about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) through the town center to the camp. In November 1940, the Vichy Interior Ministry assumed control of the site and assigned the Haute-Vienne prefect the management of a camp for "undesirables."

The site was fenced in with barbed wire. Initially, it consisted of six barracks of the "Adrian" type, prefabricated barracks used in the first half of the twentieth century. Each measured 40×6 meters (about 131×20 feet) and was covered by a corrugated iron roof. One barrack served as a communal kitchen. The site was wired for electricity. There were 12 stoves to heat the barracks.[1] The camp quickly became overcrowded, and authorities began to pursue expansion plans in late August 1940. However, engineers of the Department of Bridges and Roads argued that the topography limited development possibilities. Although the current site could accommodate two more barracks, any other additions would have to be built on wetland to the south of the camp, which posed health and safety hazards for inmates.[2] According to a prefectural report dated January 14, 1941, the final expansion included four housing barracks, a police station, several guard huts, an office, a kitchen, a shower, and an infirmary. There was also an internal prison chamber, likely measuring 6×4 meters (20×13 feet) and featuring metal gates and bars.[3]

The camp at Saint-Germain-les-Belles was the first of three such internment sites for "undesirables" in Haute-Vienne. The other two were located at Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, about 20 kilometers (12 miles) to the north, and Nexon, approximately 34 kilometers (21 miles) to the northwest of Saint-Germain-les-Belles. Both sites were larger and significantly more repressive. Initially, there was some exchange of prisoners between the three camps. For example, in November 1940, a number of inmates registered at Saint-Paul were transferred to Saint-Germain-les-Belles.

Not all inmates came from Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, however. Martin Mendel, born in Leipzig on November 1, 1891, was transferred to the camp on August 7, 1940, after spending about two weeks incarcerated at an auxiliary prison in Limoges. On November 5, 1940, he was transferred to the Gurs camp.[4] By contrast, Ludwig Stern, born March 15, 1889, in Bad Schwabach, took a different course through several French camps, starting with incarceration at Saint-Germain-les-Belles on August 2, 1940. He was then transferred to Gurs and Albi and finally to Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, where he was registered until August 15, 1944.[5] For Mendel, Stern, and many others, Saint-Germain-les-Belles was only one of several way stations during years of incarceration. Others had different experiences. Alfred Frank, for instance, born on June 25, 1888, in Stuttgart, after being a Saint-Germain-les-Belles internee, was moved to camps at Gurs and at Les Milles near Marseille. He was released from Les Milles on November 7, 1941.[6]

Over the course of 1940, some 1,833 inmates were registered at the Saint-Germain-les-Belles camp. By December 1940, the Vichy authorities decided to expand the camps at Saint-Paul and Nexon and close the camp at Saint-Germain-les-Belles. The last inmates were transferred in April 1941. The site was abandoned until April 1945, when the Ministry of Prisoners of War, Deportees, and Refugees (*Ministère des Prisonniers de guerre*, *Déportés et Réfugies*) turned it into a transit camp for several hundred refugees.[7]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Saint-Germain-les-Belles camp include Guy Perlier, *Les camps du bocage: 1940–1944*, *Saint-Germain-les-Belles*, *Saint-Paul-d'eyjeaux*, *Nexon . . .* (Brive-la-Gaillarde, France: Monédière, 2009), which includes reproductions of camp maps and photographs; also compare Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary documentation about the Saint-Germain-les-Belles camp can be found in ADH-V, especially 185W3/54, 185W3/57, 188W294, and 953W14. The collection is also available at USHMMA as RG-43.047M. The Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracing Service (ITS) contains inquiries about several Jews of various national origins registered here and is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ADH-V, 185W3/57, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, pp. 119–120.

2. ADHV, 953W14, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, pp. 120–121.

3. ADH-V, 185W3/57, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, p. 121.

4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Martin Mendel, Doc. No. 52072099.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ludwig Stern, Doc. No. 52254915.
6. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alfred Frank, Doc. No. 53125831.
7. ADH-V, 993W185, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, pp. 264–265.

SAINT-MAURICE-AUX-RICHES-HOMMES

Established in 1937 as a reception center (*Centre d'Acceuil*) for Spanish refugees, Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes served as a camp for Roma (Gypsies or nomads in French police reports) from June 21, 1941, to December 18, 1945. It was located in the Yonne Département, 102 kilometers (about 64 miles) southeast of Paris.[1] In early 1941, before the site officially became a Roma camp, it held 137 Polish nationals.[2] Located in the forecourt of an abandoned train station, the camp had 7 wooden barracks and a 20-bed infirmary. In June 1943, the site was enclosed with three rows of barbed wire.[3]

According to a census of the Yonne Roma undertaken at the behest of the German authorities, 126 "Bohemians"—21 Bohemian men, 28 women, and 77 children—were living in the department on October 28, 1940, and were to be assigned to residences (*assignations à residence*). The census report further advised that the one facility suitable for detaining the prefecture's Roma was Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes.[4] On March 21, 1941, on the orders of the Yonne prefect, they were gathered in Bléneau, and then at least 90 were sent in June to Saint-Maurice. Originally the camp only served the Yonne Département, but it subsequently held Roma from the neighboring departments of Doubs, Aube, Nièvre, and elsewhere. There were 107 detainees in June 1943, 170 in December 1943, 183 in December 1944, and 207 by December 1945 in Saint-Maurice.[5]

According to Marie-Christine Hubert, Saint-Maurice was self-sufficient, in contrast with other Roma camps. Its directors simultaneously headed the administrative internment camp at Saint-Denis-lès-Sens, because Saint-Maurice was one of its annexes. After the Liberation, Saint-Maurice was jointly administered with the confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) at Auxerre. In succession, Saint-Maurice's directors were Germain Girard (to October 1943), R. Maynard (October 1943 to March 1944), J. Duval (March to October 1944), and F. Loirat (October 1944 to November 1945). The directors' monthly reports repeatedly disparaged the Roma, characterized by Girard as "dirty, lazy, and undisciplined."[6] After the Liberation, Loirat depicted the camp's schoolchildren and parents in similar terms.[7]

Assisting the directors were a guard and two nurses from the French Red Cross. In November 1942, one staff member was transferred to the Vaudeurs camp in Yonne. A civilian physician monitored camp hygiene. For most of the camp's existence, a Dr. Luras served as the camp's physician. Two armed gendarmes and a noncommissioned officer, Raymond Persin, served as the guards. Only Persin, who was unarmed for most of his tenure, remained in the camp. In January 1944 the camp administration finally succeeded in getting him a pistol. The remaining gendarmes oversaw external work details.[8]

With the director's permission, the Roma were deployed on outside work details. On January 19, 1942, the Yonne prefect, Charles Daupeyroux, attempted to withdraw this authorization "as a result of the pillaging/damages committed by the Gypsies in the village in the camp's vicinity."[9] The German authorities quickly countermanded the prefect's order. In August 1942, 38 Roma worked outside the camp on neighboring farms and the Water and Forestry (*Eaux-et-Forêts*, E&F) Department.

Deployed at Courgenay, 7.8 kilometers (4.85 miles) southeast of Saint-Maurice, the E&F Department had a permanent work detail with frequent turnover in manpower. This work detail was also the source of administrative friction. Persin complained about the detainees' unruly behavior. In March 1944, one prisoner, Louis B., left the detail without authorization and returned to Saint-Maurice, where he had a verbal altercation with Persin. In May 1944, a drunken brawl erupted between six prisoners at Courgenay, which led to two-month prison terms for three of them. The recurring conflict between Persin and the E&F detail was among the reasons why he and his wife, then listed as a "special agent" (*agent-spécial*) on staff at Saint-Maurice, were dismissed in June 1944.[10]

The prisoners' daily routine began at 7:45 A.M., followed by a 9:00 A.M. roll call, and concluded at 9 P.M. with a second roll call. There were 22 releases, all of which took place in 1942 and 1943. The number of escapes was very high: 21 in 1941, 20 in 1942, 11 in 1943, 16 in 1944, and 60 in 1945. Only 26 escapees, including a family of 17 on August 31, 1941, were rearrested. Among the escapees were a 35-year-old mother and her 5-year-old son, who fled the camp in January 1941.[11]

Although the premises were unsanitary, there were no major epidemics. In 1941 and 1943, there were at least two instances of tuberculosis, however.[12] The absence of epidemics was due in part to preventive measures, which included inoculations and the use of a German disinfection wagon to clean prisoners' clothing.[13] According to historian Hubert, there were 13 deaths recorded at Saint-Maurice between 1941 and 1945.

The Allied liberation of Yonne led the detainees to call for their immediate release. As early as November/December 1944, Director Loirat argued that the camp should be closed, not only because the facilities were in a dilapidated state but also on the grounds that some detainees were wounded veterans of the two world wars. In addition to releasing most detainees, he wanted the incorrigibles to be sent to the much larger Roma camp at Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-et-Loire Département). In May 1945, Nazi Germany's surrender nearly sparked a riot in the camp, when the Roma demanded their freedom. The two civil guards on hand were hardly able to cope with the situation. By ministerial decree, the camp was dissolved on November 17, 1945.[14] The Roma were freed, largely by tribal (*tribu*) units, in November and December 1945.

Despite the law's requirement at the time, none were required to take an assigned residence.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes are Marie-Christine Hubert, "Le camp de Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes," *ÉT* 6: 2 (1995): 197–210; Marie-Christine Hubert, "Les Tsiganes en France, 1939–1946: Assignation à résidence, internement, déportation," 4 vols. (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris X-Nanterre, 1997); Emmanuel Filhol and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Les Tsiganes en France: Un sort à part (1939–1946)* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2009); Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Jacques Sigot, "Les Camps," *ÉT* 6: 2 (1995): 79–148.

Primary sources on the Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes camp can be found in AD-Y, 3M15/26 (prefectural correspondence on Roma); 1W509 (monthly reports); 1W527 (release requests); and 1222W8 (reports, 1941–1942). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.105M. Additional primary sources on the camp can be found in AN F7 15110 (camp photos, June 1943; Robert Lebègue's IGC report, June 1943).

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NOTES

1. Centre du Groupement des Nomades du Département de l'Yonne, March 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.105M (AD-Y), 1W509, 692 (USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509); AD-Y, 3M15/26.
2. "Liste nominative des Étrangers arrivée au camp, le 1er Janvier 1941," USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1222W8, p. 41.
3. Robert Lebègue, IGC report, 1943, AN F7 15110.
4. Capitaine Réjou to P/Yonne, Objet: "Nomades," October 28, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/ 3M15/26, p. 750.
5. AD-Y, 1W527 (1945); and Lebègue report; both cited in Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement," pp. 576, 793.
6. Rapport mensuel, March 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, p. 695.
7. "Suppression du Camp," Rapport mensuel, November-December 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, p. 470.
8. Rapport mensuel, November 1943, January–February 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, 531, 562; Lebègue report, AN F7 15110, cited by Hubert, "Le camp de Saint-Maurice," p. 200.
9. P/Yonne, Arrêté, January 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.105M, 3M15/26, p. 783.
10. Rapports mensuel, January-February and June 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, pp. 488, 506, 523.
11. AD-Y, 1W509, cited by Hubert, "Le camp de Saint-Maurice," 207; "Liste des Evadés du Camp de St-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes," stamped February 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1222W8, p. 40.
12. Rapports mensuel, December 24, 1941, April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1222W8, pp. 651, 711.
13. Sous-Préfet Sens to Hauptmann Schultz, Standortkommandant Sens, January 13, 1942; and Rapport mensuel, September 24, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1W509, pp. 664, 748.
14. Rapport mensuel, November 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.105M/1222W8, p. 429.

SAINT-NECTAIRE

Saint-Nectaire (Puy-de-Dôme Département) is a town in central France. It is located 22 kilometers (14 miles) southwest of the prefectural capital of Clermont-Ferrand, 14 kilometers (9 miles) west of Le Mont-Dore, and 20 kilometers (12 miles) west of La Bourboule. Le Mont-Dore, La Bourboule, and Saint-Nectaire were three of the four national centers for the detention of foreign Jews and other "undesirables." The fourth site was located in Eaux-Bonnes (Pyrenées-Atlantiques Département). These centers were established after the Vichy Interior Ministry ordered prefects and police to streamline the detention and expulsion of Jews in late 1941.[1] Officially termed a "center of assigned residence" (*centre de residence assignée*), Saint-Nectaire and other such sites existed between 1942 and 1943, often operating in empty hotels. According to official documentation, the Vichy authorities aimed to detain French and alien nationals whose conduct, attitude, nationality, and religion were deemed to be threats to the regime.[2] In reality, mainly foreign Jews who entered France after January 1, 1936, were targeted.[3] The detainees included naturalized citizens as well.[4]

The center at Saint-Nectaire operated under the purview of the Vichy Interior Ministry and remained under constant police surveillance. Responsibility for identifying and assigning eligible Jews to residences in the center lay with the prefect. To qualify, the inmates had to be able to support themselves financially.[5] Those of insufficient financial means were assigned to groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). By the summer of 1942, several hundred Jews were assigned to the relocation centers in the region, including Saint-Nectaire. Some were able to secure emigration papers. Those who did not ultimately became the targets of the three major roundups (*ramassages*) in the Puy-de-Dôme on August 26, 1942, and in the spring of 1943.[6] Shocked by what he witnessed during the roundups in Saint-Nectaire in July 1942, the bishop of Clermont, Monseigneur Piguet, is said to have exclaimed, "It is a shame! Our French gendarmes are working for the *Boches* (a French pejorative for Germans)."[7]

SOURCES A few secondary sources mention the Saint-Nectaire center of assigned residence. See, especially, Dominique Jarrassé, *Les Juifs de Clermont: Une histoire fragmenteé* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2000); Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale: Aspects du phenomena concentrationnaire* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983); and Alexandre De Aranjo et al., *Terre d'exil, terre d'asile: Migrations juives en France aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris: Éclat, 2010). For relevant background information, see also John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); and Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH:

University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Saint-Nectaire center of assigned residence can be found in AD-P-D, which holds relevant reports by police and gendarmerie in the M Series. Additional police records can also be found in the N Series of ADH-L. See also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folders 19a and 19b (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), especially Doc. Nos. 82371086–82371090, available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125; see also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089.
2. ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, as cited in Merley, ed., *Repression*, p. 76.
3. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089–82371090.
4. Ibid., Doc. Nos. 82370908–82370910.
5. Ibid., Doc. Nos. 82371089–82371090.
6. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19a, Doc. Nos. 82370957–82370953.
7. Père Joseph Vallet, cited in Jarrassé, *Les Juifs de Clermont*, p. 270.

SAINT-PAUL-D'EYJEAUX

Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux (Haute-Vienne Département) is approximately 20 kilometers (12 miles) southeast of Limoges. An internment camp for French and foreign "undesirables" operated at Saint-Paul between November 1940 and June 1944. Altogether nearly 2,000 prisoners were detained at the site, mostly on political grounds. Communists, anarchists, and other political activists, as well as Jews and Freemasons, were among the inmates.

According to an order of the departmental prefect of October 30, 1940, the Haute-Vienne Département of Bridges and Roads (*Service des Ponts et Chaussées de la Haute-Vienne*) built the camp on wetlands on the outskirts of Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux. Ultimately it comprised more than 30 wooden barracks that were arranged into six sections. The camp was surrounded by a double row of barbed wire. According to an inspection report from January 15, 1942, the inmates occupied 15 of the 30 barracks in five separate sections. The barracks measured 20 × 7 meters (about 66 × 23 feet) and housed up to 40 men each. Armed guards manned watchtowers at all times. Camp personnel occupied wooden houses just outside the camp.[1]

The camp population fluctuated, ranging from 250 to 650 inmates at any given time. In November 1940, some inmates were transferred to a camp in Saint-Germain-les-Belles, located about 22 kilometers (14 miles) to the southeast. After the liquidation of the Third Republic-era internment camp at Chateau du Sablou in the Dordogne, 228 inmates of French nationality were transferred to Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux on December 30, 1940. According to an internal report, a total of more than 600 inmates were registered at the site in January 1941.[2] On March 1941, 155 of the former "Sablousards" at Saint-Paul were transferred along with 90 inmates from Nexon and 21 from Saint-Germain-les-Belles to Fort Caffarelli in Algeria. In January 1943, 452 prisoners were registered at Saint-Paul. The fluctuating inmate numbers also caused fluctuations in the size of the camp staff. For instance, according to inmate testimony, in response to a large influx of new detainees in September 1943, the camp authorities doubled the number of guards.[3] Soon thereafter the number of inmates decreased quickly—from 466 in October 1943 to 83 in January 1944. The following month, the camp was temporarily closed.

When the inmate population was high, the camp at Saint-Paul had a staff of more than 100. In 1943, on the appointment of a new camp commander, inmate Georges Rougeron noted in his journal that the scope of the commander's authority was not clearly discernible, although his tasks were many and often unpleasant. They included managing the camp bureaucracy, including composing official camp mail and internal and external memoranda. The commander also met regularly with prisoner-elected barrack leaders, a central inmate representative, and other prisoners. An economic manager oversaw camp supplies and organized materials and food procurement and distribution, especially during the many times of shortage. The head of the camp police seemed to enjoy some autonomy in managing security and surveillance.[4]

Living conditions at Saint-Paul were difficult. Frequent rain flooded the clay campgrounds and barracks. Spring thaws rendered the central path through the camp nearly impassable. Construction errors exacerbated these conditions. For instance, the inmates often could not reach toilet facilities, because they were located in a lower part of the camp that tended to be flooded for a good part of the year, resulting in catastrophic hygienic conditions. Reports by the camp director reveal that these problems continued throughout early 1942 and possibly later.[5] Disease outbreaks were exacerbated by periodic overcrowding and cold in winter. The food supply was often precarious, though the inmates were able to keep a sizable vegetable garden to stave off hunger and malnutrition. On December 31, 1942, Rougeron wryly summarized his experiences over the previous three months: "212 admissions; 134 discharges; 128 meals with carrots; 12 with roots."[6] Left to idle for months or even years, inmates tried to organize cultural and educational events. An educational commission met regularly and organized weekly seminars in wide-ranging fields such as economics, accounting, geography, chemistry, math, physics, and languages. The camp staff monitored these activities. Seminars in history or political science were forbidden.

On October 30, 1942, a ministerial circular reconfirmed Saint-Paul as a camp intended specifically for political prisoners.[7] The detainees' political allegiances and convictions varied widely, however, and often led to conflicts. Rougeron, a militant socialist, testified to the constant tensions between different political factions. According to him, in July 1943 the camp administration tried to address this problem by separating noncommunists from communists in the camp, a maneu-

Pastors André Trocmé and Édouard Theis entertain themselves during their imprisonment in the Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux internment camp, 1943. USHMM WS #86406, COURTESY OF JACQUELINE GREGORY.

ver also intended to stigmatize the latter.[8] Among the noncommunists briefly held at Saint-Paul were Pastors André Trocmé and Édouard Theis, leading rescuers of Jews at Le Chambon-sur-Lignon. Their five-week-long arrest followed their refusal to swear allegiance to the Pétain regime.

Several days later, following Operation Torch, German forces occupied the territory on November 11, 1942 and assumed authority over the camps in the Southern Zone. The Germans expressed a great deal of concern about the chronic understaffing at many of the Vichy detention sites. They also believed that camp guards were insufficiently armed, rendering the camp populations a security risk. In September 1943, authorities advocated closing the camp at Saint-Paul for these reasons.[9] The camp operated until February 1944, however, when it briefly closed only to resume operations in April 1944. Three hundred and eight inmates were registered at Saint-Paul toward the end of that month. By May 1944, the inmate population had grown to 425. The French Forces of the Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) liberated the site on June 11, 1944, and Germans were subsequently detained there.

SOURCES Important secondary sources describing the Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp include Guy Perlier, *Les camps du bocage: 1940–1944*, *Saint-Germain-les-Belles*, *Saint-Paul-d'eyjeaux*, *Nexon* . . . (Brive-la-Gaillarde, France: Monédière, 2009), which utilizes extensive documentation from AN and departmental archives and includes reproductions of primary sources, photos, and maps of the camps; Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: l'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); and Jacky Tronel, "Séjour surveille pour 'indésirables français': Le château du Sablou en 1940," *Criminocorpus*, posted June 1, 2012, available at http://criminocorpus.revues.org.

The Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux camp is well documented. Surviving documentation includes a detailed camp journal kept by Georges Rougeron, former secretary to socialist leader Marx Dormoy, available at AN 72AJ289; see also AN, F7 15110 and AN, F7 14891. Additional documentation can be found at AD-Do, AD-E-L, and at ADH-V: 185W3/54 (internment camps); the last source is available at USHMMA as RG-43.047M. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several Jews of various national origins registered at the camp; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds an oral testimony by survivor Raymond Cluborg, August 7, 1995 (#4013).

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NOTES

1. AN, F7 15110, as cited by Perlier, *Les camps du bocage*, pp. 127–132.
2. Ibid., p. 109.
3. AN, 72AJ289, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 269.
4. Ibid., pp. 264–265.
5. AN, F7 15110, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 109.
6. AN, 72AJ289, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, pp. 412–413.
7. AD-E-L, 6W52, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 310.
8. AN, 72AJ289, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 408.
9. AN, F7 14891, as cited by Peschanski, *La France des camps*, p. 311.

SAINT-SULPICE-LA-POINTE

Located 27 kilometers (17 miles) northeast of Toulouse in the Tarn Département, the camp of Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe was located a half-kilometer (0.3 miles) from the train station at the northeast edge of the village of Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe. The camp originally comprised 3.6 hectares (8.7 acres) of requisitioned land, and it was expanded to 4.7 hectares (11.6 acres) in March 1943 after the state purchased adjacent land. The property was bordered to the north by the Agoût River.[1]

The camp housed 1,500 Belgian refugees between May and September 1940. At the request of the Vichy Interior Ministry, renovations began in October 1940 to turn Saint-Sulpice into a camp for French political detainees (*indésirables*). The camp was enclosed by a barbed wire fence, and a surveillance system, including three watchtowers, was constructed.[2]

By the time it reopened as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) in January 1941, it had 20 wooden barracks with tiled roofs: 15 served as dormitories, 2 as storage for clothing and bedding, 2 as workshops, and 1 as a combination library and chapel. There were also an administrative office; an infirmary; buildings containing showers and toilets; a canteen that sold tobacco, stationery, and toiletries; and one building housing the kitchen, dining hall, dried food storage, and a room for prisoners to receive visitors. A small cement building next to the infirmary had 20 cells to hold prisoners being disciplined.[3]

The first groups of political detainees arrived at the end of January and the beginning of February 1941: 260 prisoners from Rivel (Aude Département) and 293 from Oraison

(Basses-Alpes Département) arrived after both of these camps were shuttered. Four hundred twenty-five detainees from Chibron (Var) and groups from Chaffaut and Sisteron (both in Alpes-de-Haute-Provence) also formed part of this first wave of detainees.[4]

Between January 1941 and August 1944, 4,600 prisoners passed through Saint-Sulpice. The majority were political prisoners (communists, syndicalists, or anarchists), though there were also smaller groups of black marketeers, Jews, and stateless Germans among the imprisoned.[5] The camp could hold 700 to 900 prisoners at any given time; prisoners were frequently transferred to other nearby camps such as Noé (Haute-Garonne Département) and Nexon and Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux (both in the Haute-Vienne Département).[6] Political detainees considered "particularly dangerous to the public order" were transferred to Fort-Barraux (Isère) and to camps in Algeria.[7]

Saint-Sulpice had four directors during its existence: Paul Dieterlin from November 28, 1940, to June 8, 1943; François Risterucci from June 9, 1943, to October 1, 1943; Paul Chevalier from October 1, 1943, to September 2, 1944; and Gustave Didier from September 5, 1944, until the camp was closed. Dieterlin was previously the administrator of the Industrial and Commercial Societies, whereas Risterucci was the manager of a hotel in Indochina and Chevalier was an industrialist in Paris. Didier, who assumed control after the Liberation, was a naval officer who had been active in the Resistance.[8] The number of other employees varied, and there was a great deal of turnover. One list from July 1941 gives the total number of staff as 62, not including guards, of whom there were usually between 50 and 60, in addition to several dozen gendarmes. After the creation of the French Forces of the Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur*, FFI) in 1944, an FFI company was given responsibility for the camp's exterior surveillance.[9]

Detainees at Saint-Sulpice performed several kinds of labor, much of which was related to the camp's operation, such as tending to a camp vegetable garden and pigsty or performing plumbing and electrical repairs. Several workshops also operated on the premises, including woodworking, shoemaking, and iron forging.[10] According to an April 16, 1941, report from camp director Dieterlin to the prefect of Tarn, all labor was paid; the base pay was 1 franc per hour for nonspecialized work and 2 francs per hour for specialized work.[11] Most but not all of the products produced in the workshops were used within the camp by both prisoners and staff. In one instance, in 1943, 30 prisoners were paid 150 to 200 francs per week to make brushes for a local manufacturer.[12]

Conditions in Saint-Sulpice were not as harsh as in many other camps, due at least in part to the French tendency to treat political prisoners differently from other groups. The aforementioned 1941 report from Dieterlin describes some of the activities the prisoners could participate in. There was some sports equipment available, and Dieterlin organized sports tournaments with monetary prizes. There was also a camp orchestra, a choir, and theatrical performances every Sunday on a stage installed in the dining hall. In addition to their daily jobs, prisoners were permitted to make small artworks (wood carvings, drawings, watercolors), which were displayed in an exhibition in the camp on at least one occasion.[13] Boris Taslitzky, who was a French artist of Russian and Jewish origins and was detained at Saint-Sulpice as a member of the French Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*, PCF), painted frescoes in four of the barracks and in the chapel; they caught the attention of a local curator, who lobbied to move them into a museum after the war.[14]

Educational courses were organized in subjects ranging from academic, such as French and algebra, to vocational, such as classes in electrical and mechanical work. According to Dieterlin's report, detainees participated in 22 classes, which were taught by inmates with expertise in the given subject matter.[15] Potentially political subjects such as philosophy were banned. However, during an oral history interview Taslitzky states that prisoners simply renamed their courses to avoid scrutiny.[16]

Many large-scale escapes occurred. On the night of July 11, 1943, 54 prisoners escaped from a 15-meter-long (49.2-foot-long) tunnel dug from a barrack to an exit hidden under a grapevine 12 meters (39.4 feet) from the eastern enclosure of the camp.[17] Eighteen of the escapees were found and sentenced to between four and six months in the prison at Castres.[18] Taslitzky said that another group of inmates planned an escape via a tunnel for Easter 1944, but the tunnel was discovered by the camp administration before they could use it.[19] A large escape occurred on August 19, 1944.

Departmental documents also point to instances of organized unrest among the prisoners. According to Dieterlin's April 16, 1941, report, there was a "demonstration of collective disobedience" by a group of communist detainees earlier that month after some prisoners were transferred to Algeria; it resulted in the suppression of all prisoners' privileges for 15 days.[20]

On July 30, 1944, German authorities deported 623 prisoners (including Taslitzsky) to Buchenwald.[21] According to the historian Diana Fabre, several dozen prisoners from a group of September 1942 transfers to Drancy (Seine-Saint-Denis Département) were deported from there to Auschwitz. By the time of the Liberation of Paris, only a handful of prisoners detained by the French authorities remained in the camp at Saint-Sulpice.

The camp remained open after the Liberation, first as a detention center for 63 German officers, who were moved to Le Vernet (Ariège Département) in October 1944, and then for a group of French collaborators, most of whom were held there only for a few months. In January 1945 a group of 1,100 German civilians, mostly women and children, arrived from Strasbourg and were gradually moved to other camps or repatriated through the beginning of 1946.[22]

SOURCES Secondary sources that discuss Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe include Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps: L'internment 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002); Diana Fabre, "Les camps d'internment du Tarn: Saint-Sulpice et Brens," in Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, in-*

ternement et deportation (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994), pp. 71–79; and Michel Germain, *Mémorial de la déportation: Haute-Savoie, 1940–1945* (Montmélian: La Fontaine de Siloé, 1999), a section of which focuses on the experience of Haut-Savoyards detained at Saint-Sulpice. A useful summary of the camp's history can be found in Joël Bercaire, Christian Chamayou, and Martine Jean, *Documents et sources pour l'histoire de la seconde guerre mondiale dans le département du Tarn*, vol. 2 (Albi: Conseil général du Tarn, Archives départmentales, 2001), which also contains a finding aid for the archival material on Saint-Sulpice held at ADT.

The primary documentation on Saint-Sulpice can be found in ADT under the classifications 493W1–493W189. Some of this documentation is held on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.061M. An oral history interview with the artist Boris Taslitzky is available as part of the Robert Buckley collection at USHMMA under RG-50.027*0006, and a collection of some of Taslitzky's drawings, including several made at Saint-Sulpice, is also held at USHMMA on microfilm under RG-43.100M. Taslitzky's documentation from Buchenwald can be found in ITS, 1.1.5.3 (Individual Documents male Buchenwald), prisoner envelope Boris Taslitzsky, Doc. Id. 7758051.

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. Didier to Ministre de l'Intérieur, January 6, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M (ADT), reel 1, 493W8, pp. 790–791 (USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W8, pp. 790–791).
2. Ibid., p. 796.
3. Ibid., p. 791.
4. Commissaire Spécial/Tarn to P/Tarn, February 15, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W4, p. 299; P/Basses-Alpes to L'Amiral de la Flotte and Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, May 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W4, p. 289.
5. Dierlin to P/Tarn, November 12, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W45, p. 2238; list of Jews, Dieterlin to P/Tarn, September 3, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W42, p. 2157.
6. Didier to Ministre de l'Intérieur, January 6, 1945, 791–792; transfer to Noé, Commandant du Camp to P/Tarn, August 28, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, p. 2942; transfer to Nexon, Hervé Moune and Gaston Levade, "Transfèrement au camp de Nexon, de cinq internés du camp de Saint-Sulpice," February 21, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, p. 2958; transfer to Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, P/Haute-Vienne to P/Tarn, August 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, pp. 2944–2945.
7. Le Secrétaire Général pour la Police to P/Tarn, March 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, p. 2975; transfers to Algeria, P/Tarn to L'Amiral de la Flotte and Ministre Secrétaire d'État à l'Intérieur, June 6, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W51, p. 3089.
8. P/Tarn, "Rapport sur le Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Saint-Sulpice," October 24, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W8, p. 818.
9. "Effectif du camp de Saint-Sulpice," July 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W7, 508; guards, "Rapport sur le Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Saint-Sulpice," October 24, 1944, p. 819.
10. Dieterlin to P/Tarn, April 16, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W7, pp. 516–517.
11. Ibid., p. 517.
12. Chevalier to P/Tarn, December 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W4, pp. 192–193.
13. Dieterlin to P/Tarn, April 16, 1941, pp. 518–519.
14. L'Architecte Départmental to P/Tarn, December 15, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W59, p. 4420.
15. Dieterlin to P/Tarn, April 16, 1941, p. 519.
16. USHMMA, RG-50.027*0006, Boris Taslitzky, oral history interview, February 10, 1991.
17. Risterucci, "Liste des évadés du C.S.S. de Saint-Sulpice dans la nuit du 11 au 12 juillet 1943," July 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W52, p. 3280; L'Inspecter de Police Mathieur to Risterucci, July 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W52, pp. 3317–3318.
18. Commissaire Principal, Chef de Service des Renseignements Généraux/Tarn to Commissaire Divisionnaire, Chef de Service Régional des Renseignements Généraux, July 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W52, pp. 3309–3310.
19. USHMMA, RG-50.027*0006, Boris Taslitzky, oral history interview.
20. Quotation from Dieterlin to P/Tarn, April 16, 1941, p. 520.
21. Directeur Général de la Sûreté Nationale to P/Tarn, March 7, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W48, p. 2370; list of names, "Liste nominative des internés transferés à . . . le 30 juillet 1944," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.061M/2/493W48, pp. 2445–2468.
22. Directeur du Camp Pénitentiaire de Saint-Sulpice to P/Tarn, November 24, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.061M/1/493W9, p. 1337.

SALIERS

Located just over 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) west of Arles (Gard Département) in southern France, Saliers was the site of an internment camp for Roma. It was designed as a "show camp" to sway foreign public opinion critical of Vichy's treatment of Roma and other "undesirables." Though virtually uninhabitable almost immediately after it opened in November 1942, the Saliers camp operated until August 1944.

The French government traditionally categorized Roma as "nomads" (*nomades*); that is, an itinerant people without a fixed abode. Some 13,000 such people were registered in France just before the outbreak of World War II. In September 1940, German authorities expelled 160 "gypsies" and "asocials" from Alsace-Lorraine to the Southern Zone, where they became subject to compulsory residence orders (*assignation à residence*) or internment. Another 146 men and 403 women and children were expelled in December of that year. Beginning in October 1940, French authorities interned some of them at the camp for foreign "undesirables" at Argelès-sur-Mer. Altogether 376 Roma are known to have been detained at the site around that time. In December 1941 they were transferred to Barcarès and in July 1942 to Rivesaltes. Finally, in November 1942 they were transported to the new camp at Saliers. Saliers was one of two Vichy camps exclusively for Roma. Altogether some 1,400

inmates were registered at the two sites between October 1940 and August 1944. Compulsory residential orders remained the norm in much of unoccupied France.

The treatment of France's Roma population became the subject of several critical reports in the Swiss and other foreign press. In response, the Vichy government created the "show camp" at Saliers in March 1942. The town was located about 24 kilometers (15 miles) north of Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, the site of an annual Roma gathering in honor of Saint Sarah. The architect designed a camp that mirrored its surroundings by including the area's characteristic materials and styles, such as reed-thatched huts with whitewashed walls. In a report from October 8, 1942, the architect explained that the camp's purpose was to serve as government propaganda. It was intended to look like a regular village where inmates' family structures and customs could be maintained. The Roma interned at Barcarès camp built the site. The camp was fenced in with barbed wire. Local gendarmes served as guards, and a man by the name of De Pelet was the camp commander.[1]

The Saliers camp was not suitable for long-term internment, and catastrophic conditions prevailed almost immediately. The huts' beaten-earth floors and the campgrounds dissolved into mud in the frequent rain. The site was quickly infested with lice and vermin. The inmates were also subject to government attempts at forced assimilation. For instance, in several cases orphans and other children were separated from the Roma population and placed in the care of charity and religious institutions. Adults had to work in camp maintenance and outside the camp, with much of their pay withheld for camp repairs and activities. The inmates' basket-weaving industry in particular supported camp financial operations.

The inmates chafed under the difficult and constrained living conditions; they had lost their traditional way of life and most of their possessions. Many tried to escape, often running away repeatedly.[2] The camp at Saliers finally closed in August 1944 when the remaining inmate population escaped after bombardments in the area.[3]

Despite considerable German pressure, French authorities never adopted Nazi racial categories and never consented to the mass deportation of its Roma population to extermination camps. The vast majority of France's Roma population survived the war. However, a number of them remained interned until 1946, when some returned to their itinerant way of life, whereas others remained sedentary thereafter.

SOURCES There are several relevant secondary sources describing the "show camp" at Saliers. For photographs and eyewitness testimony of former Saliers inmates, see especially Mathieu Pernot, Henriette Asséo, and Marie-Christine Hubert, *Un Camp pour les Bohémiens: Mémoires du camp d'internement pour nomades de Saliers* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2001); and Marie-Christine Hubert, "The Internment of Gypsies in France," in Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, eds., *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999), II: 59–88. Based on extensive archival documentation, Hubert's chapter provides valuable background information as well as detailed analysis and comparison of anti-Roma policies in the occupied and unoccupied zones of France. For a general overview see Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *Gypsies under the Swastika* (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire, 2009); Denis Peschanski, *Les Tsiganes en France 1939–1946* (Paris: Editions CNRS, 1994); and his *La France des camps: L'internement 1938–1946* (Paris: Gallimard, 2002).

Primary sources documenting the "show camp" for Roma at Saliers can be found in AN and ADB-R. Much of the primary documentation is not accessible to the public, but can be viewed with special permission. Several administrative bodies issued documentation about the camps. See mayoral documentation, records of the Interior Ministry, police records, and the documents of IGC at AN and ADB-R. At ADB-R see especially 142W76 (rapport de l'architecte des Monuments historiques); 142W76 (courier du directeur du camp, le 4 juillet 1942); 142W76 (courier du directeur du camp, le 4 juin 1943); and IV Y 4 (Camp de Saliers). The Saliers camp is also detailed in the Belgian postwar "Rapport Definitif No. 31: Camps de France," available at ITS, 2.3.5.1, fol. 19a, and in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ADB-R, 142 W 76, rapport de l'architecte des Monuments historique, cited in Pernot et al., *Un camp pour les Bohémiens*, p. 36.
2. Excerpts from arrest files of inmates who escaped from Saliers are available in ibid., pp. 75–78.
3. ADB-R, IV Y 4, Camp de Saliers, cited in Hubert, "The Internment of Gypsies in France," p. 66.

SALLANCHES

Sallanches (Haute-Savoie Département) is located in the northwestern corner of the department, some 70 kilometers (43 miles) west of Annecy and nearly 200 kilometers (124 miles) west-northwest of Lyon. Located less than 56 kilometers southeast of Geneva, Sallanches was a transfer point for many foreign-born Jews attempting to cross the Swiss border. There is evidence to suggest that the foreign Jewish refugees registered in Sallanches suffered from severe repression, and after 1941, most lived under house arrest.[1] It is likely that many lived in a regional detention center for foreign Jews and other "undesirables." Established by an order of the Vichy Interior Ministry issued in late 1941, these "centers of assigned residence" (*centres de residence assignée*) were intended to streamline the detention and expulsion of foreign Jews, including naturalized citizens, from southern France.[2] Most such sites operated throughout 1942 and into 1943, often in empty or abandoned hotels.[3] Inmates had to be economically self-sufficient to finance their stay. Evidence suggests that by January 1942, at least one hotel in Sallanches was used to detain foreign Jews.[4] At least 23 Jewish refugees lived there under house arrest in

the summer of 1942. In late August 1942, rumors of impending roundups and deportations spread in town, and a number of the Jewish refugees managed to flee from their detention site. Those arrested in Sallanches during the raid of August 26 joined groups of foreign Jews simultaneously rounded up in nearby towns. Altogether 60 people were subsequently deported to the Drancy camp, where they arrived by August 30, 1942.[5] Evidence suggests that some Jews remained in Sallanches after the roundups. It is not clear when the detention site closed.

SOURCES The Sallanches detention site is underresearched. For mention of the camp, see, especially, Jean-William Dereymez, *Le refuge et le piège: Les Juifs dans les Alpes (1938–1945)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008). For additional information on the persecution and deportation of Jews from Haute-Savoie see Michel Germain, *Mémorial de la deportation: Haute-Savoie, 1940–1945* (Montmélian: La Fontaine de Siloé, 1999). For background information see also John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: The French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Renée Poznanski, *Jews in France during World War II* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for Brandeis University Press in association with USHMM, 2001); and Jean Merley, ed., *Répression: Camps d'internement en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale: Aspects du phenomena concentrationnaire* (Saint-Etienne: Centre d'Histoire Régionale, DL 1983).

Relevant primary documentation is available at SHGN (4E96, section de Forcalquier, no. 125/4, December 28, 1941, no. 54/4, April 18, 1942) and several departmental archives, including AD-P-D (M07199), ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, and ADH-S (4W167 and 4Wd39).

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NOTES

1. SHGN, 4E96, section de Forcalquier, no. 125/4, December 28, 1941, no. 54/4, April 18, 1942, as cited by Dereymez, *Le refuge et le piège*, p. 73.
2. AD-P-D, M07199, as cited in Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France*, p. 125; also ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371089.
3. ADH-L, N431 Police 4 and 8, as cited in Merley, ed., *Répression*, p. 76.
4. ADH-S, 4W167, as cited by Dereymez, *Le refuge et le piège*, p. 74.
5. ADH-S, 41Wd39, as cited by Dereymez, *Le refuge et le piège*, p. 79.

SAVIGNY PAR VALLEIRY

As late as early 1941, the Haute-Savoie Prefecture established a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 514, at Savigny par Valleiry, a township located nearly 23 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of the departmental capital of Annecy and approximately 26 kilometers (16 miles) northeast of Ruffieux. Savigny is not far from the Swiss border and is at an elevation of 568 meters (almost 1,864 feet). GTE No. 514 originally consisted of Spanish workers. In September 1941, as the Lyon region (today: Rhônes-Alpes region) began to segregate Jewish and non-Jewish foreign workers in the GTEs, the Savigny group became exclusively Jewish. At the regional level, GTE No. 514 was closely related to GTE No. 974 at Ruffieux because they were the only two GTEs for Jews in the region. The Jews in GTE No. 514, who were mostly of Central or East European origins, were dispatched to Savigny from the Gurs camp, a persecution path confirmed in numerous Central Name Index (CNI) cards of the International Tracing Service (ITS).[1]

GTE No. 514 performed road-building tasks, such as quarrying building stone and hauling it to building projects. This work was accomplished at high elevation. As revealed in an anonymous camp visitor's report in late October 1941 that was submitted to the World Jewish Congress (WJC) in Geneva, the inmates lacked the proper clothing and shoes for the job. Their food was totally inadequate, consisting of nutritionless soup served twice daily, augmented by a potato and one-sixth of a loaf of bread. Meat was served once per week. The camp authorities refused to make a provision for the 30 or so Orthodox Jews, who rejected the once-weekly meat ration for religious reasons. The four or five barracks were thin wooden structures accommodating 50 men each; they were not suitable for the harsh climate. In one barrack, the forced laborers slept on the floor on thin mats. At the time of the October 1941 visit, there were 192 Jews in GTE No. 514. Among other urgent necessities, the prisoners needed clothing, food, boots, soap, reading material, and financial assistance.[2]

The authorship of the October 1941 report is not known, but follow-up correspondence by detainee Hans Rothschild suggested that the visitors were a Mr. and Mrs. Lew.[3] The importance of this document can be found in the German translation, in which Gerhard Riegner of the WJC Geneva forwarded it for the "immediate attention" of Richard Lichtheim of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Geneva.[4]

The first commandant of Savigny, whose name according to former prisoner Max Kahane was Gruël, was notorious for taunting prisoners at morning roll call. Kahane recalled that he could never forget the commandant's name, because it reminded him of *greuel*, the German word for cruel.[5] The anonymous inspector(s) also accused the commandant of "chicanery" during roll call.[6] In response to the question, "Are you Jewish?" to which the forced laborers replied in the affirmative, his response was: "Break ranks, I don't like you, you Jews."[7] The report also accused the commandant of stealing the camp's cigarette rations, which were supplied at the rate of one pack per prisoner every 10 days. According to Rothschild's letter, the visit had the effect of immediately improving living and working conditions. But the date of this letter, November 2, 1941, seems questionable given all the improvements enumerated in such a short period of time: introducing rubber boots for road work, cleaning the barracks, installing beds, and dismissing Gruël.[8]

Together with the Ruffieux camp, Savigny par Valleiry was the target of the August 1942 roundups of Jews for

deportation to the Drancy camp in the Occupied Zone. Rumors were already afoot before the Savigny prisoners were sent to Ruffieux, which prompted many escapes. CNI cards provide detailed information on six individuals who fled Savigny and either went into hiding in France or crossed the Swiss border.[9] At least three more fled to the Low Countries, where they were subject to rearrest, with one such captive held in the SS-police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) at Mecheln (Malines) in German-occupied Belgium.[10] On August 23, 1942, the remaining 104 members of GTE No. 514 were moved to Ruffieux, along with 8 Jews from a GTE in Pontavenaux (Saône-et-Loire Département). On August 24, 168 Jewish men were sent from Ruffieux to Drancy, and deported from there to Auschwitz. Some of these deportees were transferred to the Blechhammer subcamp of Auschwitz.[11]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Savigny par Valleiry camp include Robert Amoudruz and Ruth Fivaz-Silverman, "Espagnols et Juifs du camp de Savigny (Haute-Savoie) (1940–1942)," *Échos* 11 (2002): 7–100; Cédric Brunie, "Le camp de Ruffieux et les déportations de 1942 en Savoie," in Jean-William Dereymez, ed., *Le refuge et le piège: Les juifs dans les Alpes, 1938–1945* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 137–144; and Serge Klarsfeld, André Delahaye, et al., *Fiches typologiques par lieu d'internement* (Paris: Mission d'étude sur la spoliation des Juifs de France, n.d.), available at www.culture.gouv.fr/documentation/mnr/MnR-matteoli.htm.

Primary sources documenting the Savigny par Valleiry camp can be found in RG-68.045M (WJC, Geneva), Wartime Reports, France, reel 1; ITS, collections 0.1 (CNI); 1.1.0.6 (Documents and Correspondence on Persecution/Detention Sites), folder 53; and 6.3.1.2 (Search Lists), folder 2, PCIRO, Missing Persons Broadcast Lists. VHA holds one testimony, by Max Kahane, August 12, 1996 (#18915).

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NOTES

1. See, for example, ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Max Kowalsky, (DOB January 18, 1903), Doc. No. 52069956; and Kurt Rosendorf (or Rosendorff), (DOB February 1, 1905), Doc. No. 52226737.

2. Report on Savigny work camp, October 1941, RG-68.045M (WJC, Geneva), Wartime Reports, France, 2, 1941, reel 1, frames 395–396.

3. Translation of Hans E. Rothschild, GTE No. 514, to Mr. and Mrs. Lew, November 2, 1941, RG-68.045M, Wartime Reports, France, 2, 1941, reel 1, frame 397. The original French version is not included in the folder.

4. Report on Savigny work camp, reel 1, frame 395.

5. VHA #18915, Max Kahane testimony, August 12, 1996.

6. Report on Savigny work camp, reel 1, frame 396.

7. Ibid., fr. 399 (the commandant's quotation is from the French original).

8. Rothschild letter, November 2, 1941, RG-68.045M, Wartime Reports, France, 2, 1941, reel 1, frame 397.

9. Escapees: ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Ludwig Mandel, (DOB March 5, 1902), Doc. No. 50560629; Kowalsky, Doc. No. 52069956; Rosendorf(f), Doc. No. 52226737; Rudolf (Rudi) Hirschstein, (DOB January 27, 1916), Doc. No. 52833719; Georg (Jair, Jür, or Jir) Sonnenschein, (DOB December 29, 1893), Doc. No. 53193867; and Selig Süsser, (DOB September 12, 1899), Doc. No. 53294919.

10. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Paul Levy, (DOB March 1, 1909), Doc. No. 52248654.

11. See, for example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Walter Frohwein, (DOB January 19, 1903), Doc. No. 52292041.

SEREILHAC

Sereilhac (Haute-Vienne Département) is a town located more than 242 kilometers (150 miles) south of Toulouse and almost 16 kilometers (10 miles) southwest of Limoges. There was a Vichy reception center (*centre d'accueil*) located in Sereilhac that had the official name of Social Control of Foreigners (*Contrôle Social des Étrangers*, CSE), CSE No. 14. Foreigners, both Jewish and non-Jewish, alleged to have threatened the public order or violated the law were interned in Limousin in camps such as Sereilhac, La Meyze, and Nexon. Sereilhac housed a mix of French and foreign "undesirables" throughout the war, though it was designated for the disabled (*inaptes*)—both elderly detainees and internees unfit for work.[1] The camp administration answered to the Labor Ministry.

The Sereilhac camp was located almost 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) northwest from the La Meyze camp. These two camps are often written about and documented in conjunction with one another, despite being under different commands during the Vichy period. As of January 28, 1946, the two camps still had separate commandants: Frédéric Garrec at Sereilhac and Émile Lacroix at La Meyze.[2]

The Sereilhac center comprised 11 barracks located on the Saint-Martin-le-Vieux Road on land leased by a Parisian woman named Mrs. Duval. The internees had freedom of movement within the camp and in the town of Sereilhac. The disabled were sorted by age and illness. Camp security was maintained by the managerial staff.[3] The internees at Sereilhac were given more restrictions and greater punishments than those at La Meyze.[4]

The Sereilhac camp did not have a separate dining hall. The internees prepared their own meals on a communal stove and ate their meals in their barracks. All the barracks had heating. Each internee was issued one sleeping bag and four blankets. The camp was equipped with a number of games and a small library with books in a variety of languages. It had an infirmary under the direction of a general doctor, and an internee doctor acted as the specialist nurse who gave the internees routine exams. The internees had to procure water from a pump 300 meters (984 feet) from the camp.[5]

As of August 26, 1942, forced laborers from the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 643, were sent to Aixe-sur-Vienne and Sereilhac. Around this time, many internees were in transit to or from the camp at Gurs. As of March 23, 1943, Sereilhac held 87 men, mostly Spanish.[6] As of June 30, 1943, there were 41 Jews in Sereilhac.

One month later the camp held 124 men. On July 20, 1944, the camp held 205 internees.[7]

The following nationalities were represented at Sereilhac: German, Spanish, Czech, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, Austrian, Belgian, French, Turkish, Romanian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Luxembourger, Argentine, Armenian, and Egyptian (some were unknown).[8] The professions represented among the internees at Sereilhac included the following: farmer, metalworker, hairdresser, driver, baker, artist, pharmacist, doctor, railway worker, typist, and engineer.[9] The internees were able to work inside the camp as cooks and cleaners, and in some cases craftsmen were able to practice their profession.[10]

Belgian and Spanish internees were sent to GTE No. 643 in Limoges from Sereilhac in 1943 and 1944.[11] Seventy-two internees were liberated in November 1944 and an additional 19 in December.[12] By January 30, 1945, 91 internees at Sereilhac were released.[13] The plan according to the Labor Ministry as of February 15, 1946, was that the Jewish internees at Sereilhac and La Meyze were to be transferred to the Château du Coudeau and the non-Jewish internees to La Meyze.[14]

Shortly before the Liberation, 12 internees, most of whom were Spanish, became involved with the French Resistance.[15] The Resistance requisitioned the camp's well-stocked infirmary in July 1944 to supply a hospital at Dournazac (Haute-Vienne Département).

At this stage the internees were allowed to reside in the town of Sereilhac, if they received official permission. Five internees found regular work, but the remainder were deemed disabled due to illness or age. French authorities found the clothing situation to be deficient and the heating to be inadequate in the barracks, but the state of general health seemed to be satisfactory. Internee morale was good, with the food considered healthy and abundant. The functioning of the camp at Sereilhac was deemed satisfactory by the French authorities at this time.[16]

A proposal was issued in 1946 to combine the administration of Sereilhac and La Meyze. By August 12, 1946, the barracks at Sereilhac were transferred to the Reconstruction Ministry.[17] Within two months, the camps shared a joint command under Lacroix, the former commandant of La Meyze, although the dissolution of both camps was well underway, having begun in May of that year.

SOURCES Secondary sources covering the camp at Sereilhac include Yves Soulignac, *Les camps d'internement en Limousin: 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Soulignac, 1995); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); Pascal Plas and Simon Schwarzfuchs, eds., *Mémoires du grand rabbin Deutsch: Limoges 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Lucien Souny, 2007); Shannon L. Fogg, *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France: Foreigners, Undesirables, and Strangers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Marie-Juliette Vielcazat-Petitcol, *Lot-et-Garonne, terre d'exil, terre d'asile: Les réfugiés Juifs pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Narosse: Albret, 2006), Pascal Plas and Michel Kristophe Kiener, eds., *Enfances juives: Limousin-Dordogne-Berry, terres de refuge, 1939–1945* (Saint-Paul, France: Lucien Souny, 2006); and Maurice Moch and Claire Darmon, *L'Étoile et la francisque: Les institutions juives sous Vichy*, edited by Alain Michel (Paris: Éditions du CERF, 1990).

Primary source material documenting the Sereilhac camp can be found in AD-H-V, available at USHMMA under RG-43.047M, reels 3, 4, and 9. Limited digital records of reported detention in the Sereilhac camp are available in the CNI of the ITS, available in digital form at USHMM.

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NOTES

1. "Rapport sur les Centres du Contrôle Social des Étrangers," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M (AD-H-V), reel 3, p. 1117.
2. "Le Ministre du Travail à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne" January 28, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 958.
3. "Désignation exact des Centre," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1102.
4. "Le Commissaire Principal Chef de Service à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau," January 20, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1033–1036.
5. Ibid.
6. "État No. 2," March 31, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1119.
7. "Le commissaire divisionaire Chef du Service Régional des Renseignements Généraux," July 20, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1059.
8. "Liste Nominative des Héberges du Centre 14 bis," September 9, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 4, pp. 2732–2736.
9. "Liste Nominative des Héberges du Centre 14 bis," December 31, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, pp. 437–439.
10. "Désignation exact des Centres," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 1102.
11. "Groupement et de T.E. de la Région de Limoges," September 21, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 4, p. 2741; "Nationalité: Espagnole (suite)," n.d., reel 4, pp. 2744; and "Nationalité: Espagnole (suite)," September 21, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 4, p. 2747.
12. "Le Commissaire Principal Chef de Service à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau," pp. 1033–1036.
13. "Le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne a Monsieur le Ministre de l'Interieur Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale," January 30, 1945, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, pp. 1040–1041.
14. "Le Contrôleur Régional de la Main d'Ouevre Étrangers," February 23, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 3, p. 957.
15. "Le Commissaire Principal Chef de Service à Monsieur le Préfet de la Haute-Vienne 1ère Division 3ème Bureau," pp. 1033–1036.
16. Ibid.
17. "Note pour M. l'Inspecteur Divisionaire," October 23, 1946, USHMMA, RG-43.047M, reel 9, p. 3138.

SISTERON

The Sisteron camp was in a fortress (*Fort de Sisteron*) located in the town of Sisteron (Alpes-de-Haute Département). Sisteron is nearly 109 kilometers (68 miles) south of Grenoble and more than 119 kilometers (74 miles) northwest of Nice. Sisteron was an administrative internment camp and was sometimes described as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) in the Southern Zone. The first prisoners were "undesirable" French common criminals, and the camp later held black marketeers and some communists.

The citadel's military barracks were adapted to house civilian suspects, initially both male and female. Historically Sisteron had water supply problems and lacked sanitation facilities, but a new water and sanitation system was installed for the internment center, so the reservoirs were always full.[1] The prospect of infrastructure improvement was one of the reasons why Sisteron's mayor was eager to lend the citadel to the Vichy regime free of charge.

From May to September 1942, François Risterucci was the commandant of Sisteron. The nearby Reillanne camp was also run by Sisteron's administration.[2]

Following roundups and deportations on October 30, 1942, Sisteron was designated for black market offenders and traffickers (also described as pimps and convicts).[3] As of 1943 Sisteron held 400 black market internees. André Jean-Faure of the French General Inspectorate of Camps (*Inspection Générale des Camps*, IGC) proposed that they serve for limited terms. With this knowledge, the prisoners did not feel the need to share the packages they received, but used what they did not want to bribe other internees, guards, and the camp doctors. Corruption became widespread.

In November 1943, all of the six staff members of the General Union of French Jews (*Union Générale des Israélites de France*, UGIF) Camp Commission in Sisteron, as well as three detainees from the citadel, were arrested. The arrests were ordered by SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner. In December 1943, in the wake of a mutiny at the Eysses prison in Villeneuve-sur-Lot (Lot-et-Garonne), Sisteron admitted some communists, deemed disciplinary cases by the Vichy authorities. At the same time many detainees interned at Sisteron for black marketeering were transferred to Nexon. As of February 1944 Sisteron held 147 prisoners.

Although a menu for the confinement center indicated a varied diet, Sisteron suffered from food shortages.[4] In March 1943, the prisoners were not receiving the equivalent of one plate of vegetables per week.[5] Health was also poor. About half of the internees (46%) were in grave condition. Many suffered from wasting syndrome (cachexia) due to the lack of food.

Among the prisoners was a hotel owner, Antonin Sudre. Sudre was an entrepreneur and a young leader of the Secret Army (*Armée secrète*, AS). He was imprisoned at Sisteron for black market activities, after being arrested for running a horse-drawn shuttle service for Les Milles detainees who were permitted to visit foreign consulates. A leader of the Toulouse AS who was held at Sisteron was later liberated with four others, using a forged telegram encrypted in official French police code.

At the end of July 1944, 40 gendarmes and all of the camp guards quit their posts at the Sisteron fortress. Two-thirds of the prisoners at Sisteron then escaped. The citadel was severely damaged by the Allied bombings between August 15 and 17, 1944, and much of the city was destroyed.

SOURCES Secondary literature describing the camp at Sisteron includes Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981); Adam Rayski, *The Choice of the Jews under Vichy: Between Submission and Resistance* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005); Corinne Jaladieu, *La prison politique sous Vichy: L'exemple des centrales d'Eysses et de Rennes* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2007); Donna F. Ryan, *The Holocaust & the Jews of Marseille: The Enforcement of Anti-Semitic Policies in Vichy France* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Danielle Bailly, *The Hidden Children of France, 1940–1945: Stories of Survival* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2010); Michel Reynaud, *Eysses contre Vichy 1940* (Paris: Tirésias, 1992); Françoise Job, *Racisme et répression sous Vichy: Le camp d'internement d'Écrouves* (Paris: Éditions Messene; Centre de documentation juive contemporaine, 1996); Gerard Gobitz, *Les déportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942: Récits et documents* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997); Jean-Claude Duclos, *Fort Barraux: camps et prisons de la France de Vichy, 1940–1944* (Grenoble: Musée de la résistance et de la déportation de l'Isère, 1998); Jean Débordes, *À Vichy: La vie de tous les jours sous Pétain* (Thionne: Éditions du Signe, 1994); Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persécution des Juifs de France 1940–1944: 1er septembre 1942–31 août 1944* (1993; Paris: FFDJF, Fayard, 2001); and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000).

Primary source material for Sisteron can be found in AD-A-H-P, available at USHMMA under RG-43.089M; Selected records from the Départemental Archives de la Haute-Garonne, available at USHMMA as RG-43.058M; Selected records from the AN (Police Générale), available at USHMMA as RG-43.016M; UGIF (Camp Commission), available at USHMMA as RG-43.025M; CDJC (UGIF collection), available at USHMMA as RG-43.027M; and ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. "Installation d'une 2ème conduit de refoulement entre l'usine élévatoire du Buëch et le réservoir de distribution," December 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 12, pp. 4882–4883.
2. "Reillanne (Basses Alpes): Annexe du camp de Sisteron," ITS, 2.3.5.1, Folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371041.
3. "Note pour Monsieur le Directeur du Personnel et de l'Administration de la Police," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 11, p. 2727
4. "Menu du 23 juin au 30 juin 1942," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 12, p. 4818.

5. "Le directeur du personnel et de l'administration de la Police, pour le SGP, au secrétaire d'État au Ravitaillement," March 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.016M, reel 11, pp. 4996–4997.

SOUDEILLES

The camp at Soudeilles was located in a brick barrack in the middle of the village of Soudeilles (Corrèze Département). Soudeilles is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Limoges and 87 kilometers (54 miles) southwest of Clermont-Ferrand.

In February 1940 the prefect of Corrèze told the mayor of Soudeilles that the community needed to be ready to accept 165 civilian refugees. The municipal council thus decided to acquire some land with the goal to construct a barrack there for the incoming refugees. It was located 50 meters (164 feet) from the town's train station and a half-kilometer (one-third of a mile) from the town's city hall, church, and school. The building measured 40 × 8.5 meters (131 × 28 feet). It had electricity and running water, wood floors, 14 small windows, a kitchen in the basement, outdoor latrines, and a dormitory divided into separate rooms, each with 8 bunk beds. In winter it was heated by two stoves at either end. At the beginning of May 1940, refugee families from the Occupied Zone began to arrive at Soudeilles, eventually numbering 125 people in total.

It is unclear when and to where this first group of refugees was moved, but by June 1941, the barrack at Soudeilles became a detention site for foreigners who performed labor as a group of foreign workers *(Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE).

GTE No. 665 was based at Soudeilles beginning in June 1941. By the end of 1941, it contained only Jews and became known as a "group of Palestinian (Jewish) foreign workers" (*Groupe Palestinien des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GPTE). Most of the men in GPTE No. 665 were Polish, with other sizable groups from Belgium, Alsace, and Paris. Historians Mouny Estrade-Szwarckopf and Paul Estrade estimate that more than 500 people were assigned to the GPTE at Soudeilles during its existence, but it is difficult to tell how many were there at any given time because of the widespread locations of the work assignments and other factors such as escapes.

According to Henri Sulewic and Maurice Wolf, both Polish Jews who labored in GPTE No. 665, their labor deployments included cutting timber and peat.[1] Other assignments were pulling nettles to make textiles, dam construction, and work in slaughterhouses, factories, hospitals, and on farms. Some worked in nearby coal mines. In addition to their GPTE labor, some prisoners also made and sold crafts. They scrounged fabric and materials to make slippers and shirts. The forced laborers wore black uniforms, with black berets and wooden shoes.

The camp's boundaries were not secure, and inmates moved about freely. The camp lacked watchtowers and barbed wire, and its staff was made up mostly of civilian volunteers, including some former soldiers. Sulewic said of his escape from Soudeilles that he "did not escape. I left."[2] Other prisoners, especially those working on farms, lived on or near the premises of their work sites and did not stay in the camp while working.

Due in part to its lax security, the food situation at Soudeilles was better than in most other camps because prisoners were able to obtain food from local farms, including eggs, milk, butter, and vegetables. The Soudeilles camp did not report any deaths.

During the August 1942 roundups, 37 men from GPTE No. 665 were sent to the Drancy transit camp. This deportation was part of two larger convoys of Jewish GPTE laborers on August 23 and 27 via Égletons (Corrèze) and Nexon (Haute-Vienne), respectively.[3] From Drancy they were deported to Auschwitz.

After the August 1942 deportations, the remaining prisoners were gradually sent to other nearby camps such as Rossiers d'Égletons. The date of the camp's official closure is uncertain, but Soudeilles was empty by the end of November 1942. For a brief time the barrack was used as a hall for public performances and municipal gatherings, before it was destroyed in a fire in 1944.

SOURCES The principal secondary source for the Soudeilles camp is Mouny Estrade-Szwarckopf and Paul Estrade, *Un camp de juifs oublié: Soudeilles (1941–1942)* (Treignac, France: Éditions "Les Monédières," 1999), which includes detailed information about individual GPTE members. Gérard Gobitz, *Les deportations de réfugiés de Zone Libre en 1942* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996), includes information on the August 1942 deportation from Soudeilles.

Primary documentation on the camp at Soudeilles can be found in AD-Cor, under classifications 147W4812 (deportations) and 529W76-84 (GTEs). Some of this documentation is available on microfilm at USHMMA under RG-43.125M. ITS holds some documentation on Soudeilles, copied from CDJC (CCXIII-127), under 1.2.7.18 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Frankreich und Monaco). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds two survivor testimonies that describe Soudeilles: Henri Sulewic (#12398) and Maurice Wolf (#5694).

Abby Holekamp

NOTES

1. VHA #12398, Henri Sulewic testimony, March 19, 1996; and VHA #5694, Maurice Wolf testimony, November 8, 1995.

2. VHA #12398.

3. Caubriere, Chef du Sud Groupement des GTE/Cor to P/Cor, August 29, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.125M (AD-Cor), reel 1, 147W4812, pp. 772–773 (USHMMA, RG-43.125M/1/147W4812, pp. 772–773); "Itinéraire et horaire du transport du 27 août entre Égletons et Nexon," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.125M/1/147W4812, p. 57.

TENCE

Located approximately 9 kilometers (5.5 miles) north of Le Chambon-sur-Lignon and 84 kilometers (52 miles) southwest

of Lyon in the Haute-Loire Département, the buildings of the abandoned paper mill in Tence initially served as an internment camp in May 1939 for Spanish refugees. One year later, perhaps as early as May 1940, after the Third Republic's decision to imprison civilians from Germany, the "paper mill camp" (*camp de la Papeterie*) reopened, this time for German nationals deemed "suspect" in time of war. French Army lieutenants Belaubre and Tassaux served as successive commandants, and the guards consisted of French recruits and mobile guards (*gardes mobiles*).

From May to October 1940, conflicts erupted between the local gendarmerie and the military commander over the Tence camp's leadership. The gendarmes contested Lieutenant Belaubre's decision to allow internees to work on farms outside the camp. On June 22, 1940, the date of the Franco-German Armistice, with Belaubre's complicity, the prisoners ran away and the commander did not report their escape. Nevertheless, 43 inmates were later caught and brought back to the camp. Most of the 132 internees listed on August 25, 1940, were opponents of the Nazi regime, who had fled to France from German and Austrian towns after 1933. Many were Jewish, but Jews were not singled out as such until the Vichy regime's adoption of the first antisemitic statute (*Statut des Juifs*), on October 3 and 4, 1940.

After that date, and until its dissolution on October 22, 1940, the camp exclusively held foreign Jews. Several additional successful escapes occurred after October 3, 1940. On October 22 and 23, the gendarmes transferred Tence's remaining prisoners to the Gurs internment camp.

SOURCES Two valuable secondary sources for Tence are François Boulet, "Tence (1936–1945): Face aux Espagnols, aux Juifs, aux Gens du Maquis et . . . au Chambon-sur-Lignon," *Tence*, 23 (June 2006): 21–54; and Gérard Bollon, "Tence, 1939–1940: Du Camp d'Internement de la Papeterie à la Protection des Persécutés," *Tence*, 23 (June 2006): 16–20.

As cited by Boulet and Bollon, primary documentation for the Tence camp consists of ADH-L, Series R6391and R6375/1; ASHM, "Récit d'un gendarme R. Chaumard," April 3, 1986; SHD-DGN (Maison-Alfort): 43E1, reports of the commandant of the gendarmerie company, Le Puy, numbers 343/2, 386/2, 616/2, 662/2, 692/2, June to November 1940; 43E68, reports of the commandant of the Yssingeaux gendarmerie section, numbers 242/2 and 418–419/2, respectively, on June 23 and October 22 to 24, 1940. The latter includes the list of prisoners in the camp on October 22, 1940.

Marianne Robins

TROYES

Situated in the administrative center of the Aube Département, 143 kilometers (89 miles) southeast of Paris, the camp at Troyes at first held foreigners and Jews expelled from the Forbidden Zone (*zone interdite*) to the north. It later served as a transit camp for Jews in the region. The camp consisted of two public elementary schools, the Jules Ferry School (formerly for boys) and the Diderot School (formerly for girls), requisitioned for this purpose on the orders of the occupying German Army. The detainees were also given the option to pay for their lodgings elsewhere in the city of Troyes.

In an October 28, 1942, report of the Interior Ministry, camp inspector Robert Lebègue noted that the camp was originally envisioned as a temporary holding place for foreigners and French Jews deported from the Pas-de-Calais Département (part of the Forbidden Zone) by the occupying authorities. Women were then to be sent on to the camp at Vittel (Vosges Département) and men to Saint-Denis-sur-Seine.[1] Many detainees were instead resettled or sent to do agricultural and forestry work in nearby towns such as Vernonvilliers and Lévigny. In a January 14, 1941, letter to the Feldkommandantur of Troyes, the prefect of Aube estimated that 120 to 150 detainees were soon to be deployed in such labor.[2] However, some detainees were transferred to these camps as planned; departmental archives show that on July 22, 1941, 23 British detainees were sent to Vittel and two to Saint-Denis, for example.[3] The camp at Troyes contained a particularly high number of British detainees. The historian Denis Peschanski pointed out that of the 211 people held in Troyes as of July 1941, 124 were British.[4]

The first group of 127 deportees from Pas-de-Calais arrived in Troyes on December 18, 1940, and a second convoy of about 350 people arrived the next day, according to a police report from February 21, 1941. Many of these first two groups were women, children, and elderly people. At first, all non-British detainees were allowed to move freely around the city, but after four Jews escaped from Jules Ferry, Jews were no longer allowed freedom of movement. Those who had already found lodging outside the camp were allowed to continue living there under surveillance.[5] These initial restrictions were later eased somewhat. One hundred and twenty-nine more refugees arrived on February 24, 1941.[6]

Both schools lacked washing facilities and regular hot water, and they were difficult to heat in winter.[7] Although conditions were bad, restrictions on detainees were not especially harsh, but in an April 30, 1941, letter to the police signed on behalf of all the detainees, a prisoner pleaded with the administration to stop withholding letters from detainees "especially since we are not even criminals."[8] Several detainees believed they had been detained without reason and wrote appeals to the Ortskommandant of Troyes.[9]

The camp was administered by the mayor of Troyes, who appointed the camp's staff and director. Jean Lacelle (or Lasselle) was the director of the portion of the camp in the Diderot School from February 8, 1941, until all prisoners were moved to Jules Ferry at the end of April 1941, at which point he became director of the entire camp.[10] The local French police force guarded the camp.[11]

A number of people escaped from Troyes. A report from the beginning of April 1941 listed 19 people who escaped from Jules Ferry during the preceding three months, in addition to 4 who escaped from the town hospital and 23 who were staying elsewhere in Troyes and had disappeared. The majority of these escapees were Jewish.[12] The aforementioned police re-

port noted that security difficulties were partly caused by having only one police officer on guard during the day and two at night; authorities considered enclosing the buildings with a fence, but there is no evidence that these plans were implemented.[13]

A police report from February 13, 1941, described an incident in which three German soldiers stopped in a car at Jules Ferry one night to pick up a group of three teenaged girls detained there. The guard on duty asked the soldiers to leave, and they complied, but other departmental correspondence mentioned this incident as another ongoing problem at the camp.[14]

As mentioned earlier, after April 1941, the authorities stopped using the Diderot School as a detention center and sent all detainees to Jules Ferry. In his October 1942 report Lebègue estimated that Troyes had held a total of 776 people, but the most held at any one time was 343 in January 1941.[15] According to Peschanski, in December 1941, there were only 10 people left in Troyes, because most detainees had found places to live outside the *zone interdite*.

The camp was used as a transit camp in the summer of 1942 as Vichy roundups of Jews in France intensified. On July 19, 1942, the first roundup aiming at arresting Jewish foreigners in the Aube Département sent 14 people (of the 24 people listed by the French police services) to pass through Jules Ferry. The next day, the group was sent to Châlons-sur-Marne in the bordering Marne Département.[16]

On the evening of October 8 and on the next day, there was a second roundup, which French authorities said was aimed at reuniting the families separated by the first roundup.[17] A total of 24 people (30 were anticipated), including at least 7 children, were arrested. The French gendarmes arrested not only Jewish foreigners but also French Jewish children whose parents had already been arrested in July.

All the Jews who transited through Jules Ferry after their arrest were eventually deported to Auschwitz. The two roundups were ordered by the regional prefecture, which was then directed by Louis de Peretti (beginning in May 1942).

During this period Jules Ferry also continued to serve as an accommodation center (*centre d'hébergement*) for a much smaller number of detainees; Lebègue gave the number of detainees as of October 21, 1942, as 60 (42 Britons, 5 Poles, 7 Yugoslavs, 1 Greek Jew, and 5 French Jews). Of this group, 38 were fed by the center, and 22 worked in Troyes and paid for their own food. Lebègue also noted that a "good number" of foreigners were allowed to live in town with periodic police surveillance, and he ultimately recommended that Jules Ferry be shuttered because most of its detainees could work and afford to house themselves elsewhere in Troyes.[18] In the spring of 1942, some detainees were allowed to return to Pas-de-Calais.[19]

Aside from the two roundups, a few cases stood out in 1943 and 1944. Clementine Weill, a French Jewish woman who was born in Reguisheim in 1876, was arrested and transferred via the Jules Ferry center on January 27, 1944. She was then sent on convoy 68 to Auschwitz, where she was murdered. On March 9, 1943, Raphael Koen, a Greek man who was born in Crete in 1885, passed through Troyes and was then put on convoy 53 and deported to Sobibor, where he died.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Troyes include Henri Cahen, "1940–1944: les années tragiques de la barbarie nazie," *Troyes et ses juifs* (Jerusalem: self-published, 2001), pp. 117–134; and Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000). In 1998, the Troyes Academy of Cartophily Studies published a 42-page booklet, "La véridique histoire de l'école Jules Ferry de Troyes," which can be found in AD-Ab under 1J1050.

Primary documentation on the camp at Troyes can be found in AD-Ab, primarily under 100W1-35, 310W99, and 1214W25 (documents on Jewish roundups). Some of this material is held at USHMMA under RG-43.090M. Additional documentation can be found in AD-Me, copied to USHMMA as RG-43.098M. Other primary source material can be found in AN, under AN, 737/MI/2 (documents on the camp and list of all transferred detainees), and in PAAA, Inland II A/B 8326 Frankreich (Juden in Frankreich, R 127 697). The PAAA archives hold ICRC reports on Troyes under R1377/42 and R25927/41.

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NOTES

1. "Rapport de M. Lebègue chargé de mission à l'inspection générale des camps & centres d'internement du territoire sur le centre d'hébergement de Troyes, visite le 21 octobre 1942," October 28, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.098M (AD-Me), reel 1, 16W61, p. 308 (USHMMA, RG-43.098M/1/16W61, with page).
2. P/Ab to FK/Troyes, January 14, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 40.
3. FK/Troyes to P/Ab, July 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, pp. 139–141; FK/Troyes to P/Ab, July 22, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 143.
4. ICRC report, July 11, 1941, PAAA, R1377/42 and R25927/41, as cited in Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement," pp. 351–352.
5. Commissaire de Police to Lieutenant Englert, Feldpolizei/Troyes, February 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.098M/1/16W61, pp. 22–24.
6. "Liste des refugiés arrives à Troyes, le 24 février 1941," February 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, pp. 86–90.
7. FK/Troyes to P/Ab, January 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/310W199, p. 3013.
8. Quotations from Commissaire Central/Troyes, April 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 33.
9. Madeleine Giachevie to Ortskommandant/Troyes, February 28, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/310W199, 2928; Odette Blond to Ortskommandant/Troyes, February 28, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/310W199, p. 2929.
10. Maire/Troyes to P/Ab, April 21, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 34.
11. "Rapport de M. Lebègue," October 28, 1942, p. 309.
12. Commissariat de Police, "Liste des Internés du Pas-de-Calais qui sont évadés de Troyes," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, pp. 19–21.
13. Commissaire de Police to Lieutenant Englert, Feldpolizei/Troyes, February 21, 1941, 24; "Vérification des clôtures

de l'École Jules Ferry," March 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, p. 85.

14. Sous-Brigadier de la Sûreté Halle to Commissaire Central, February 13, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/100W1, 44; Commissaire de Police to Lieutenant Englert, Feldpolizei/Troyes, February 21, 1941, p. 24.

15. "Rapport de M. Lebègue," p. 308.

16. Capitaine Berthelemy to P/Ab, July 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/1214W25, p. 5994.

17. Adjutant-Chef Vrinat to P/Ab, October 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/1214W25, p. 6002.

18. Quotation from "Rapport de M. Lebègue," pp. 310–316.

19. FK/Troyes to P/Ab, May 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.090M/2/310W199, pp. 2522–2523.

VALBONNAIS

The village of Valbonnais (Isère Département) is located in the Rhône-Alpes, some 50 kilometers (31 miles) south of Grenoble and 95 kilometers (59 miles) east of the French-Italian border. Foreign-born Jews lived in Valbonnais under house arrest as a center of assigned residence (*centre de résidence assignée*) at the time of the major raid of August 26, 1942. The records of the Isère Prefecture indicate that the authorities slated 680 Jews in Valbonnais for arrest that day. Per official guidelines, the intended targets were foreign-born adult Jews who had arrived in France after January 1, 1936. Children without families, parents of young children, pregnant women, the elderly, and foreign-born spouses of French citizens were among the categories ostensibly exempt from this roundup.[1] After screening procedures, 250 detainees were transferred from Valbonnais to two collection centers (*centres de rassemblement*) located at the Fort-Barraux camp and a barrack at Bizanet near Grenoble. Together with Jewish detainees arrested in Uriage and Pontcharra, they were subsequently transferred to Drancy. According to researcher Serge Klarsfeld, at least 109 Jews of Polish, German, and Austrian origins arrived at Drancy from Isère on the night of August 29, 1942.

SOURCES Valbonnais as a site of assigned residence for Jews is described in the following secondary resources: Serge Klarsfeld, *Le calendrier de la persecution des Juifs de France, juillet 1940–août 1942* (Paris: Fayard, 2001); and Christian Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer: Juden aus Deutschland und Mitteleuropa in französischen Internierungslagern 1940–1942* (Berlin: Metropol, 2002).

Primary documentation for the Valbonnais center for assigned residence is scarce. The mid-1942 deportations from southern France are documented at CDJC, collections CII-62 and XXVI-48. See ADI for documentation related to wartime events in Isère.

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NOTE

1. CDJC, CII-62, as cited by Eggers, *Unerwünschte Ausländer*, pp. 170–171.

VILLEMUR-SUR-TARN

Villemur-sur-Tarn (Haute-Garonne Département) is a town in southwestern France. It is located more than 559 kilometers (almost 226 miles) southwest of Paris and is almost 30 kilometers (more than 18 miles) northwest of Toulouse. During the Vichy regime, it was in the Southern Zone. Villemur-sur-Tarn was the site of an accommodation center (*centre d'hébergement* No. 5) in an old sawmill and later a center of assigned residence (*centre à résidence assignée*).

The camp at Villemur-sur-Tarn was created as early as May 1940.[1] Starting on October 24, 1940, its organization and administration changed significantly, particularly concerning location. Aid was provided for the internees by the Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (*Comité inter-mouvements Auprés des Évacués*, CIMADE) founded by the Protestant activist and member of the French Resistance, Madeleine Barot.

The internees were admitted with reference to age, nationality, and state of ill health. In 1942 Villemur's internees began to be deported to other camps. The internees included Jacques Baumgarten (a German Jew from Berlin), who passed through Villemur only briefly, and Bertha Schwartz (née Teitelbaum, a Belgian Jew from Antwerp) who was interned there for a few months with her family. Baumgarten was 21 when he was interned at Villemur and later recalled that the internees were not required to perform forced labor. He was subsequently deported to Gurs, Drancy, and then Blechhammer, a subcamp of Auschwitz.[2]

Bertha Schwartz was seven years old when her family fled Belgium as refugees to France escaping from the Germans. They were taken by the French authorities to Villemur-sur-Tarn where they stayed in a school gymnasium. The French Red Cross (*Croix-Rouge Française*, CRF) was in charge, and tried to help the refugees who lacked food and clothes. After one week the refugees were dispersed across the town. The Teitelbaum family stayed in a little house along the river. The house lacked access to water so the family had to use buckets to retrieve water from the river.

Schwartz's mother assigned her to do the shopping and taught her a few French expressions. The family had obtained false papers, but Schwartz did not remember her name at that time, saying, "Don't know about names. Never made a point to remember because my name changed so many times."[3] The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC) was responsible for providing food in the camp. After staying in Villemur-sur-Tarn for a few months, the Teitelbaum family was rounded up with others by French gendarmes and sent to the Brens camp.

In February 1943, there were 50 internees in the town, including 18 Jews. Ten of the Jewish prisoners were children. In 1944, there were 150 internees in Villemur-sur-Tarn. After D-Day, as the Vichy regime began to disintegrate, the camp at Villemur-sur-Tarn was dissolved.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Villemur-sur-Tarn include Monique-Lise Cohen, Eric Malo, and Gret

Arnoldson, eds., *Les camps du sud-ouest de la France (1939–1944): Exclusion, internement et deportation* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1994); Jean Estèbe, *Les Juifs à Toulouse et en midi toulousain au temps de Vichy* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1996); and Jeanne Merle d'Aubigné and Violette Mouchon Fabre, *Les Clandestins de Dieu: CIMADE 1939–1945* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1989).

Primary source material documenting the Villemur-sur-Tarn camp can be found in the CNI cards of the ITS, collection 0.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA has rich interviews on Villemur-sur-Tarn with Jacques Baumgarten, July 2, 1997 (#30514) and Bertha Schwartz, September 9, 1998 (#48666).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Wolfgang Meyer-Udewald (DOB August 17, 1893), Doc. No. 40750549.
2. VHA #30514, Jacques Baumgarten testimony, July 2, 1997.
3. VHA #48666, Bertha Schwartz testimony, September 9, 1998.

VOVES

The Voves camp was located in the Eure-et-Loire Département about 20 kilometers (12 miles) south of Chartres and some 84 kilometers (52 miles) southwest of Paris. It was situated on the edge of a forest, on the Voves-Orléans Road near the Paris-Tours-Orléans-Rouen railroad axis. The site first opened in 1939 as an air-defense training center (*Défense contre avion*, DCA). After the Fall of France, the German Army converted it into Frontstalag 240, with a capacity of 3,500 prisoners of war (POWs), which closed in June 1941.[1]

In the fall of 1941, the French authorities selected Voves as a "confinement camp" (*Centre de Séjour Surveillée*, CSS) for male political detainees held at the Aincourt camp. In December 1941, Commissaire Spécial Andrey, the Aincourt camp director, inspected the site, finding it "usable."[2] On January 5, 1942, 30 skilled prisoners from Aincourt arrived at Voves to refurbish the camp.[3] Andrey became Voves's first director.

Shaped like a trapezoid, Voves was divided into the "small camp" (*petit camp*) used for administration, kitchens, and a few living quarters, and the "big camp" (*grand camp*) where detainees lived. Barbed wire encircled the whole camp. Reinforcing the barbed wire were 12 rows of 10-foot-high bramble to guard against escape. Among the changes made in the winter of 1942 was the addition of internal barbed-wire fencing, which divided the big from the small camp. Chevaux-de-frise (spiked obstacles) were installed between the two camps in the fall of 1943 for additional security.[4] The big camp's dimensions were 333×301×217 meters (364×329×237 yards). There were 52 wooden and brick barracks, not all of which were habitable.[5] Laid out on a broad plain, the site was subject to periodic flooding.[6]

CSS Voves was operational from January 1942 to May 1944. Aside from Aincourt, prisoners arrived from the camps at Châteaubriant (Loire-Inférieure Département; today: Loire-Atlantique); Écrouves (Meurthe-et-Moselle); Gaillon (Eure); Pithiviers (Loiret); and Rouillé (Vienne). The prisoners, called "administrative internees" (*internés administratifs*), were mostly communists and trade unionists. There were also a few "undesirable foreigners" and common-law prisoners.

The Voves staff consisted of a director, 2 police inspectors, gendarmes, civil guards, approximately 10 administrative employees, a doctor, and 5 nurses. Overall, 180 people staffed the camp. Andrey was soon replaced by an infantry lieutenant and then, in May 1942, by Lieutenant Charles Moreau, previously camp director at Choisel and Moisdon-la-Rivière and a member of the French Foreign Legion.[7] Duval succeeded Moreau as director in November 1942. The Inspector General of Camps (*Inspection Générale de Camps*, IGC) for the Center Region, Robert Lebègue, described Duval as ineffectual.[8] The last director was Raymond Bazin. In addition to doing temporary duty at the Nexon camp, Dr. André Dubuc served as camp physician. Numerous reports attested to the guards' poor equipment: their uniforms and armaments were inadequate.[9] Repeated requests to the German authorities in Orléans resulted in the guards being equipped with machine guns, machine pistols, and gas grenades.[10]

Approximately 1,500 detainees passed through Voves, averaging 850 at a time from May 1942 to November 1943. The population peaked at 944 on October 1, 1942. On November 18, 1943, the authorities transferred 713 less committed communists from Voves to Pithiviers, in order to intensify surveillance of the "diehards" (*irréductibles*).[11] Thereafter, Voves's population fluctuated between 450 and 500. The camp population included a small number of Jews. As late as the spring of 1944, there were seven Jews in the camp, including survivor André Migdal.[12]

The German authorities demanded the handover of many prisoners, who then either became hostages in reprisal actions or deportees to Nazi camps. When the Germans removed one prisoner for questioning in October 1942, the camp erupted in catcalls and the spontaneous singing of *La Marseillaise*. The protest led to collective punishment with a reduction in rations and isolation for some prisoners.[13]

The Voves detainees engaged in many cultural activities. With the camp administration's support, the camp housed a university, theatrical and musical performances, exhibits, and workshops. Survivor Migdal characterized Voves as "an intellectual camp."[14] Given its mostly communist prisoner population, religious services were nonexistent.[15]

The French National Relief (*Secours Nationale*) furnished assistance to the prisoners, subject to security restrictions. This aid was particularly important in the infirmary and in supplying supplementary clothing for the prisoners. The clothing supplements were welcome, as many prisoners wore the worn-out clothes in which they were imprisoned—a subject of recurrent complaints. French Red Cross representatives Renée Chaligne, Madame Monod, and Madame Moreau visited Voves and the Chartres hospital, which treated seriously ill prisoners, regularly in 1943 and 1944.[16] A prefectural representative,

Ernest Renaud, accused Chaligne of "complicity" with the Voves prisoners in the Chartres hospital, as one inmate was observed preparing a gift for her.[17]

A recurrent theme in camp inspection reports was the fear that Allied paratroopers and local resisters would coordinate a prisoner uprising or stage a liberation. Compounding this concern was the French authorities' perception that the local populace sympathized with the communists.[18] On the night of April 26, 1944, a Royal Air Force (RAF) bombing killed 18 staff members at Voves and wounded 25 more, but the detainees did not sustain any injuries.[19]

The prisoners participated extensively in clandestine propaganda and organized many escapes. Before his November 1943 transfer, Director Moreau divided the barracks according to the reason for arrest and the detainee's political tendency, in an unsuccessful attempt to stifle communist agitation.[20] Between June 1942 and May 6, 1944, there were 20 escapes involving 82 prisoners. Other detainees often supported the escapees by assuming the place of the escapees during the five daily roll calls, so as to confound the prisoner count. The hospital at Chartres, which cared for seriously ill prisoners, posed a significant flight risk. Food-gathering details also provided opportunities for escapes. In February 1944 on one such assignment, three communist prisoners lured their lone, 19-year-old guard into a stable, where they "chloroformed," bound, and gagged him. The question of how they acquired the chloroform remained a mystery.[21] The last and largest escape, which took months of preparation, occurred on the night of May 5, 1944, when 42 prisoners fled through a tunnel 162 meters (177 yards) long and 1.8 meters (around six feet) deep beneath the shower barrack. Not all of the prisoners got away successfully: Migdal was recaptured and returned to Voves within days.[22]

After that large tunnel escape, the Nazi SS closed the camp on May 9, 1944. The remaining 407 French and foreign detainees were dispatched via the Compiègne police camp to the Neuengamme concentration camp. Reflecting the many escapes, only 23 detainees of the 407 remaining Voves detainees, or just under 6 percent, were younger than 24 years old (born in or after 1920).[23] From Neuengamme, according to International Tracing Service (ITS) documentation, many of the Voves prisoners entered its subcamps at Bremen-Farge, Drütte, Sandbostel, and Watenstedt. A few were sent on to Buchenwald, Mittelbau-Dora, and Ravensbrück.[24]

Beginning in August 1944, the camp held German POWs.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Voves camp are Denis Peschanski, "Les camps français d'internement (1938–1946)" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Paris 1, 2000); and Stéphane Fourmas, "Le Centre de séjour surveillé de Voves (Eure-et-Loir), janvier 1942 à mai 1944" (unpub. MA thesis, University of Paris 1, 1999). An older book, Régis Portal, *Le Camp de Voves (1939–1947)* (Chartres: Nouvelle, 1972), is partly autobiographical and provides some anecdotes on the French Resistance, but does not furnish any sources. The city of Voves maintains a camp memorial at www.ville-voves.fr/camp.php.

Primary sources on the Voves camp can be found in AD-E-L, collections 106W1–106W77. These files contain a wealth of detail about camp life, which is unusual at the prefectural level. They are available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.108M. Important files in this collection include camp plans, photos, and renovation preparations (106W2); inspection and monthly reports (106W9); prisoner dossiers (106W10–106W50); transfers to the German authorities (106W65); escapes (106W70); and camp hygiene, including Red Cross visits (106W73). At AN, there are several additional collections: 737/MI/2 (documents about the camp); F7 15 086 (additional copy of Lebègue's April 30, 1943, report); and F1–F4535. The ITS holds CNI cards and a prisoner envelope for a number of former Voves prisoners, which can be used to track their ordeals in the Nazi camp system. VHA holds one testimony about Voves by survivor André Migdal (#19438).

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Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. Undated memo, USHMMA, RG-43.108M (AD-E-L), 106W2, p. 209 (USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2).
2. Commissaire Spéciale Andrey to Sécretaire Générale, Police Nationale, December 20, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2, p. 205.
3. Andrey to P/E-L and P/Seine-et-Oise, January 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 198.
4. IGC Robert Milliat rapport, November 10, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 29.
5. Commissaire Spéciale, Aincourt, "Situation et organisation du Centre de séjour surveillée de Voves (E&L)," January 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2, p. 179.
6. P/E-L to DGPN, IVe Bureau, stamped November 17, 1942, Object: "Construction d'un puisard pour l'évacuation des eaux usées," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2, p. 49.
7. IGC Lebègue rapport, April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W2, p. 71.
8. IGC Lebègue rapport, February 21, 1944, USHMMA, RG-108M/106W9, p. 10.
9. Ibid., pp. 8, 11.
10. On gas grenades, ibid., p. 16.
11. CSS Voves, "Rapport pour le mois de Novembre 1943," November 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 247; Lebègue rapport, April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 75.
12. "Camp d'internement (ou centre d'hébergement) de Voves," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 185; VHA #19438, André Migdal testimony, August 28, 1996.
13. "Remise de l'interné René B. aux autorités allemands, 11 Octobre 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W65, pp. 128–137.
14. VHA #19438.
15. IGC Lebègue rapport, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 118.
16. CSS Voves, "Rapport pour les mois de Mars et Avril 1944," May 1, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43-108M/106W9, p. 166.
17. Inspecteur aux Reinseignments Généraux, Ernest Renaud, to Commissaire Principal, Chef de District et du Service des Reinseignements Généraux d'E&L, April 14, 1943, Objet: "Visites de Mme Chaligne, délégué de la Croix-Rouge,

aux internés du camp de Voves en traitement à l'hôpital de Chartres," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W73, p. 115.

18. Gendry, Intendant de Police, Orléans, to P/Région Central, stamped August 13, 1942, Objet: "Visite au Camp de Voves, 7 Août 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 145; Gendry, Intendant de Police, Orléans, to P/Région Central, stamped July 6, 1943, Objet: "Visite au camp de Voves, le 25 Juin 1943," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 132.

19. CSS Voves, "Rapport pour le mois d'Avril 1944," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W9, p. 160.

20. Lebègue rapport, April 30, 1943, 75.

21. Lebègue rapport, February 21, 1944, p. 10.

22. "Évasion de 42 internés, 5–6 Mai 1944," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W70, pp. 12–89, including Détachment de Gendarmerie de CSS de Voves, "Croquis joint au procès verbal No. 12," n.d., pp. 13–14.

23. "Liste des internés du centre de séjour surveillé de Voves qui été pris en charge par les autorités allemandes le 9 Mai 1944," USHMMA, RG-43.108M/106W65, pp. 21–36.

24. For the subcamps, ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for François A. (Doc. No. 1344856); Pierre B. (Doc. No. 16123337); Pierre C. (Doc. No. 18520335); Jean F. (Doc. No. 21462988); Henri G. (Doc. No. 23631604); ITS, 1.1.5.3 (Individual Documents Male Buchenwald) Guy D. prisoner envelope (Doc. Nos. 5721915, 5721919).

VICHY AFRICA

As part of the terms of the Franco-German Armistice of June 22, 1940, the German authorities permitted France to retain its colonial empire and, for the purposes of the empire's defense, a portion of its navy.[1] For the Germans, the situation avoided the risk that France would continue the war overseas; for the French, soon to form an authoritarian and collaborationist regime under Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain, the retention of the colonial empire provided some bitter consolation in the wake of humiliating defeat.

In Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF), the Vichy authorities established networks of camps—penal, labor, and internment—for these categories of people: Jewish and non-Jewish European refugees, those already residing in French colonial Africa before the Fall of France, those dispatched from the metropole for forced labor in the Sahara, and Allied prisoners of war (POWs) and civilian internees. (Because of the complicated situation in Tunisia, where the French, German, and Italian authorities simultaneously operated camp systems during World War II, Tunisia and its French- and Italian-run camps are treated as a separate chapter in this volume.)

In terms of territories, cultures, and colonial models, French colonial Africa was extraordinarily diverse. To understand Vichy antisemitic policy in Africa and in the camps, a brief overview of these colonial models is necessary. Algeria was integrated within metropolitan France in 1848 as three departments (*départements*): Algiers, Oran, and Constantine. The French established a settler colony in Algeria, meaning that the metropole encouraged European settlement at the expense of tribal lands. Despite some reform efforts, such as granting French citizenship to favored groups of Muslims, Arabic speakers in Algeria were treated as third-class subjects. In contrast, in Morocco and Tunisia the colonial authorities established protectorates, a form of indirect rule in which the residents-general (*résidents-générales*) governed through local monarchs. Under the Vichy regime, the sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef (succeeded in 1957 by King Mohammed V), walked a tightrope between adhering to Vichy demands and protecting his autonomy. The resident-general was Générale d'armée Charles Noguès. Noguès established camps for foreign Jews in Morocco. In the AOF, which encompassed seven sub-Saharan territories, the French authorities practiced direct rule under a governor general based in Dakar. As of 1940, the territories were Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast); Dahomey (today: Benin); Mauritanie (Mauritania); Niger; Sénégale (Senegal); and Soudain français (French Sudan; today: Mali). A lieutenant governor oversaw each territory. From 1940 to 1943, Pierre Boisson was Vichy's governor general of AOF and was responsible for its internment camps.

ANTISEMITIC POLICY IN VICHY AFRICA

Reflecting the different colonial models found in French Africa, the application of Vichy's antisemitic decrees was uneven, with the most vigorous implementation taking place in Algeria, where the Vichy regime had direct rule. In 1940, the Vichy regime revoked the Crémieux Decree of 1870, which extended French citizenship to Algerian Jews. As a consequence, Jews from Algeria who had migrated to France over the past century and lived in communities in Lyon, Marseille, and Paris suddenly lost their citizenship. Stranded on the Continent, they were among the deportees to Nazi camps. The Jews living in Algeria avoided this particular fate: although they were the victims of the Vichy antisemitic legislation and were potential internees in camps across North Africa, they were not deported to Nazi camps in Europe.

The second Jewish Statute, issued on June 2, 1941, barred Jews from professional life and business in all the colonies. It forbade Jews from working in finance and implemented a *numerus clausus*, which limited the number of Jews per profession (such as doctors, lawyers, and architects). The existence of a relatively large professional class of assimilated Jews in Algeria meant that, among the colonies in North Africa, this decree had a disproportionate impact on them. After Jewish teachers had been forbidden to teach at non-Jewish institutions, the Algerian Jewish community had established its own independent educational system. Run by Jewish teachers, the schools were administered by the Vichy regime. The educational restrictions were imposed partly to prevent the Jewish community from creating its own university. A final antisemitic measure, issued in July 1941, was the "Aryanization" of Jewish property except for private homes; Jewish businesses were awarded to non-Jews. The implementation of Aryanization was most effective in Algeria, where it was administered by the Vichy-established Office of Economic Aryanization.

The implementation of antisemitic decrees was less extensive in Morocco and the AOF. Regardless of Sultan Mohammed's motives, Moroccan Jews did not suffer the full effects of the antisemitic decrees. In particular, Aryanization was never carried out in Morocco. In the AOF, which according to a 1941 census had only 110 Jews of several nationalities, the decrees concerning the employment of Jews in banks, among other fields, proved ineffectual.[2] Historian Catherine Akpo-Vaché characterized Boisson's implementation of Vichy's antisemitic decrees as "moderate."[3]

CAMPS IN VICHY AFRICA

During World War II, the Vichy authorities opened a network of camps in North and West African colonies. In all, there

were 67 verified camps in North Africa and 6 in the AOF. By the end of 1940, the Interior Ministry was dispatching foreigners and "undesirables" for internment in Saharan labor camps where they were organized by the Ministry of Industrial Production and Labor (*Ministère de la Production Industrielle et du Travail*) into forced labor groups. Beginning in April 1941, many refugees and displaced people interned in Vichy camps in metropolitan France—mostly men, but also women and children—were transferred to North African confinement centers (*Centres de Séjours Surveillé*, CSSs), labor camps for groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs), forced labor camps for autonomous groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers Autonome*, GTEAs), and forced labor camps for groups of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Démobilisés*, GTDs), and "volunteers of the French Foreign Legion engaged for the duration of the war" (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG). The camps housed former Jewish volunteers of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE), Spanish Republicans, and political dissidents. They lived in small brick houses, or tents. The forced laborers were distributed among GTEs in several major camps: Bou Arfa (GTE Nos. 1, 4, 9, and 12); Colomb-Béchar (GTE Nos. 3, 5, 6, and 10); Kenadsa (GTE No. 2); and around Constantine (GTE No. 7). The camps of Djelfa and Berrouaghia were largely reserved for political undesirables.

In North Africa, the camps were organized along railroad axes, in large measure in connection with the Mediterranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. Members of the GTEs were moved around in times of unrest and uprisings. The camps fell under the authority of French military administrators. For guards, the camp administrations relied on *spahis* (members of the cavalry regiments of the French Army recruited primarily from the indigenous population), Moroccan *goumiers* (military auxiliaries), Senegalese *tirailleurs* (infantry), local *douaïr* (mobilized Muslims engaged in the police auxiliary service), and the paramilitary staff of the Railroads of Eastern Morocco (*Chemin de Fer du Maroc Oriental*, CMO). Although many local Muslim camp guards refused to participate in the torture of internees, a few did take part in enacting some harsh policies toward them.

Military internment camps were set up in southwestern Mali, Guinea, and Senegal. Because the Vichy regime was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status. It established three such camps in French Guinea (today: Guinea)—at Conakry, Kindia (Kinda), and Kankan—to hold Allied POWs. In southwestern Mali, the Koulikoro camp was built to intern the captured crews of British, Dutch, Danish, and Greek ships. The Sebikotane camp was established east of Dakar and housed mostly captured Belgian and British merchant sailors. The most remote of the internment camps was at Tombouctou in Mali.

The treatment of detainees held in internment camps was shaped by Vichy's official neutrality in the war and the French Navy's seizure of British merchant ships during the course of the Battle of the Atlantic. Although Allied military personnel were accorded privileges under the 1929 Geneva Convention, the same was not so for Allied merchant seamen, who were not recognized as having belligerent status. Consequently the treatment of Allied internees in West Africa (and at the Laghouat camp in Algeria) varied from tolerable to abysmal.

THE MEDITERRANEAN-NIGER (*MER-NIGER*) RAILROAD PROJECT

The major construction project that occupied the GTEs in Vichy Africa was building the Mediterranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) railroad. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the French colonial authorities began planning a trans-Saharan railroad between the port of Dakar and the Algerian and Moroccan coastal cities. After many years of military and geographic expeditions that resulted in the French taking political control of sub-Saharan, North, and West African territories, a heated debate erupted between supporters of the railway proposal and advocates of a system of motor roads that would cross the Sahara. Neither plan materialized until the Fall of France. The few railroad lines connecting North African ports with West African and sub-Saharan mines and regions and the need to maintain French colonial power in the region were two key reasons that drove Pétain to authorize construction of the Mer-Niger railway system in March 1941. The Nazi regime supported the Vichy project because Berlin recognized its strategic advantage in transporting Senegalese troops through the Saharan interior, instead of using risky maritime routes.

The major challenge in building such a large railroad system connecting the AOF and North Africa was recruiting a labor force willing to work under extreme Saharan weather conditions. Political prisoners in metropolitan France and, especially, the large number of refugees in France's North African colonies who were regarded as undesirable provided an answer to this challenge.

RELIEF FOR PRISONERS IN VICHY AFRICA

Jewish and non-Jewish nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) provided some relief to the prisoners in Vichy Africa. The principal Jewish relief agencies were the Hebrew Immigration/Jewish Colonization Association (HICEM) and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC). The main non-Jewish relief organization was the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). In Casablanca, the AJJDC and HICEM relied on the services of Hélène Cazès-Benathar, a Moroccan female Jewish lawyer who in 1939 had opened an office to support internees in French camps and refugees who were waiting in Casablanca for a visa. Before she began working with the AJJDC, she served as a volunteer for the Red Cross in Casablanca. After Operation Torch in November 1942, Cazès-Benathar was invited to visit every concentration camp established in Morocco and prepare records of their internees.

In 1943 she was appointed the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) liaison for displaced persons (DPs) in Philippeville, Algeria. In 1945 she became a representative of JDC for Northern Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya) and equally supported the Zionist organizations that took charge of immigration to Palestine.

Although escaping the near-certain death that would have awaited them in German concentration and extermination camps in Europe, the refugees were faced with an extremely harsh reality as the Vichy government ordered their deployment in forced labor camps. To survive, internees in the camps attempted to use the bureaucratic means at their disposal within the inhumane structures of the camp. Given the widespread poverty among the Muslim and Jewish communities, it was the offices of the AFSC that dealt with supporting the thousands of men interned in the labor camps by implementing a relief program that provided food, clothes, and visas. To provide these forms of relief to internees throughout Morocco and Algeria, the AFSC had to rely on its own bureaucratic networks of management without clashing or interfering with governmental activities. The AFSC began reporting to consulates and to the U.S. State Department on the struggles and sufferings of European refugees in the Saharan camps before the war, and it continued to do so during the war's early stages.

AFTERMATH

The Anglo-American landings in French North Africa—Operation Torch on November 8, 1942—did not automatically result in the liberation of Vichy-held prisoners, the termination of the Mer-Niger project, or the revocation of Vichy antisemitic policies. In December 1942, the AFSC reported an estimated total of 5,000 refugees "in internment camps or work companies under extremely difficult conditions."[4] Instead, the Vichy military leaders in North Africa who changed sides to support the Allies, Admiral François Darlan and Général d'Armée Henri Giraud, continued Vichy policies until Allied pressure led Giraud to repeal them in early 1943.

Censorship in Algeria was very strict and did not permit writing about the foreign workers and their internment in the press. After the liberation in the summer of 1943, the press started publishing details about atrocities in the camps. The offenses in the camps could no longer be ignored, and a military tribunal to try the perpetrators was set up by the French authorities in October 1943. In February and March 1944, the court of Algiers issued its verdicts, which ranged from the death penalty and life imprisonment to 10 years at hard labor.

SOURCES Important secondary sources relating to Jewish life and the persecution, atrocities, and camps under Vichy rule in Africa are André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); Henri Msellati, *Les Juifs d'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1985); Ruth Ginio, *French Colonialism Unmasked* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); Ruth Ginio, "La politique antijuive de Vichy en Afrique occidentale française," *Aju* 36:1 (2003): 109–118; Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Mémoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998); Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in ʻAbd-al-Ǧalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron, 2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; André Labry, *Les Chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998); Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996); David Miller, *Mercy Ships* (London: Continuum, 2008); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Jacques Cantier, *L'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2002); Benjamin Stora, *Les trois exils juifs d'Algérie* (Paris: Éditions Stock, 2006); Lucette Valensi, "Multi-Cultural Visions: The Cultural Tapestry of the Jews of North Africa," in David Biale, ed., *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), pp. 887–931; Reeva Spector Simon, Michael Menachem Laskier, and Sara Reguer, *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Michael M. Laskier, *North African Jewry in the Twentieth Century: The Jews of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); Georges Bensoussan, *Juifs en pays arabes: Le grand déracinement 1850–1975* (Paris: Tallandier, 2012); Susan Gilson Miller, *A History of Modern Morocco* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Jacques Taïeb, *Etre Juif au Maghreb à la veille de la colonisation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994).

Numerous local, regional, and national archives contain documentation, with much of the material available in microform or digital form at USHMMA. At USHMMA, see, among others, RG-67.008M (AFSC, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); RG-43.070 (CDJC, Special Records from LIV, Tunisia and Morocco); RG-43.071M (CDJC, Selected records from collection LII Algeria 1871–1947); AN (Pierre Boisson collection); RG-43.062M (CAOM collection); RG-68.115M (Private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar); RG-43.144M (Afrique du Nord, Congrès Juif Mondial, Maroc—pays étrangers); and RG-43.016M (AN—Police Generale). The ITS holds a survey of camps, including Vichy Africa, under 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten). This collection is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds rich interviews on the camps. Among published testimonies by former prisoners of camps in Vichy-run Africa are Paul Caillaud, *Tournant Dangereux: Mémoires d'un déporté politique en Afrique du Nord, 1940–45* (La

Rochelle, France: Imprimerie Jean Foucher and Cie, 1957); and Mohamed Arezki Berkani, *Mémoire: "Trois années de camp," un an de camp de concentration, deux ans de centre disciplinaire, Djenien-Bou-Rezg, Sud oranais, 1940 à 1943 (régime Vichy)* (Koudia-Sétif: N.P., 1965). The text of the Franco-German Armistice can be found in *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, 13 vols., Series D (London: HMSO, 1949).

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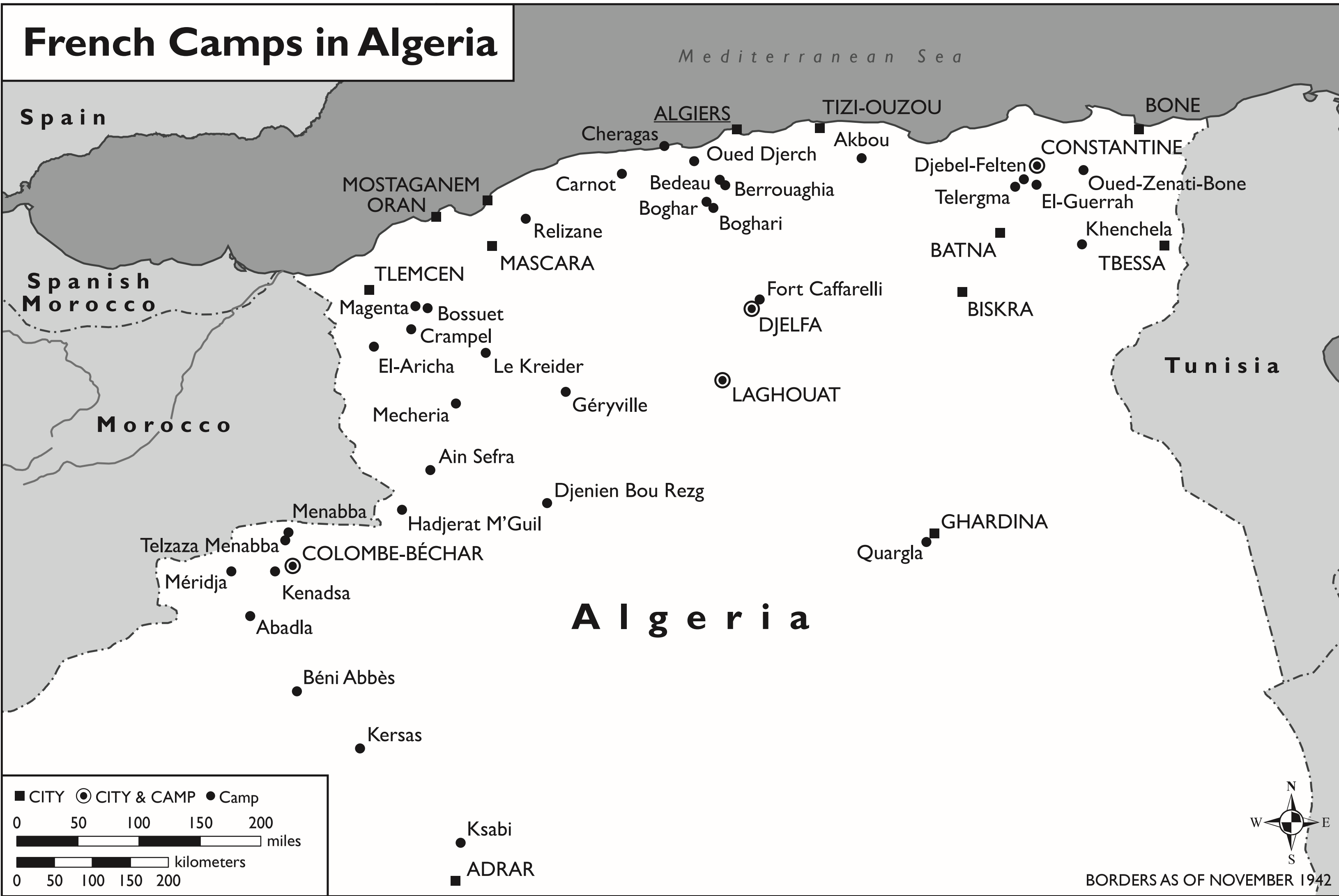
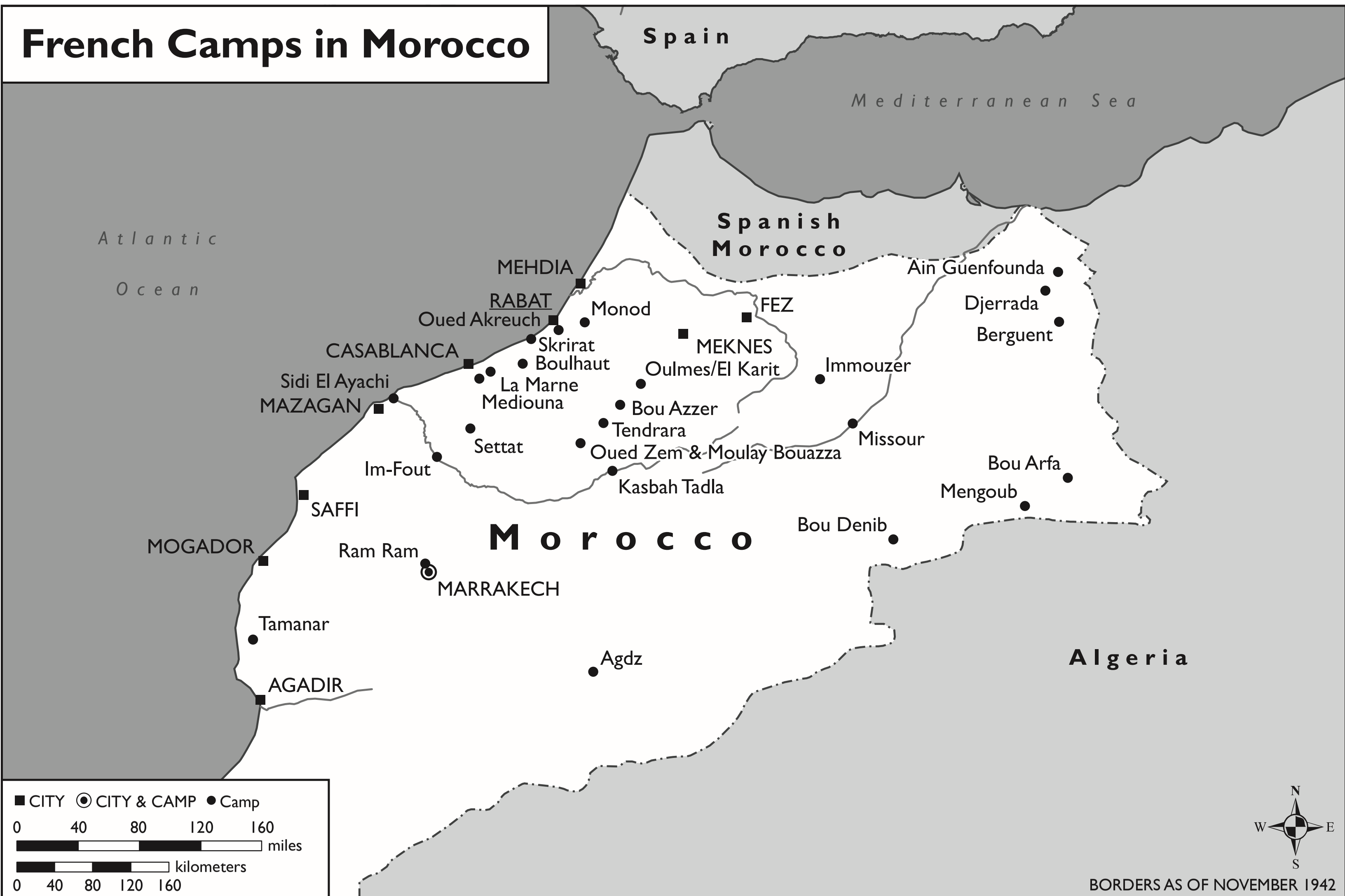
NOTES

1. See Article VIII, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, Series D, 9: 673.
2. Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, p. 55.
3. Ibid.
4. "Memorandum concerning work in North Africa," December 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-68.007M, box 1, folder 33, p. 62–63.

French Camps in Algeria




French Camps in Morocco
Spain
Mediterranean Sea
Atlantic
Ocean
Spanish
Morocco
MEHDIA
RABAT
Oued Akreuch
Monod
FEZ
MEKNES
CASABLANCA
Skrirat
Boulhaut
Oulmes/El Karit
Immouzer
Sidi El Ayachi
La Marne
Mediouna
MAZAGAN
Bou Azzer
Tendrara
Settat
Oued Zem & Moulay Bouazza
Missour
Im-Fout
Kasbah Tadla
SAFFI
Ain Guenfounda
Djerrada
Berguent
Bou Arfa
Mengoub
Bou Denib
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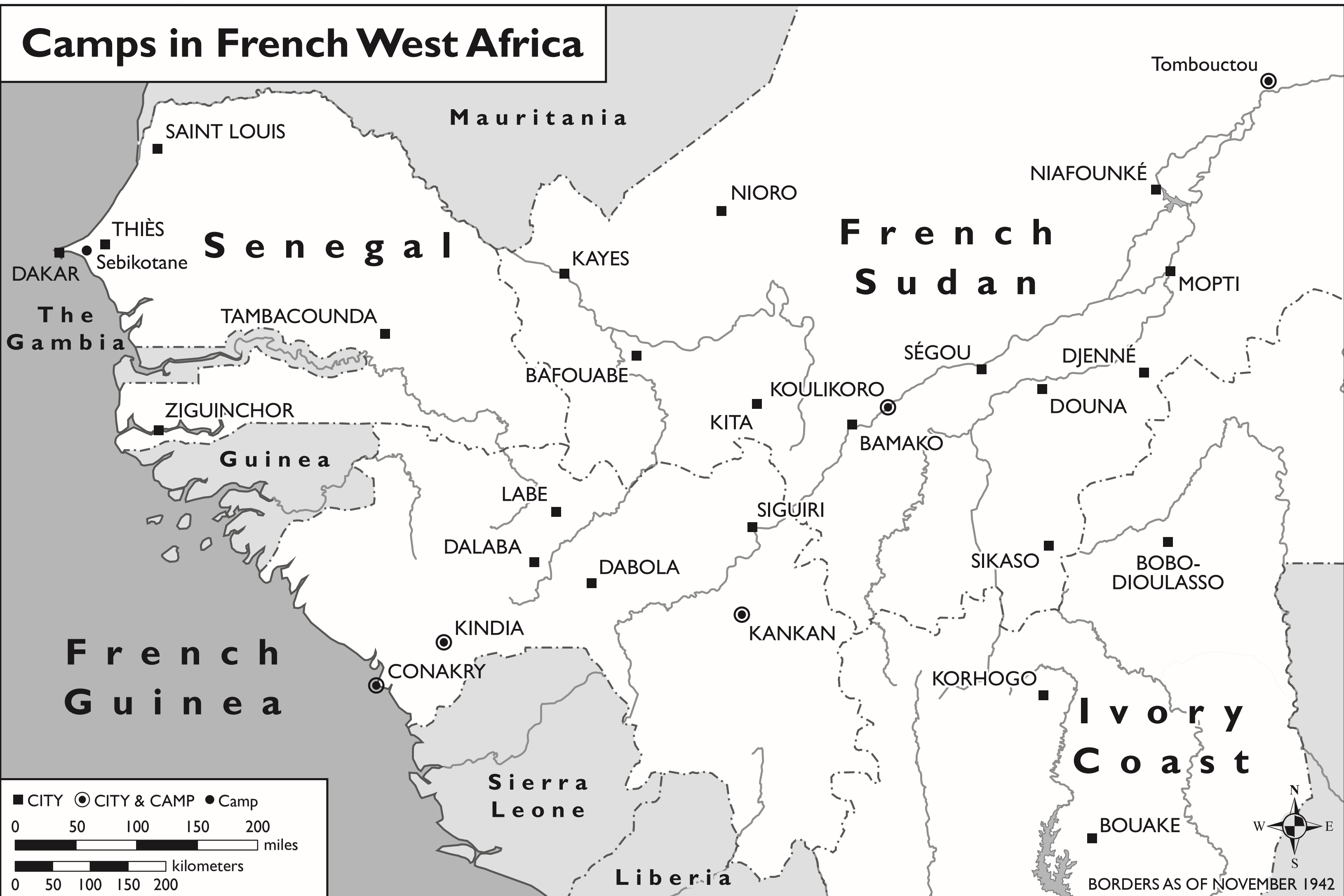
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942



Camps in French West Africa
Mauritania
SAINT LOUIS
THIÈS
DAKAR
Sebikotane
Senegal
The Gambia
TAMBACOUNDA
ZIGUINCHOR
Guinea
KAYES
NIORO
BAFOUABE
LABE
DALABA
DABOLA
KINDIA
CONAKRY
French Guinea
Sierra Leone
Liberia
KITA
KOULIKORO
BAMAKO
SIGUIRI
KANKAN
SÉGOU
French Sudan
NIAFOUNKÉ
Tombouctou
MOPTI
DJENNÉ
DOUNA
SIKASO
BOBO-DIOULASSO
KORHOGO
Ivory Coast
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BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

ABADLA

Abadla (also known as Ksar El Abadla or Abdala) served as a disciplinary and internment camp for prisoners transferred from the Kersas and Ksabi camps. It was located on the bank of the Guir River, about 82 kilometers (51 miles) southwest of Béchar. On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. It was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. The detainees were members of the demobilized foreign workers group (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED), GTED No. 6. The Abadla-Colomb-Béchar railroad line was officially opened on April 5, 1948.

The camp was made of old *marabout* (large) tents supported by walls or on the ground. The tents were grouped into three sections, depending on the type of treatment to be received by the occupants: ordinary discipline, isolation, and repression. The camp was under the direction of Commandant Viciot from the camp at Hadjerat-M'Guil and was guarded by *goumiers* (fighters provided by Arab tribes to police French colonial territories). Overall, Abadla housed approximately 1,500 internees during its existence. On August 16, 1941, 13 people were held in regular custody, 63 in isolation, and 23 in the harsh punishment section.[1] The prisoners were of different nationalities and included Germans, Austrians, Russians, Spaniards, and Poles.

The prisoners were mostly involved in the fabrication of bricks.[2] Like other disciplinary camps, prisoners were held at Abadla for between three to six months depending on the camp administrator's decision. However, some prisoners' six-month sentences were extended for another three months. On January 11, 1942, the Abadla camp was closed, and its prisoners were transferred to the disciplinary camp of Hadjerat-M'Guil.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Abadla camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on Abadla camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. Annexe No. 31, Gouvernement Générale de l'Algérie, "Rapport du Colonel Lupy C. R. Inspecteur des TED sur le GTED No. 6 à Abadla," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371236.
2. Ibid.

AGDZ

The Agdz (or Agdt) camp was located in an oasis at the southern slopes of the Atlas Mountains in southwestern Morocco, approximately 182 kilometers (113 miles) southeast of Marrakech. The camp was an old fortress (locally known as a *kasbah*) that housed members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) and was an important French military outpost in the region.

Under the Vichy regime, Agdz was used as a camp for foreign workers. The internees worked for the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN), which had the job of maintaining the railway link between Morocco, Algeria, and the coal mines in western Africa. Some interned sailors attempting to flee the Mediouna camp were transferred to Agdz on January 3, 1941; that year the camp also received Belgian and British sailors transferred from the Sidi El Ayachi internment camp. The camp was usually guarded by local soldiers known as *meghazenis* (or *moghazis*).[1] During the five weeks between January 3, 1941, and February 8, 1941, the internees were not allowed to leave the camp. Later they were permitted to walk outside.[2] Most of the internees were kept in Agdz until May 1942, after which they were released and taken to Marrakech.

According to historian Michel Abitbol, the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) held at Agdz was composed mainly of foreign Jews, mostly from Central Europe but including a few French Jews from mainland France, as well as Spaniards or Italians. A lack of detailed reports makes it impossible to estimate the number and the nationalities of the detainees. According to historian Jacob Oliel, however, there were between a few dozen and 100 forced laborers at Agdz, approximately 10 percent of whom were Jews (but not Moroccan Jews). The camp's physical environment was unaccommodating, in part because of the presence of snakes and scorpions.[3]

The camp was operational from October 1940 to November 1942, when the Americans and British landed during Operation Torch.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the forced labor camp at Agdz are Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); André Moine, *La déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); and Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Agdz forced labor camp can be found in CDJC, collection CGQJ (414–50), regarding labor camps and transit camps; CAHJP, Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Moine cites a report that briefly describes Agdz, which was compiled by Henri Prudhomme and Charles Dupuy and submitted to ARDIEP.

Aomar Boum and Eliezer Schilt
Trans. Allison Vuillaume

NOTES

1. Annexe No. 5, Procès-Verbal d'interrogatoire, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371186.
2. Testimony of Paul V., July 11, 1951, extracted in Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371121.
3. Report of Henri Prudhomme and Charles Dupuy, n.d., reproduced in Moine, *La déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord*, p. 233.

AIN GUENFOUNDA

Ain Guenfounda (also Ain Guenfouda; today: Guenfouda) was an internment camp in Morocco, located 522 kilometers (almost 325 miles) east of Casablanca, more than 25 kilometers (17 miles) southwest of Oujda, and 22 kilometers (14 miles) northeast of Djerrada. It was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. Officially the camp was classified as housing a group of civilian foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Civils Étrangers*, GTCE).[1] The mines at nearby Djerrada were labeled as being "at Guenfounda."[2]

In June 1940, the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was disbanded, and its "volunteers engaged for the duration of the war" (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) were dispatched to camps in North Africa, including Ain Guenfounda. On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. It was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. Ain Guenfounda was one of the camps designated to provide labor for the construction of the Mer-Niger railway line.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Ain Guenfounda were progressively returned to civilian life. However, the camp was still in use well into 1943. A census in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection counted seven "ex-German" and Jewish detainees at Ain Guenfounda.[3]

The prisoner Erwin Sommer makes a good case study in considering how prisoners made the transition to civilian life after liberation. He was a forced laborer in the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 11, at Djerrada who left on May 28, 1943, to work for the Americans at Oujda as a "clerk-interpreter" without contract. After that he was happy to work at Ain Guenfounda, albeit for less pay but with accommodation provided.[4]

While at Ain Guenfounda, Sommer was liberated by the Americans. Writing from Ain Guenfounda in care of the Moroccan Society of the Coal Mines at Djerrada (*Société Chérifiennes Charbonnages de Djérada*), he requested the assistance of Cazès-Benathar, a Moroccan Jewish lawyer who worked on behalf of refugees, on June 5, 1943; he asked for help finding work and also assistance for his wife and two children who were then in Marseille.[5] Shortly thereafter, on June 23, an official from Ain Guenfounda wrote on Sommer's behalf to the director of the Casablanca office of the French bank, Crédit Lyonnais, recommending him for the position of accountant. He described Sommer as an expatriated German Jew, 45 years old, with 23 years of commercial experience and who spoke French, English, German, and Spanish.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Ain Guenfounda are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material documenting the Ain Guenfounda camp is available in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform and digital form at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Groupes de Travailleurs Civils Étrangers, Camp Ain-Guenfouda," n.d., USHMMA (CAHJP), RG-68.115M, pp. 328–329.
2. "W. Cohen, Mines de Djerada à Guenfouda," December 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, pp. 437–438; and "Cohen W. Mines de Djerada Guenfouda," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.
3. "Desgroupement des Internés par Nationalité et Confession," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, pp. 254–255.
4. "Erwin Sommer chez Société Chérifiennes Charbonnages de Djérada Ain-Guenfounda par Oujda," June 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.
5. Ibid.
6. "Monsieur le Directeur du Crédit Lyonnais, Casablanca," June 23, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.

AIN SEFRA

Ain Sefra (Aïn Séfra or Aïn Sefra) is located in Algeria, 93 kilometers (almost 58 miles) south of Mecheria and almost 199 kilometers (nearly 124 miles) northeast of Colomb-Béchar. Ain Sefra was also the name of the military territory that included such camps as Djenien Bou Rezg and Colomb-Béchar. The Ain Sefra camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

In June 1940, the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was disbanded, and its volunteers engaged for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) were sent to camps in North Africa such as Ain Sefra. In December 1941, two companies of the LE 1st Regiment in Algeria were sent to the camps at Ain Sefra and Saida. Each company had 200 to 300 men, about a

third of whom were Spanish. There was a hospital in the town of Ain Sefra.

There is little documentation on prisoner demographics, prisoner names, or daily life in the camp. Ain Sefra was among a list of North African civil and military internment camps that the French Red Cross (*Croix-Rouge Française*, CRF) assigned for inspection between July 18 and 20, 1942.[1] The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Ain Sefra were progressively returned to civilian life. However, the camp was still in use well into 1943.

Ain Sefra was also a center for assigned residence (*assignation à residence*). Jewish internee Isaac Temimi (or Temime) was held in forced residence at Ain Sefra and was designated to be sent with inmates from other camps to the Mecheria camp on June 30 or July 1, 1941.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources referencing the camp at Ain Sefra include Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary source material available for Ain Sefra can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8.

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NOTES

1. "Service des Affaires Indigènes Militaires Territoire Colomb-Béchar," July 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, n.p.; "Surveillance suspects (camps) Alger 13 Juillet 1942," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
2. "Telegramme Chiffre Demarque," June 28 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 8, n.p.

AKBOU

Akbou is a small town located in north-central Algeria, 137 kilometers (85 miles) southeast of Algiers and 59 kilometers (37 miles) southwest of Bejaia. The scant information available suggests that the Akbou camp was one of the Vichy internment camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

The Akbou camp was in a former French Army compound of four permanent buildings in which the internees slept on beds with two blankets each. The treatment at the camp was particularly harsh: the prisoners suffered frequent and tough punishments, and the women were assigned to conduct arduous chores.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, but the Akbou camp was still in use well into 1943. In July 1943 the camp was reserved for 100 female internees and their children. At this stage, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) counted 10 German women, 50 Italian women, 34 women of diverse origins, and 21 children in the Akbou camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the camp at Akbou are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Cristina Bejan

BEDEAU

Located approximately 134 kilometers (83 miles) south of Oran, Algeria, at the edge of the Sahara between Sidi-bel-Abbès and Mascara, the camp in Bedeau (today: Râs el Ma) served as a forced labor camp for the Vichy regime; many Jewish soldiers were detained there between 1941 and 1943. French Jewish soldiers who had been interned after the Franco-German Armistice at the Saint-Marthe camp in Marseille were moved to Algeria at the end of July 1941; there, they were distributed among different regiments, especially the 8th in Algiers and the 2nd in Oran. In addition, at the end of 1941, some Jewish soldiers in the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) were expelled from the army and sent to the French Army-run camp at Bedeau for two years, living in tents under the control of Capitaine Orsini and Commandant Boitel.

Similar to other camps in terms of multiplicity of purposes and fluency of inmate population, the camp consisted mostly of *marabout* (large) tents, which each held up to 10 detainees. Bedeau was under the direct authority of LE soldiers commanded by Capitaine Orsini, who was known for his hatred for Jews. Between 1940 and 1942, the camp population included a Group of Jewish Workers (*Groupe de Travailleurs Israélites*, GTI). After March 1942, the Bedeau camp was reclassified and became a camp for Algerian workers (*Groupement des Travailleurs Algériens*, GTA); it was then placed under the direct control of the general governor of Algeria instead of the military authority.

Despite their previous military service to France, the detained Jewish war veterans were subjected to hard labor, poor hygiene, and the extreme heat of the desert. They did not have a means of communication with the outside world, not even by radio or newspapers. When the camp was placed under civilian authority, the guards were members of the Legionary Order Service (*Service d'Ordre Légionnaire*), a collaborationist group notorious for its antisemitism. Survivors of the Bedeau camp described it as a concentration camp. The prisoners were forced to wear old civilian clothes and a black cap; hence the name given them by their guards: "crows" (*corbeaux*). They experienced daily harassment and had to do forced labor, such as cutting trees and clearing roads. Prisoners were told to fill bags with rocks and carry them for a long

distance under the sun. They were also subjected to a disciplinary action common in other camps called the "tomb," which involved digging a hole and lying in it under the blazing sun for hours, if not days.

The Bedeau camp was closed on April 15, 1943, and prisoners were transferred to military camps in Morocco (Marrakech) and Tunisia (Le Kef and Le Sers). Almost 750 Jewish prisoners were sent to Marrakech where they joined the Autonomous Group of Ground Anti-Aircraft Forces (*Groupe Autonome des Forces Terrestres Antiaériennes*, GAFTA). They were later incorporated into the regular Free French Army and fought in France, Italy, and Germany.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing or mentioning the camp of Bedeau are Norbert Bel Ange, *Quand Vichy internait ses soldats juifs d'Algérie: Bedeau, sud oranais, 1941–1943* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary sources documenting the Bedeau camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M). Published testimonies by Bedeau prisoners are Léon Benhamou, "Les camps d'Algérie," *IJ* 136 (1994): 15; Maurice Benkemoun, "Le camp de Bedeau," *IJ* 138 (1994): 5; and Golski, *Un Buchenwald français sous le règne du Maréchal* (Périgueux: Éditions Pierre Fanlac, 1945).

Aomar Boum

BEN-CHICAO

Ben-Chicao (or Ben-Chica) was an internment camp in Vichy-run Algeria located 64 kilometers (40 miles) southwest of Algiers, 11 kilometers (almost 7 miles) southeast of Medea, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) northwest of Berrouaghia, and 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the Djelfa internment camp. The Third French Republic and the Vichy regime used Ben-Chicao to hold Spanish refugees and, after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940, to intern prisoners.

Before the Armistice, Ben-Chicao had served as a reception camp (*camp d'accueil*) for refugees from the Spanish Civil War. In April 1940 the camp contained 218 Spanish refugees: 49 men, 74 women, and 95 children under 16 years old.[1] At the time there were no political suspects interned at Ben-Chicao.[2] The majority of the refugees were factory or shop workers,[3] but there were two farmers, one baker, one railroad worker, one accountant, one nurse, two teachers, one soldier, one pharmacist, two tanners, and one weaver.[4] The total camp budget for the year 1940, including medical care and food, was 1,733,750 francs.[5]

When the Vichy government took over, the camp's population diversified. In a list of French camps prepared by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), "Ben-Chicao next to Medea" was listed as an "internment camp for Poles in Africa, Algeria."[6]

The commandant of the 19th Army Corps, Général des Corps d'Armée Henry Martin, had a plan to transfer the military detainees form Ben-Chicao, and he ordered Vichy official Lehuraux to solicit the opinion of the governor general of Algeria about such a move. Martin proposed to transfer the prisoners to Laghouat and to deploy some of them in various military services. Lehuraux disagreed with this approach: he did not think it was appropriate to transfer the prisoners to the Southern Territories because it was beneath the dignity of the French Army and the detainees. He suggested that they be transferred to the Quargla internment camp (525 kilometers or 326 miles southeast of Ben-Chicao), which was a large installation where the prisoners (elderly and officers) would have a higher quality of life.[7]

In response, a "Note of Service" from Algiers reported that the members of the Transit Company No. 1 of the French Foreign Legion (*Companie de Passage de la Légion étrangère Nr. 1*) currently stationed at Ben-Chicao, could be transferred to the Quargla internment camp. Général des Corps d'Armée Martin ordered the provision of accommodations at Bordj-Chandez in Quargla for 3 officers, 16 French noncommissioned officers (NCOs), 208 French of other ranks, and 2 indigenous rank-and-file soldiers.[8]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch, November 8, 1942, after which the prisoners at Ben-Chicao were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES The only secondary source found that mentions the Ben-Chicao camp is Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material documenting the Ben-Chicao camp can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M (reel 9 contains especially rich material on the Spanish refugee camp before the Armistice); and A-ICRC, "Division d'Assistance Special CICR 1940–1963," available at USHMMA under RG-58.002M.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Department d'Alger: État Previsionnel de Dépenses pour le Mois de Avril 1940, Camp de Réfugiés Espagnols de Ben-Chicao," USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 9, n.p.
2. "Suspects," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 78.
3. L'Administrateur-Adjoint, Directeur du Camp de Ben-Chicao à Monsieur le Sous-Préfet de Medea, January 29, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
4. "Centre d'Herbergement de Ben-Chicao: Recapitulation," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 63.
5. "Projet de Budget de Centre d'Accueil de Ben-Chicao pour l'Année 1940," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
6. "Camps en France," USHMMA, RG-58.002M (A-ICRC), reel 5, n.p.

7. Note à Monsieur le Directeur du Cabinet de M. le Geur Gal s/c de Monsieur le Secrétaire Gal du Gouvernement, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

8. Note de Service, 19ème Corps d'Armée, État Major, 3ème Bureau, Nr. 2151/3, Algiers, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

BÉNI ABBÈS

Located approximately 167 kilometers (104 miles) south of Béchar, the Béni Abbès (Beni-Abbas) camp was used as an internment and labor camp for a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 5. It was set up in the Saoura Valley, on the bank of the Saoura River, between April 1941 and November 1942. The internees were volunteers of the French Foreign Legion engaged for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG). They were joined by forced laborers, most of whom were originally from Poland.

GTE No. 5 was deployed on the construction of the trans-Saharan dirt road linking Goa with Hadjerat-M'Guil; the laborers worked along the route at Ksabi, located between Béni Abbès and Adrar. There they revolted over working conditions on May 29, 1941. The Vichy authorities managed to subdue the revolt by force, killing one prisoner and injuring two. On August 31, 1942, the Polish forced laborers were transferred to Morocco to work on the Mediterranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) railway line. From Kenadsa the Mer-Niger line was to run through Béni Abbès, traverse the desert to Adrar, and continue on to Tassit in the French Sudan.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Béni Abbès camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Édition du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Béni Abbès camp can be found in CAOM, available in microform as USHMMA, RG-43.062M (selected records from France's North African colonies).

Aomar Boum

BERGUENT

Operating under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) and named after a French colonel, the Berguent camp in Morocco housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 4. Berguent (today: Ain Beni Mathar, but also known as Ain Berguent or Bergame) was located about 76 kilometers (47 miles) south of Oujda and 36 kilometers (22 miles) west of the Algerian border. Berguent had a large indigenous Jewish community; however, no one from the community was held in the Berguent camp, although many foreign Jews were interned there.

Berguent was part of a series of camps along the Algerian-Moroccan border housing prisoners who worked on the Trans-Saharan Railroad—also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railway line—as part of the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN). The majority of Berguent's prisoners were Jewish. At one point the camp held about 400 Jews, many of whom had been transferred to the detention site from camps in France. On July 29, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the Berguent camp. He recorded that there were 155 prisoners at this location: 13 were away and 142 were present inside the camp (of these, 113 were at work in and around the camp). These internees were allowed 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of bread per day, 125 to 150 grams (4 to 5 ounces) of meat over a six-day period, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine twice a day.[1] A canteen was located in a shelter dugout and provided lemon soda, beer, aperitifs, preserved fruits, and cigarettes. It opened after working hours and closed at 10 P.M. As in other camps along the Mer-Niger railroad works, the availability of shoes and clothes was a concern for many forced laborers, who suffered from the hot summers and cold winters. At Berguent, prisoners were issued two shirts, shorts, and sandals for the summer and a pair of warm trousers and shoes for winter.

Water was not available in the camp: it was brought in twice a day on camelback from the neighboring oasis of Berguent, about 5 kilometers (just over 3 miles) from the camp. Prisoners bathed once a week in the pool at Berguent. Every Monday they had access to laundry; however, the lavatory was in the open. Mail was received daily, including books in German and French. Dr. Wyss-Dunant counted approximately 40 books in German during his trip to Berguent. Jewish prisoners were allowed to attend prayer services at the three synagogues in Berguent.

All prisoners of Berguent were involved in working on the railway line and the surrounding roads. The Department of Industrial Production paid 4.25 francs per day per forced laborer. Sometimes a bonus was added, making a total daily payment of 9.25 francs.

Given the fact that most of the internees were tradesmen, accountants, artisans, and intellectuals, they were not able to easily bear the physically challenging roadwork. They complained of shortages of water and food and of heat exhaustion. Although the camp's commandant was a former legionnaire and was lenient in his treatment of most of the detainees, six were sent to the Bou Arfa disciplinary camp, whereas others were held in solitary confinement for short periods at Berguent.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Berguent are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Berguent camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and NaP, JAF 1007: MSP-L (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-48.011M).

Aomar Boum

NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.

BERROUAGHIA

Berrouaghia is a town located approximately 70 kilometers (almost 44 miles) south of Algiers in the prefecture of Algiers. A railway station on the line connecting Algiers-Djelfa via Boghari and Blida was in the town.

The Berrouaghia camp was located in the town's old prison: four dormitories housed internees who were seriously ill, internees eligible for repatriation, and prisoners held on a permanent basis in a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). The section reserved for the sick was isolated from the other dormitories, with its own shower and bathroom. The rooms were whitewashed and ventilated, and each room had a stove. The beds were made of wood, with straw mattresses and two blankets per internee.

On August 14, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp and recorded that there were 80 internees at Berrouaghia: 33 Spaniards, 12 Germans (4 Jews), 12 Italians (3 Jews), 1 Austrian, 6 Czechs (1 Jew), 5 Poles (4 Jews), 8 Russians (4 Jews), and 3 stateless (1 Jew). Among these internees, 32 had tuberculosis (TB), and 16 had minor illnesses. Several Italians and Germans were eligible for repatriation, and another 32 prisoners were in good health, but were not eligible for release.[1]

The internees had access to 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of bread per day, meat three times a week, but no wine. Those with money could leave the camp, when accompanied by an armed guard, to buy more food in the village to supplement their inadequate rations: there was no canteen inside the camp. A small amount of worn-out clothes was supplied occasionally, but prisoners still lacked shirts, shoes, linens, and towels. Sick prisoners did not have access to medicine; the only doctor available complained about the lack of medicine to combat disease, mainly lung hemorrhages. The camp did not have a library. The priest in the neighboring village of Berrouaghia visited on call.

The internees permitted to do so worked on a voluntary basis. They were paid 18 francs per day: half of this amount went to cover their food and lodging, and the other half was disbursed to their savings accounts. There were carpentry, shoe-repair, watchmaking, and blacksmithing workshops. The men who worked in them received between 1.25 to 2 francs per hour. The internees unable to work due to illness could not afford the goods sold in the village, increasing the misery of their stay. According to Belgian internee Gabriel Délépine, the prisoners classified as "undesirables" and held in the prison's CSS were likewise not permitted to work.[2]

The Berrouaghia camp was connected with the Ben-Chicao camp, located 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) northwest of Berrouaghia.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the camp of Berrouaghia is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Berrouaghia camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.
2. "Berrouaghia," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82381127.

BOGHAR

Boghar was a forced labor camp located 98 kilometers (61 miles) southwest of Algiers; it held an autonomous group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Autonome*, GTEA). Under the supervision of the Algiers Regional Office of Labor, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited Boghar on August 16, 1942. He recorded the following statistics on the prisoner population within the camp: 40 Poles, 340 Spaniards, and 20 German Jews. An additional 45 internees were deployed to the Morand internment camp and to camps in Algiers, 16 were in the infirmary, and 1 was in prison. The number of inmates was 401; the camp's capacity was 500.[1]

Located on the top of a hill not far from the Morand (Boghari) internment camp, Boghar comprised 20 barracks, of which 6 were permanent stone buildings. Other camp buildings were not as sturdy, but were still in use, including some wooden barracks. Each barrack accommodated about 40 prisoners. The climate was good, and the barracks were ventilated.

The prisoners slept on wooden beds with straw mattresses and sufficient coverings for winter. There was a stove and adequate wood for winter heating. The forced laborers were mostly free to move around.[2] Prisoners were punished with extra work or prison time. Six guards and five inspectors guarded Boghar.

Approximately 230 prisoners were hired by private employers and paid between 50 to 70 francs a day, depending on the terms of the collective contract. Other foreign laborers worked as carpenters and blacksmiths in camp workshops. Finally, labor was voluntary for those considered disabled, infirm, or old.

Forced laborers were served 500 to 600 grams (more than a pound) of bread daily, meat three times a week, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine. The camp commandant received a daily grant of 11 francs per detainee from the local authorities. A garden within the camp supplied vegetables and potatoes to supplement purchased provisions. A grocer from Boghar managed a canteen that operated at different hours. Although the Algiers Regional Office of Labor provided some winter clothes, there were shortages of linens, sweaters, and towels.

Prisoners had to shower twice a week, but had the option of taking a third hot shower each week. There was a shortage of water during the summer, but toilets were available. A detainee doctor, a military doctor, and an infirmary nurse cared for sick refugees, despite the shortage of medical equipment and medicine. The infirmary had 24 beds; serious cases were transferred to the nearby Morand camp. An Austrian dentist with the help of a dental technician set up a dental unit that crafted plates and bridges for patients in need of dental work. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) sent many books to the camp.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Boghar camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Boghar camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA, RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.
2. "Notice sur Boghar," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371151.

BOGHARI

Boghari (also known as Ksar El Boukhari, Ksar Boukhari, and Boughari) is 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Algiers. The Boghari camp was an internment camp located near the Boghar camp; it was also known as the Morand camp.[1] The camp housed demobilized foreign workers, as well as Spanish and Belgian refugees. The internees were issued civilian clothes and blankets. They were not expected to work, but were given the freedom to go to Algiers to find jobs. The prisoners were able to walk out of the camp freely at night and on Sundays. Many Boghar camp prisoners were transferred to Boghari either for work or health reasons.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Boghari camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Jacques Cantier and Éric Jennings, *L'empire colonial sous Vichy* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004).

Primary sources on the Boghari camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTE

1. "Notices dur le camp d'hébergement de Boghari ou camp Morand," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371150.

BOSSUET

Located 57 kilometers (35 miles) south of Sidi bel Abbés, the camp of Bossuet (or Bousseut; today: Dhaya) in Algeria occupied a fortress that was built in 1845. During World War II, the fort was transformed into a confinement center (*Center de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). It housed many communists arrested in 1939 and 1940 who had been transferred from camps in France, especially Nexon, Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, and Saint Sulpice-la-Pointe. It was part of what former prisoner and author André Moine called the "camps of death," along with Djelfa and Djenien Bou Rezg.

Surrounded by walls as high as 8 meters (26 feet) and barbed wire, the camp was directed by Capitaine Seynave. Its capacity was 492 prisoners, who were known as "undesirables." Approximately 350 of those prisoners were former soldiers of the French Army (110 were wounded in the war, 24 were awarded military medals, 3 were members of the *Légion d'Honneur*, 120 held the *Croix de Guerre*, and 15 were members of the *Ordre Étrangers*).

Like Djenien Bou Rezg and Djelfa, Bossuet was one of the most inhospitable camps in Algeria during the Vichy period. The prisoners were humiliated daily and forced to work in horrible conditions. Typhus, dysentery, and malaria affected a substantial part of the camp population in 1941.[1] Many famous French politicians and Algerian nationalists were held at Bossuet. Among them was the historian André Moine, who published his testimony of this camp and others. Another was Bernard Lecache, the president of the International League against Antisemitism (*Ligue internationale contre l'antisemitisme*, LICA). On May 26, 1941, Lecache was transferred from Djelfa to Bossuet. After Bossuet, he was sent to Djenien Bou Rezg. A good number of the prisoners had been transferred from Djelfa.

The camp was liberated by the U.S. Army in the spring of 1943. Bossuet was mentioned during a French Army investigation convened in Algiers in late 1943.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mentions the Bossuet camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and André Moine, *La*

Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944), preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

Primary sources documenting the Bossuet camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); the France North African Colonies collection (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.062M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Photographs of the camp can be found in Moine.

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NOTES

1. For health conditions, see the report by prisoner "Dr. Bourgeois," quoted in Moine, *Déportations et résistance en Afrique du nord 1939–1944*, pp. 151–153.

2. "Le Colonel Lupy à Monsieur le Capitaine Juge d'Instruction au TM d'Armée—Alger," December 27, 1951, Annexe 24, Rapport définitif No. 52, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371221.

BOU ARFA

Bou Arfa (or Bouarfa) is located in northeast Morocco, 296 kilometers (184 miles) southeast of Oujda. The discovery of manganese and other minerals in its vicinity made it a major French settlement and mining industry center. The colonial administration began its exploitation of Bou Arfa's natural resources in 1913 at Ain Beida. The French government also developed a network of railroads that connected the region to Mediterranean ports. In 1941, the Vichy government built a set of tent and barracks camps around Bou Arfa; these satellite camps were Aïn al-Ouraq, Foum-Deflah, and Tamlelt.[1] The camp of Bou Arfa and its satellite camps served both as forced labor and discipline camps for political prisoners and Jews.

The Bou Arfa camp and its subcamps were the largest Vichy camps designed primarily for internment purposes in French Africa. Bou Arfa primarily housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 4,[2] although at different times members of GTE Nos. 9 and 1 were also held in the camp.

Bou Arfa was built at a place where a gorge opened into the plain and stretched along the banks of a dry creek. It was composed of seven large buildings made of tiles and wooden beams. The Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN) played a key role in its establishment. The workers earned between 20 to 60 francs per day.

Bou Arfa was opened first as an internment camp for refugees who fled the Spanish Civil War after 1936. The French colonial authorities decided to use the refugees confined in Bou Arfa-Tamlelt as forced labors. The work done by Spanish refugees was key to the pre-Vichy French infrastructure projects around Bou Arfa, especially the early stages of construction of the MN railroad. In January 1941, Spanish republicans who sought refuge in North Africa were assigned to the construction of the railroad connecting Bou Arfa to Kenadsa. By October 1942, about 70 Polish prisoners were transferred from the Oued Zem camp to Bou Arfa, joining about 200 former Polish soldiers already housed there. Jews were later added to the workforce constructing the railroads connecting Bou Arfa to other settlements.[3]

In July 30, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant, a representative from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), recorded the following statistics on the forced laborers at Bou Arfa: Spanish (694), German (21), Italian (11), Austrian (19), Belgian (5), Algerian (2), Stateless (2), Hungarian (1), Dutch (2), Romanian (1), Yugoslav (4), Greek (1), Portuguese (2), French (2), Russian (4), Brazilian (1), and Cuban (1).[4]

Prisoners slept on beds with springs fabricated by the Mediterranean Niger Company. Each bed had a mattress and blanket. The food included on average 600 grams (1.3 pounds) of bread per day and 600 to 700 grams of meat per week. There was a canteen on site where supplies could be purchased, as well as a hall where concerts were held and recreation was allowed in the evening, including listening to a radio. Although there was a shortage of Spanish books and newspapers, the workers had access to a library. After one year of work, the inmates were allowed a 12-day leave, but were not permitted to travel to large urban centers. The hygiene was adequate. The Mediterranean Niger Company built a hospital not far from the camp, which provided a variety of health services for internees. A priest came to the camp to celebrate Mass every Sunday.

The first subcamp of Bou Arfa to be established was Aïn al-Ouraq, a disciplinary camp approximately 60 kilometers (just over 37 miles) west of Bou Arfa on the road leading to Colomb-Béchar. It served as the main punishment camp for Bou Arfa's forced laborers. Established near a mine, the prisoners slept and worked in the open air while building the barracks. Under Capitaine Abala, the detainees faced three types of harsh punishment. In the first type, the prisoner was tied up and struck repeatedly with a rifle butt. In the second type of punishment, known as "the tomb," a prisoner was forced to sleep in a hole for 25 to 30 days under the surveillance of a Senegalese soldier.[5] Movement in the confined space resulted in the prisoner being struck by a stone, clubbed with a rifle butt, or fired on. Finally, the "lion cage" was a 1.80-meter (1.9-yard) cube surrounded by barbed iron threads. The prisoners could only either stand up or lie down. Prisoners being punished only received 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and water daily.

Bar Arfa's second subcamp was Foum-Deflah (Foum El Flah or Foum Defla). In May 1942, the French authorities sold the site of the Aïn al-Ouraq camp to an Arab notable for the amount of 100,000 francs and in its stead opened the camp at Foum-Deflah. The Foum-Deflah disciplinary camp was located 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) east of Bou Arfa. The camp's name originated from the eponymous dry creek. Approximately 50 inmates worked mostly on the MN railroad; they worked for 10 hours every day for which they were paid 8 francs.

As a temporary camp most of its structures were tents; workers slept on straw mats and were provided with a single blanket. Food was inadequate (and less than provided at the Bou Arfa camp). Water had to be transported from outside the camp; the climate was dry. The workers were subjected to some of the worst treatment, including punishment by the tomb and lion cage. A doctor visited the camp once a week; the Bou Arfa camp supplied the infirmary with medicine and supplies.

The third Bou Arfa subcamp was Tamlelt, a small site initially built to hold Spanish republicans and located near the manganese mine of Tamlelt. French colonial authorities used foreign refugees as forced laborers. Later during the war Tamlelt primarily housed German dissidents from Nazi Germany.

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) records contain many individual files on prisoners who spent time in Bou Arfa and its subcamps. A case in point is the file of Ernest Sello. Sello attempted to flee the Bou Arfa camp in September 1941. As punishment following his recapture, he was sent to Aïn al-Ouraq. After experiencing a series of harsh punishments at Aïn al-Ouraq, including spending time in the tomb, he returned to the Bou Arfa camp, where he was again imprisoned. Capitaine Avelin and the commandant, Janin, tried to deport him to Nazi Germany, but the Bou Arfa camp doctor interceded in his favor. Because of his poor health, he was sent to the Oujda hospital in January 1942, where both of his feet were amputated as the result of his torture.[6]

SOURCES There is a wide range of secondary literature about Bou Arfa camp and its subcamps, including Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions de Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in ʻAbd-al-Ǧalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron*, *2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2:601–608; André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975). On the Mediterranean Niger Company, see André Labry, *Les chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998).

There is a considerable amount of primary documentation on the Bou Arfa camp and its subcamps. Among them is the private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M). The Cazès-Benathar collection includes her correspondence with Bou Arfa detainees. The AFSC Refugee Assistance Case Files (available at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296) include files for prisoners held at Bou Arfa, Aïn al-Ouraq, and Foum-Deflah. Abraham Uriel and Sinforiano Rodriguez recorded two of the few photographs of the Bou Arfa camp known today. The Uriel photograph is available at www.danielabraham.net/tree/abraham/uriel.

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NOTES

1. Private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar, USHMMA, RG-68.115M (CAHJP), reel 1, dossier 16.
2. Ibid., reel 7, dossier 47.
3. Ibid., reel 1, dossier 12.
4. USHMMA, RG-67.008 (AFSC), box 1, file 15.
5. USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), case file 8985, Ernest Sello.
6. Ibid.

BOU AZZER

Bou Azzer (also Moulay Bou Azza and Moulay Bouazza) is located in north-central Morocco about 54 kilometers (34 miles) northeast of Oued Zem, 133 kilometers (83 miles) southeast of Casablanca, and 105 kilometers (65 miles) southeast of Rabat. Bou Azzer was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It was set up to house a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) and was built on a clay slope.

Dr. Wyss-Dunant, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), visited the camp on July 15, 1942. At this time there were 52 male internees: 2 British, 8 Belgian, 5 Spanish, 2 French, 4 Italian, 1 Luxembourger, 1 Dutch, 15 Poles, 5 Russian, 1 Slovak, 2 Swiss, 3 Czech, and 3 Yugoslavs. The heat was excessive and the sanitary conditions deplorable. Ten internees were hospitalized, and five more were medical patients in the camp. The men suffered from dysentery and isolation. Many were dressed in rags, and five went barefoot. The internees were lodged in tents and slept on mats with two blankets each.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. However, evidence suggests that the Bou Azzer camp might have been in use until 1945. Materials available in the archive of Hélène Cazès-Benathar and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) Casablanca collection confirm that contract employment for refugees to work at the Bou Azzer mines continued until 1945. However, these files do not specifically refer to Bou Azzer as a camp. Dr. Julius Ullman worked as a doctor at the Bou Azzer mines from liberation until 1945.[1] Alfred Kuhn and Charles Burger also had contracts to work at the Bou Azzer mines after liberation.[2] In 1943 Kuhn wrote to Benathar that he and Ullman were very happy at Bou Azzer: the lodging and food were good.[3]

SOURCES The secondary source that mentions the Bou Azzer camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary source material can be found in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296; and the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform and digitally at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

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NOTES

1. "Dr. Ullman médecin de mines," January 30, 1945, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.
2. "Monsieur le Directeur de la CTM Casablanca," April 15, n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.; and "Certificat de Travail," March 23, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 20.
3. "Maître Benathar, Casablanca," May 14, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.

BOU DENIB

Also called the Meknès camp, Bou Denib (Boudenib or Bou Dnib) was a former military base for the 37th French Aviation Regiment that was earlier known as the Haricot camp. Under the Vichy regime it was transformed into a confinement center (*Centre de Séjours Surveillé*, CSS) and labor camp for the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 2.[1] It was located in Tafilalet in the region of Meknès (hence its alternative name). Bou Denib is 282 kilometers (175 miles) southeast of the city of Meknès.

The Bou Denib camp consisted of 21 stone and adobe brick buildings. Walls, but not barbed wire, surrounded the camp. Administered by French security, the camp's number of inmates was 243 prisoners; including 210 Italians, 12 Germans, one American, and one Japanese prisoner.[2] The camp had a lecture and entertainment hall, showers, and a sports field.

Bou Denib was guarded by one policeman and six armed indigenous personnel (*moghazeni*). The forced laborers were allowed to work outside the camp and were paid a salary. They mostly worked hydraulic jobs approximately 1,500 meters (almost a mile) from the camp. Inside the camp, the prisoners performed a variety of tasks. Guards oversaw the prisoners as they did their daily work. When accompanied by an indigenous guard, the prisoners were also allowed to do shopping in the neighboring village of Bou Denib.

In addition to the foreign laborers, there were 100 prisoners at Bou Denib, one-third of whom were Jews. In addition, some local Moroccan Jews were held in the camp, apparently because of their support for the national independence movement.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Bou Denib camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

A primary source on the Bou Denib camp is ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. "Boudenib-Meknès," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371147.
2. Annexe 21, "Enquêtes sur les prisons et les camps d'internement," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 823716.

BOULHAUT

Boulhaut (also Bouhaut; today: Ben Slimane) is in northwestern Morocco near the Atlantic coast, 44 kilometers (27 miles) east of Casablanca and 235 kilometers (146 miles) northeast of Marrakech. The Boulhaut camp was one of the Vichy internment camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Establishing the proper documentation for the Boulhaut camp is difficult for four reasons. First, the town of Boulhaut was sometimes referred to as Camp Boulhaut before and during World War II. Second, there was a road in Morocco named Camp Boulhaut (*Route de Camp Boulhaut*). Camp Boulhaut was also a base for the mobilization of French and Moroccan troops. Finally the Vichy paramilitary group, Builders of French Youth (*Chantiers de la jeunesse française*, CJF), CJF No. 101, was stationed at Camp Boulhaut. Despite these limitations, there is evidence from the humanitarian aid activist Hélène Cazès-Benathar and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) that Boulhaut also served as a camp for volunteers engaged in the French Foreign Legion for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG).[1]

The Boulhaut camp continued to remain in use after the Allied landing, Operation Torch, on November 8, 1942. When ICRC representative Camille Vautier inspected Boulhaut on April 24, 1943, he found that the camp consisted of small brick barracks (*noualla*), each holding four prisoners. The internees were issued a mattress and two blankets apiece. At that point the camp held 35 prisoners, most of whom were Italian, although there was one Portuguese: all the prisoners were classified as EVDG. The internees complained to Vautier about their hard labor and poor sanitary conditions.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Boulhaut camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc: Témoignages du Passé Judéo-Marocain* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2012).

Primary source material can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

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NOTES

1. "Camp Boulhaut—Italians," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M (CAHJP), n.p.
2. ICRC report, April 24, 1943, as summarized in Oliel, *Camps du Vichy*, p. 115.

CARNOT

Carnot is located in northern Algeria, 133 kilometers (83 miles) southwest of Algiers, 441 kilometers (274 miles) west of Constantine, and 118 kilometers (73 miles) northeast of Relizane.

Before the Franco-German Armistice, Carnot was one of the two reception camps (*camp d'accueil*) established by the au-

thorities in 1939 for refugees from the Spanish Civil War; the other camp was at Orléansville. Planned and built in haste, these first two camps were equipped with makeshift facilities. The Carnot camp was initially intended to hold women, children, "unfit" people, and some intellectuals and servicemen who had arrived in the first wave of refugees. There were no political suspects interned at Carnot.[1] On May 1, 1939, there were 317 detainees in the camp: 39 able-bodied men, 7 elderly or "unfit" people, 138 women, and 133 children (under 18 years of age).[2]

Seventy residents of the Carnot camp were transferred to the camp at Ben-Chicao according to a report dated August 16, 1939, leaving 247 refugees at Carnot at this point.[3] A report from August 26, 1939, complained that the guard commanders at Carnot changed too frequently.[4] In December 1939, the camp was guarded by a staff sergeant (*Maréchal de logis-chef*) and four police officers.[5] The doctor at Carnot was named Mademoiselle Colombani.[6] The sub-prefect of the residential center of Carnot ordered a system of supervised self-administration for the refugees and purchased 50 oil stoves for the refugee families.[7]

Files from the Carnot camp give a picture of the internees' lives. During Carnot's phase as a reception camp, the occupations of more than 60 internees could be identified and included accountants, doctors, a lawyer, and a pharmacist, as well as people in the building trades.[8] The pharmacist Jose Vazquez Sanchez expressed his desire to leave the French territory.[9] In October 1939, a baby boy with the surname of Exillio was born in the camp.[10] A Spanish refugee named Confero Cuenca Francisco based at the Relizane reception camp was relocated to Carnot in December 1939,[11] and that month a refugee named Garido Carrasco died at Carnot.[12] In a single petition, 30 Spanish refugees requested their release; in 9 of the cases, the authorities refused their request. Other refugees were recommended to live elsewhere at their own expense, provided that they chose any location that was not in the Algier Département, which already had too many refugees. Other refugees were ordered to present work authorizations to the Service of Spanish Refugees (*Service du réfugiés espagnols*).[13]

The camp population declined over the course of 1940. On January 10, 1940, there were 306 men, women, and children interned at the camp.[14] In March 1940, there were 289 detainees: 88 males, 105 females, and 96 children under the age of 16.[15] Some Carnot internees were relocated to the Boghari military camp on March 18, 1940.[16] Seven detainees at Carnot were employed in factories under the control of the French Navy's Service of Naval Construction (*Service des Constructions Navales en Algérie*) as of the same date.[17] In April 1940, 47 detainees at Carnot were designated for transport to the Boghar camp.[18] There were 99 internees deemed "unfit" on July 9, 1940: 73 men, 9 women, and 17 children.[19] There were 108 detainees on November 18, 1940: 76 men, 14 women, and 18 children.[20]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. After 1942 the detainees at Carnot were gradually returned to civilian life, but the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Carnot include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material available for Carnot can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 9 to 10. The majority of information on Carnot in this collection covers its use as a Spanish refugee camp. Reel 10 consists of identification questionnaires for the Spanish refugees.

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NOTES

1. "Récapitulation Générale," USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 9, p. 78.
2. "Réfugiés d'Espagne en Algérie," May 1, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, pp. 1–2.
3. "Le Préfet d'Alger à Monsieur le Gouverneur de l'Algérie—Cabinet," August 16, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, pp. 2–3.
4. "Le chef d'Escadron Commandant la Gendarmerie," August 26, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
5. "Carnot, le 27 December 1939, Rapport du Maréchal des logis chef Mixa (sic.), Commandant le Détachement de Carnot," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
6. "Ministere de Sante Publique, Département d'Alger," March 13, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
7. "Orléansville, 29 Aout 1939," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
8. "Centre d'hébergement de Carnot, Récapitulation," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
9. "Rélève des Miliciens espagnols ou anciens," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 66.
10. "Orléansville, le 18 Octobre 1939," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
11. "Orléansville, le 26 Decembre 1939," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
12. "Orléansville, le 2 Janvier 1940," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
13. Le Sous-Préfet d'Orléansville, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
14. "Le Chef d'Escadron commandant la Compagnie de Gendarmerie," January 10, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
15. "Departement d'Alger, Arrondissement d'Orléansville," May 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
16. "Alger le: 18 mars 1940, Réfugiés Espagnols dirigés sur Boghar," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
17. "Alger, 18 Mars 1940, Monsieur le Général de Brigade Commandant p.i. 1er Division Territoriale d'Alger," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 1.
18. "Le nombre de réfugiés espagnols à diriger sur le camp militaire de Boghar est de 104," April 11, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
19. "État numerique des réfugiés espagnols inaptes et leurs familles héberges au camp de Carnot," July 9, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
20. "Effectif numerique des réfugiés présents au camp d'acceuil de Carnot," November 18, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

CHERAGAS

Cheragas (today: Cheraga) was a small settlement 8 kilometers (approximately 5 miles) northwest of Algiers. The Cheragas or Cheragas-Meridja camp was used for the internment and punishment of soldiers, most of whom were Jews, who had enlisted in the French Army before the defeat of June 1940 and who were subsequently expelled by Vichy. Most of the Cheragas prisoners were Jewish Pioneers (*Pionniers Israélites*) known as the 202nd Company of the 1st Zouave (light infantry regiment). According to historian Robert Satloff, under the Vichy regime the label "pioneer" was synonymous with prisoner. The camp also housed a number of Arab nationalist prisoners.

The camp was under the control of Capitaine Suchet, who subjected the Jews to harsh treatment and humiliation. Most of the guards were members of the Vichy paramilitary organization, Service of the Legionary Order Service (*Service d'ordre Légionnaire*, SOL), that was notorious for its antisemitic doctrine. Jewish prisoners were required to hike daily for 20 to 25 kilometers (12 to 15 miles). Capitaine Suchet and his associates unsuccessfully attempted to sow infighting between Arab and Jewish prisoners. The prisoners were also subjected to the "tomb" punishment (burial in the sand) for days at a time.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Cheragas camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources on the Cheragas camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-43.071M (CDJC, Selected records from collection LII Algeria 1871–1947).

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NOTE

1. July 1943 report, CDJC, 385–387, as cited by Satloff, *Among the Righteous*, p. 104.

CHERCHEL

The town of Cherchel (Cherchell, Cherchelles) is located in northwestern Algeria on the Mediterranean coast. It is 78 kilometers (48 miles) west of Algiers, 396 kilometers (246 miles) due west of Constantine, and 235 kilometers (146 miles) northwest of Djelfa. The Cherchel camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Before the Armistice, Cherchel was a reception center for Spanish refugees (*Centre d'Hébergement des Réfugiés Espagnol*) established in the autumn of 1939 along with the Ben-Chicao camp.[1] As of December 30, 1939, there were 290 refugees at Cherchel; another 110 refugees were supposed to be transferred soon thereafter to Cherchel from the neighboring Boghar camp.[2] The projected budget for 1940 totaled 1,282,312 francs, covering among other things the costs of food, administration, heating, lighting, hygiene, and transportation.[3]

The most common occupations among the refugees at Cherchel were farmers, accountants, office employees, teachers, sailors, and mechanics.[4] Once war broke out, numerous Spanish refugees at Cherchel appealed to the French authorities, offering their services (such as drivers and mechanics) for national defense. Those deemed physically able could be employed by a company of foreign workers (*Companie de Travailleurs Étrangers*, CTE).

On March 18, 1940, nine refugees at Cherchel, including one female, were reassigned to Boghar.[5] On the same day the head of the Naval Construction Service (*Service des Construction Navales*) in Algeria reported that seven Cherchel inmates were working in marine factories.[6] According to a report issued on April 11, 1940, 55 Cherchel inmates were transferred to the Boghar camp.[7] At one point Cherchel had 260 detainees, none of whom were political suspects.[8]

A notable internee at Cherchel was the Spaniard José Campos Peral. He was the editor of *Lucha*, a Republican newspaper in Almeria, Spain, that was opposed to Francisco Franco. When Franco's forces won, Peral fled to Oran, Algeria, and was interned at Cherchel. In June 1940 he was deployed with other Cherchel detainees to work on the railroad at Bou Arfa. He subsequently served as a guide for the American journalist Kenneth G. Crawford.

On April 1, 1942, Cherchel held indigenous prisoners.[9] The governor general of Algeria recommended on April 22 that El Hachemi Abdelaziz, the sheikh of Zaouia Kadrya at El-Oued, be placed in monitored residence at Cherchel.[10] At one point Cherchel had a total of 220 demobilized foreign laborers.[11] Staffing the camp hospitals at Cherchel, Boghar, and Kenadza was one Spanish nurse, Francisco Comba.[12]

After Operation Torch began on November 8, 1942, the detainees at Cherchel were progressively returned to civilian life, but the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES The secondary sources mentioning the Cherchel camp are Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary sources documenting the Cherchel camp can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6, 7, 9, and 10; and the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296.

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NOTES

1. "Le Préfet d'Alger à Monsieur le Gouverneur Générale de l'Algérie," August 16, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 9, p. 1.
2. "Observations," December 30, 1939, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.
3. "Articles: Nature des Dépenses Sommes prévues," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

4. "Centre d'Hébergement de Cherchell, Agriculteurs (de 28 à 35 ans)," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, pp. 47–56.

5. "Alger le 18 mars 1940, réfugiés espagnols dirigés sur Boghar," March 18, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

6. "Marine Nationale, Service des Construction Navales en Algérie," March 18, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 1.

7. "Le nombre de réfugiés espagnols à diriger sur le camp militaire de Boghar est de 104," April 11, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.

8. "Récapitulation Generale," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 78.

9. "Copie, Liberation d'Internés du Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Mecheria," April 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.

10. "Liste des Individus Places en Résidence Surveillée," October 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

11. "Tableau Annexe I," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

12. "M. Francisci, Jean Charles," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, n.p.; "Nurse," n.d., USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 2 (C–F), folder AFSC Casablanca Subject Files "C" 1942–1945, Subfolder Comba, Francisco," n.p.

COLOMB-BÉCHAR

Located 58 kilometers (36 miles) south of the Moroccan border and 748 kilometers (approximately 465 miles) southwest of Algiers, Colomb-Béchar (today: Béchar) is an Algerian town at the foot of Mount Béchar. The town housed the command center of the southern Algerian territory, which administered many camps along the Moroccan-Algerian frontier. It was also the location of many train stations for the railway line along the Moroccan border that was administered by the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN, or *Mer-Niger*). In 1942, the Colomb-Béchar camp opened as a detention center and labor camp for several groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs). GTE No. 5 prisoners worked in the nearby Béchar-Jdid coal mines, whereas GTE Nos. 2, 21, and 22 repaired railways. Colomb-Béchar and its environs thus held many satellite camps for groups of forced laborers who took part in Mer-Niger railroad construction.

On August 2, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Red Cross (ICRC) visited the Colomb-Béchar camp of GTE No. 22 and recorded that there were 112 prisoners at this location: 75 were inside the camp and 37 were away on labor assignments. They included 97 Spaniards, 3 Germans, 3 Poles, 1 Austrian, 1 Belgian, 1 Czech, 1 Italian, 1 Luxembourger, 1 Portuguese, 1 Russian, 1 Latvian, and 1 Swiss.[1] He noted that the camp's normal capacity was no more than 60 prisoners. The camp was set up in an oasis under the shade of palm trees and consisted of many canvas tents and six *marabout* (large) tents. Wyss-Dunant noted how the guards treated the members of the various GTEs differently. The prisoners of GTE No. 22 were in relatively good health and had access to water, showers, and some leisure time. They served as an advance group in the construction of the Mengoub and Menabba rail stations at which GTE Nos. 1, 21, and 22 were stationed. The group was handed over to the control of the general governor of Algeria after August 20, 1942, when 205 Polish prisoners were transferred to Colomb-Béchar.

Under the supervision of the Algiers Regional Office of Labor, the 205 Polish prisoners were part of the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED), GTED No. 2. Members of GTED No. 2 were tank specialists, aviation experts, and bridge builders who had served in the French Army before the Armistice. They were brought to Colomb-Béchar from Mascara in northern Algeria after attempting to escape. As punishment they were compelled to work on the Mer-Niger railroad. They were housed in a subcamp near Colomb-Béchar, in which there were tile-covered barracks that lacked ceiling insulation. The prisoners slept on straw mats laid on the dirt floor. Each prisoner had access to one blanket. The camp had sufficient water for washing, drinking, and showering. The prisoners also had access to dental services twice weekly and were allowed to go to the neighboring town and the recreation halls of other subcamps around Colomb-Béchar.

Prisoner pay differed according to group category. The first group, made up of Polish prisoners, was paid 45 to 50 francs daily in addition to a food allowance of less than 15 francs. Those in the second category were paid, fed, and lodged by private employers. The third group received 4 to 12 francs a day for light work inside the camp. Those who broke the law were sent to the jail of the neighboring Moll camp. The Polish prisoners complained about excessive heat, cold, and long work days: from 6:00 to 11:15 A.M. and 4:00 to 7:00 P.M. In September 1942, the residents-general of Morocco and Algeria began negotiating the exchange of these prisoners for Spanish workers from a Moroccan camp and moving the Poles to a place close to the mountains that had a climate similar to that of northern Europe.

The third main group of prisoners in Colomb-Béchar was GTE No. 21, which was under the authority of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) headquartered in Rabat. According to Wyss-Dunant, GTE No. 21 consisted of 747 men who worked on the Mer-Niger railway line (696 were Spaniards and 51 were other nationalities). The camp had stone barracks covered with red tiles. Each barrack housed 50 prisoners who slept on beds with springs but no mattresses. Each had access to two blankets. The floor was made of beaten earth and cement. Wyss-Dunant also reported that prisoners were fed 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of bread per day. They were given meat four days a week, a half-liter (just over a pint) of wine per meal, and dessert on Thursdays and Sundays.

GTE No. 21 prisoners wore shorts, shirts, and sandals during the summer and were given a cloth work suit during the winter. Specialized workers were paid between 1,400 to

1,500 francs per month, whereas unskilled workers received only 5.25 francs in addition to bonus pay per day. Religious prisoners attended church in Colomb-Béchar. The prisoners had access to showers and a pool at the garrison infirmary every three days.

The prisoners had the opportunity to visit two Mer-Niger company doctors at the Béchar hospital. They also received medical assistance from two Spanish doctors in the camp. Minor illnesses were handled by a male nurse in the camp infirmary. As in other sections of the Colomb-Béchar camp, there were no libraries in the GTE No. 21 satellite camp. However, the prisoners had access to recreational and music programs in the camp hall, as well as to games of football and chess. Most of the complaints were about the poor quality of the food. Many prisoners were able to send the money they earned to their families.

According to a cursory Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), GTE No. 2 was housed in unused cavalry barracks. Its guards were unarmed civilians, and the prisoners included at least one Belgian.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Colomb-Béchar camps are Jacob Oliel, *Les Juifs de Colomb-Bechar et des Villages de la Saoura 1903–1962* (Orléans: self-published, 2003); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in ʿAbd-al-Ǧalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron, 2* (Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary sources documenting the Colomb-Béchar camps can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); NaP, JAF 1007: MSP-L (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-48.011M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA has one testimony by a Colomb-Béchar prisoner, Louis Cohn (#9399, February 12, 1996).

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC collection), n.d., box 1, folder 15.
2. "Notice sur Colomb-Béchar," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371152; Annexe 33, Liste 15, "Liste des Belges passes par Colomb-Béchar," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371268.

CONAKRY

The Conakry internment camp was located in the capital city of Conakry in French Guinea in French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF), approximately 705 kilometers (438 miles) southeast of Dakar and 1,412 kilometers (almost 762 miles) southwest of Tombouctou. The city was also the terminus of a railway that ran from Kankan on the upper Niger River, spanning 330 miles. The Conakry camp was originally located solely on Tombo Island in the Atlantic Ocean, which served as a port of entry for both naval vessels and aircraft. It later was relocated to a swamp four miles out of town and then again to a former school in town. It held foreign internees.

The Vichy government was in charge of the zone from June 1940 to January 1943, and its governor general, Pierre Boisson, directed all internment camps in the AOF. The camp at Conakry was known as "Seven Kilometers" (*Sept Kilometres*).

The Royal Navy prize merchant ship, the *SS Criton*, was sunk by the Vichy ship *Air France IV* on Saturday, June 21, 1941. The *Criton* crew totaled 24 men, and all were interned at Conakry.[1] Immediately after the sinking its passengers were also interned at Conakry: the total number of internees, including both the *Criton*'s crew and its passengers, was 52. The passengers were later sent to Sierra Leone.[2] The *Criton* crew was found guilty of piracy by a Vichy French naval court-martial.[3]

During the *Criton's* crew's three-month stay at Conakry, the crews of the *Allende Samsø*, *Vulcain*, and *Pandias* were also interned there. Internee H. J. W. Flett testified that, in 1941, some British civilians were detained there as well in poor living conditions. The rations were meager and of poor quality, consisting chiefly of rice, beans, and macaroni; the internees were also given a cup of coffee and a piece of bread in the morning.[4] The rations just barely kept the internees from starving.[5] They did not have shoes. Officers and sailors were kept in common quarters (in violation of the Geneva Convention of 1929), and guards escorted their charges to the latrines with bayonets.[6]

The seamen of the *Criton* were interned successively at Conakry, Tombouctou, and Kankan. Peter de Neumann (the second officer aboard the *Criton*, later named "the Man from Timbuktu" by the *Daily Express*) was interned at all three camps. Internee N. T. Clear described as "rather a strange coincidence" that at all three camps the native military band was sent to rehearse in the internees' near vicinity. He claimed, "We (the prisoners) were inclined to wonder if this was part of our punishment."[7]

It rained constantly for the three months that the *Criton* crew was interned at Conakry. The internees were not issued clothing during their internment. They were accommodated in circular huts that were 5.2 meters (17 feet) in diameter—10 men in each hut—and each slept on a platform of branches. The men were given old army blankets, only one apiece, and some were too small to provide adequate cover.[8] Each hut

had only one small entrance without ventilation. Sometimes due to the heavy rain the men were confined to their huts for an entire week. The internees did not receive the Red Cross parcels sent to them.[9]

There were already prisoners in the Conakry camp when they arrived, and the *Criton* crew was kept separate from them by barbed wire and posted sentries. Their food was supplied by a hotel in the town of Conakry, to which the Vichy authorities paid 40 francs per day per internee. The local population of Conakry occasionally gave unauthorized gifts of bananas or cakes to the internees. The British Anglican priest in Conakry, Father de Coteau, made a special effort to assist the camp internees. The Conakry hospital designated two wards for the sick internees, and those 30 beds were always full.[10]

George Whalley, the second radio officer aboard the *Criton*, remembers that the crew had to "trudge through ankle [deep] mud to answer the calls of nature."[11] The latrines were open trenches in open view of the families of the African troops. Each morning the men were escorted to a line of 10 taps to bathe and do their washing. There was no privacy, and the taps were also used by the African families living near the camp. Whalley attributes the ill health of the internees to two main causes: (1) the location of the camp on a swamp teeming with malarial mosquitoes, with no mosquito netting for the beds, and (2) malnutrition.

The location of the Conakry camp changed six weeks into the stay of the *Criton* crew: it was moved from the swamp outside the town to the Tomba Grammar School in Conakry, and the housing situation improved considerably. There the crew occupied a single-story building of three rooms, and the compound had adequate exercise space, unlike "Sept Kilometres." The new location provided the internees with an iron bed and a piece of matting, but because the beds crawled with bugs, many men elected to sleep on the floor. Here the latrines were in trenches, and the bathing took place in a well outdoors in full public view.[12]

During George Whalley's internment, the Vichy authorities psychologically tortured the crew by lying to them that they would be repatriated to Freetown shortly. Whalley was hospitalized for four or five weeks and had a very high opinion of the medical services.[13] Eight *Criton* seamen who were hospitalized were left at Conakry after the majority of the crew departed for Tombouctou; these eight detainees were transferred to Kankan in September 1941.[14] An airgram from the U.S. consulate in Dakar dated December 1, 1942, documents that non-British sailors and British or British chartered merchantmen were interned at Bamako, Kankan, and Conakry camps. These detainees included 4 Irishmen, 1 Spaniard, 13 Norwegians, 1 Czechoslovakian, and 20 Dutch.[15]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Conakry internment camp is Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996). An unpublished but detailed account of the camp is Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). This account is based in part on documentation about his father's internment.

Primary sources on the Conakry internment camp can be found in TNA, FO 371, WAPIC; AN, Pierre Boisson collection; NARA, RG-84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the U.S. Department of State, Senegal, Dakar Consulate General, General Records 1940–49; and IWM, "The Private Papers of P Le Q Johnson," Cat. No. Docs 101, 1988.

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1. De Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 98.
2. Ibid., p. 107.
3. Ibid., p. 87.
4. Interview with H. J. W. Flett, WAPIC Bulletin No. 11, Annex B, 1941, TNA, FO 371/28246, quoted in Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, pp. 65, 67.
5. De Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 115.
6. Interview with H. J. W. Flett, pp. 65–67.
7. De Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 126.
8. Ibid., p. 135.
9. Ibid., pp. 114–115.
10. Ibid., p. 135.
11. Ibid., p. 136.
12. Ibid., p. 137.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. 142.
15. NARA, RG-84 (Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the U.S. Department of State, Senegal, Dakar Consulate General, General Records), 1940–49, box 1, folder 700.

CONSTANTINE

Constantine is located in northeastern Algeria, 357 kilometers (222 miles) northeast of Djelfa and 322 kilometers (200 miles) east of Algiers. The forced labor camp and prison at Constantine were two of the Vichy camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Constantine was one of four locations where groups of demobilized workers were stationed in the Constantine Département. At one point the forced laborers held in the Constantine camp totaled 400.[1] On August 31, 1942, the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 21, held at the Constantine camp had one commander, an assistant, and two indigenous supervisors on staff. In addition, there were one indigenous superintendent and one indigenous auxiliary official. Of the 251 forced laborers, 250 were indigenous, and only one was French. The Army Service (*Service de l'Armée de Terre*) employed GTE No. 21.[2]

A fortress at Constantine also served as a prison. According to documentation submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) by the kingdom of Belgium, a Belgian national, Séraphin Cartiens, was among the prisoners in the fortress.[3]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detain-

ees at Constantine were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES The secondary sources describing the Constantine detention sites are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the detention sites at Constantine can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8; ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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1. "Tableau Annexe I Organisation-Stationnement et Éffectifs des Unités de Travailleurs Démobilisés," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 4.
2. "Lieux de stationnement du Groupement et des different Groupes compesant le Groupement," October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, pp. 1–2.
3. Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), Annexe No. 33, Liste No. 24, December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371277.

CRAMPEL

Crampel is located in northwest Algeria, 434 kilometers (270 miles) southwest of Algiers and 192 kilometers (119 miles) southwest of Relizane. Crampel was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Together with the neighboring sites at Boghar and Saida, Crampel was a camp for a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) formed in Southern Oran (*Sud Oranais*). Altogether, there were 100 Jewish forced laborers in the three camps. Each camp had a canteen. The commandant of Crampel was named M. Roger Auger, and the supervisor (*surveillant*) was Vincelet.[1]

The prisoners at Crampel had to work 10 hours per day in the heat of the "semi-desert," where the only crop that grew was alfalfa. Meals consisted of insufficient soup (such as beets), fried cucumber, or onions cooked in water. Most of the prisoners had to sell their last personal effects, such as shirts and sweaters, to supplement their rations.[2] The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) at Marseille administered aid to Crampel; in the summer of 1942 prisoner Erwin Müller, a physician, received 860 francs, and in the fall of 1942 he received 645 francs.[3]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. Müller testified that the Allied invasion was "a day of unheard-of persecutions" that was "dramatic" for the Crampel prisoners.[4] Neither Auger nor Vincelet notified the prisoners whether the Americans or Germans had occupied Oran. The chief of the alfalfa factories, Ollier, forbade the civilian workers from passing along any war news to the Crampel prisoners. The members of the French Legion of Veterans (*Legion française des combattants*, LFC) and the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) were mobilized, and the prisoners were told that anyone who left their quarters risked being shot.[5]

It was not until the next day, on November 9, that refugee Erwin Müller discovered that the Allies had landed in North Africa. That afternoon, relying on his "exceptional position as physician of the detachment known by the government," he spoke with Auger.[6] Their conversation went as follows:

MÜLLER: In case new Franco-American authorities should arrive at Crampel, I beg you, Monsieur, to ask their authorization for me to talk to them, in your presence, in order to better explain to them our special situation as refugees.
AUGER: But that's conspiring with the enemy!
MÜLLER: With the enemy?
AUGER: Yes, because the government has ordered resistance. What you want to do is contrary to its orders.
MÜLLER: But the Americans are not our enemies. They are the friends of France, and the friends of our Spanish and German refugees, too.
AUGER: We shall see about that.[7]

That night, troops of the French Foreign Legion roused Müller. Based in Bedeau, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) from Crampel, the LE unit was commanded by Sergent-Chef Fischer, a German. The unit threatened to hang Müller from the nearest tree and also seized a German biologist named Levy at Crampel because he expressed joy to Vincelet about the arrival of the American troops. Both men were labeled "undesirables" and transported to the LE prison at Bedeau. They were held at Bedeau until November 17, 1942, when they were sent to the Boghar camp. Müller made it clear that German and Austrian refugees did not have anyone to advocate for them following the Allied landing and that discrimination against the Jews in North Africa continued.[8]

After 1942 the detainees at Crampel were progressively returned to civilian life, but the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Crampel are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); and Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Memoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998).

Primary source material available for Crampel can be found in collection LIII Algeria, 1871–1947, at CDJC, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.071M; and AFSC, records

relating to humanitarian work in North Africa, available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M.

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1. Notes récueilliés sur les groupements de TÉ du Sud Oranais, n.d., LIII-25, USHMMA, RG-43.071M (CDJC), n.p.; and USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), n.d., box 1, folder 33.
2. Copy, Translation from French, Oran (Algeria, 11/25/42), USHMMA, RG-67.008M, box 1, folder 33, pp. 70–72.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

DJEBEL-FELTEN

Djebel-Felten was an internment camp in Algeria located 311 kilometers (193 miles) southeast of Algiers and 23 kilometers (14 miles) southwest of Constantine. The Vichy regime used Djebel-Felten, which was already operational in the first half of 1940 under the Third French Republic, as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveille*, CSS) to hold prisoners deemed "undesirable from the political or public security point of view."[1]

Following the Franco-German Armistice, a group of 142 indigenous soldiers in the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was purged from the French Army. The governor general of Algeria and Général de Corps d'Armée Henri Martin, commandant of the 19th Region, selected Djebel-Felten as a suitable location for detaining the former soldiers pending their release.[2] Although Djebel-Felten had an official capacity of 300 detainees, it held 425 prisoners—including 195 French and 230 Algerians—on April 1, 1941. There were 495 foreigners in total held at that time as prisoners in Djebel-Felten and the camp at Djelfa.[3]

The 2ème Bureau (Second Bureau of the French General Staff, Intelligence) in Constantine delivered intelligence about the detainees by telephone to the Djebel-Felten camp commandant. This office also developed the camp's general regulations. The camp administration included the commander, an assistant who acted as the general supervisor, two subordinate officer supervisors, and one accountant.[4] The head of the camp was variously termed a capitaine or commandant in conflicting reports.[5] The camp management also included two adjutants; one doctor; an auxiliary doctor; an adjutant who acted as the head of the adjutants; six accounting secretaries and typists (including those intended for the doctors); ten nurses; two drivers; four orderly cyclists; two truck drivers; two cooks (one for the infirmary); and three servers or busboys.[6]

The detainees were divided into groups, generally by ethnicity, and then they selected their own group leaders. The camp was guarded day and night. Punishments were meted out in the vicinity of the nearby police station. There was a system in place for detainees to file complaints, with twice-weekly adjudication by the camp commander. Daily roll calls took place at morning, afternoon (after lunch), and night.[7]

On arrival, prisoner mail was checked by the camp postman (*vaguemestre*), who was also a camp officer, so that it was censored before the prisoners received it. Letters sent from the camp were left open, deposited in a special box, and censored by the postman before mailing. In the presence of an officer, visitors met with individual prisoners at an isolated location in the camp. Trips outside the camp were possible under guard supervision. The camp intended to employ the detainees in their respective civilian trades, such as masonry and carpentry.[8]

Prisoners received the same food as the guards, with cooks drawn from among the guards and prisoners. The French authorities furnished drinking water.[9] The camp had electric lighting. The detainees slept on covered benches.[10] The bath soap was the same for detainees and guards, but showers were taken only every 15 to 21 days depending on water availability. The prisoners were responsible for camp laundry. One internee served as a barber. As for clothing, the detainees wore what was on their person when they arrived. When necessary, the army requested items from the Vichy colonial authority. The authorities provided either a military or civilian doctor to ill patients. The Djebel-Felten infirmary had beds, but cases of serious illness were referred to the nearby military hospital in Constantine.[11] The prisoners' health was assessed in July 1941, with those deemed too old or incurable released.[12]

Despite being under careful watch, several prisoners escaped from Djebel-Felten. Ahmed Benmoumen escaped the camp and was arrested by the mobile brigade of Sidi-Bel-Abbès.[13] While in police custody he escaped from the Sidi-Bel-Abbès prison.[14] Lucien Chiche escaped Djebel-Felten on May 24, 1941. After his recapture, he was relocated to the Mecheria camp, 682 kilometers (424 miles) southwest of Djebel-Felten, where he was released for good behavior.[15] Allel Muhammed attempted to escape Djebel-Felten on February 22, 1941. He was also recommended for release after transfer to Mecheria.[16] Agha Abdelkader escaped Djebel-Felten on May 6, 1941.[17]

On June 5, 1941, the Constantine prefect demanded the immediate liquidation of the camp at Djebel-Felten and proposed to relocate the "undesirables" to the Mecheria internment camp.[18] This proposal may have coincided with plans to transfer the control of Djebel-Felten to the local authorities.[19] The camp nonetheless continued to operate. In November 1941, Amar Laid ben Mohamed was interned to Djebel-Felten by a *douair* (a Muslim engaged in auxiliary police service) named Bougzouf stationed in Boghari. He was punished for repeated instances of cattle theft and burglary and was later transferred to the Mecheria camp. Prisoner files underscore the close association between the Djebel-Felten and Mecheria camps. Jean Sanchez, Charles Buriez, Mohammed Saddock, and Louis Schosmann were just some of the many prisoners transferred from Djebel-Felten to Mecheria from 1940 to 1941.[20]

Prisoner files also document attempts by outside authorities, including French prefects, to secure the release of certain detainees; there are also documented efforts made by the detainees themselves to secure their release. The Vaucluse prefect recommended Jacques Cardi for liberation and clemency on August 9, 1941.[21] Cardi's parents resided in his prefecture. A similar request came from the city of Nancy for the release of Alfred Baderot. Although Baderot was rumored to be a communist, the special commissioner of Nancy asserted that he was only guilty of subversive activity in cafés, not of distributing extremist propaganda.[22] Auguste Ricardo appealed for clemency in 1942.[23] Haubraiche was recommended for liberation in a letter dated May 21, 1941.[24]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. After 1942 the prisoners were progressively returned to civilian life.[25]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Djebel-Felten camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary source material documenting the Djebel-Felten camp can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M.

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1. Note de Service Nr. 4508 7/2 du 7/12/40 du Général Commandant la 19ème Région, February 12, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, n.p.
2. Gouverneur Général de l'Algerie à Monsieur le Général de Corps d'Armée, Commandant la 19ème Région, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
3. "Les internés sont groupés dans les camps par ordre des Autorités françaises tant que l'exigent le sécurité de l'État et l'ordre public," April 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, p. 7.
4. Copie: Renseignements Sommaires sur l'Organisation et le Fonctionnement du Camp d'Internés Politiques du Djebel-Felten (Constantine), USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
5. Ibid.; "Liaison," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, p. 6.
6. Ibid.
7. Copie: Renseignements Sommaires sur l'Organisation et le Fonctionnement du Camp d'Internés Politiques du Djebel-Felten (Constantine).
8. Fragmentary document concerning the vaguemestre, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
9. Ibid.
10. "VI. DIVERS," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
11. Fragmentary document concerning the vaguemestre, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
12. Copie: Conforme Transmise à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, July 22, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
13. Copie: Renseignements Sommaires sur L'Organisation et le Fonctionnement du Camp d'Internés Politiques du Djebel-Felten (Constantine).
14. Le Préfet du département d'Oran à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
15. Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie à Monsieur le Préfet du département d'Oran, January 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
16. Ibid.
17. Colonel Liebray, Commandant Militaire du Territoire d'Aïn Séfra en residence à Colomb-Béchar à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, January 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
18. Note: Directeur de la Sécurité Générale à Monsieur le Directeur des Territoires des Sud, June 5, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
19. "VI. DIVERS," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
20. "Surveillante Suspects, État Français," August 12, 1941, "Buriez, Charles," "Saddock, Mohammed," Le Préfet d'Alger à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, July 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
21. Préfet de Vaucluse à Monsieur le Gouverneur Général de l'Algérie, August 9, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
22. Copie: Commissaire Spécial de Nancy, August 19, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
23. Note à Monsieur le Directeur de la Sécurité Générale, s/c de M. le Sécretaire Général du Gouvernement, January 12, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
24. Préfet d'Ille-et-Vilaine à Monsieur le Préfet de Constantine, Algérie, July 29, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
25. Fragmentary document concerning the vaguemestre, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

DJELFA

Built as a French military post in 1852, Djelfa is located at the crossroad between Laghouat, Bou-Saada, and Aflou, approximately 232 kilometers (134 miles) south of Algiers. In 1921, Djelfa became the southern terminus of the railroad to Blida. As a central colonial post, Djelfa attracted a Jewish community of about 400 people, mostly from Ghardaia and Bou-Saada.

Under the Vichy regime, the Djelfa camp served as a center for residential assignment (*assignation à résidence*) and a forced labor camp. On March 25, 1941, the camp was opened to receive approximately 1,200 French "undesirables" (*indisérables*) who were later transferred to different camps. The camp was also used to detain Spanish republicans, former members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) and of the International Brigade (Interbrigade), Jews, and people of other nationalities.[1] The camp was also a disciplinary site for French and foreign political prisoners.

Built on the right bank of the Djelfa River, about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) north of the military post, the Djelfa camp consisted mostly of tents. Between 12 to 20 men occupied each tent, and most slept on the ground on hay. There were shortages of sleeping mats, blankets, towels, and underwear. Many detainees suffered from extreme cold during the winter and

heat in the summer. The lack of shoes also put the prisoners at risk of scorpion and snake bites.

According to Dr. Wyss-Dunant, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representative who visited the camp on August 16, 1942, the camp commandant used the prisoners in such a way as to make the camp virtually self-sufficient. The commandant accomplished that feat by "dividing the men according to their special skills and in establishing workshops where these skills could be utilized."[2] The prisoners erected the barracks and manufactured everything for the camp. According to Wyss-Dunant, "the blacksmiths built a complete forge, some carpenters their workshop, and they made all the necessary things for the camp. There were some tanners in the group and the commandant in anticipation of the coming winter put them to work making clothing (and shoes) from sheep skin. Moreover, as alfalfa is very plentiful in the country, he set up a workshop for the manufacture of hammocks, sandals, mats and mattresses."[3] Later the prisoners built a canteen and community hall and ran a soap manufacturing operation. The prisoners worked from 6 A.M. to 11 A.M. and from 3 P.M. to 6 P.M. The detainees who worked in the town of Djelfa were paid 20 francs a day, 10 of which was put into the camp's general account and 5 in an account reserved for their eventual release. The prisoners who worked inside the camp were paid 16 francs a day.

Most of the prisoners slept on wooden beds. They ate 50 grams (1.7 ounces) of bread per day and meat three times a week. They raised cattle in the camp and maintained small fruit and vegetable gardens. According to many prisoners there was little food, and some resorted to eating rats and dogs to survive.[4]

In his visit to the camp, Dr. Wyss-Dunant counted 899 prisoners (189 of whom were Jewish). They included Spaniards (444); Poles (52; 44 were Jewish); stateless people (118); Germans (50; 16 were Jewish); Austrians (15; 11 were Jewish); Hungarians (15; 11 were Jewish); Romanians (11, all Jewish); Russians (39; 17 were Jewish); Soviets (85; 37 were Jewish); Czechs (8); Slavs (2); Armenians (6); British (2); Belgians (3); Italians (2); Serbians (1); and Argentinians (3). The remaining prisoners were of several other nationalities.[5]

The Djelfa camp held a number of prominent French and Spanish individuals. The most notable prisoner was Bernard Lecache, the president of the International League against Antisemitism (*Ligue Internationale contre l'antisémitisme*, LICA), who had been transferred from the Bossuet camp. Another well-known prisoner was the Spanish Mexican novelist and literary critic, Max Aub Mohrenwitz. Aub was first imprisoned as a militant communist at the Vichy penal camp at Le Vernet d'Ariège before being deported to Djelfa. In 1942 he escaped and hid in a Jewish maternity hospital in Casablanca with the help of the Hebrew Immigration Committee (HICEM). On September 10, 1942, he fled to Mexico City aboard the Portuguese ship, *Serpa Pinto*. Aub was one of the few Djelfa prisoners who recorded memories of life in the camp in his works and poetry.

Capitaine Chabrol was the first camp commandant; he was succeeded by Général Jules César Caboche. Caboche announced to the prisoners that he was their enemy and that his job was to send as many of them as possible to the cemetery. Prisoners who violated camp rules were sent to the neighboring prison at Fort Caffarelli. Suffering from malnutrition, typhoid, dysentery, and dehydration, more than 50 prisoners died in the camp. In early December 1942, there were 870 inmates, mostly Spaniards, in the Djelfa camp.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Djelfa camp are André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing, 1975). For more on Aub, see Eloisa Nos Aldás, "El testimonio literario de Max Aub sobre los campos de concentración en Francia (1940–1942)" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Universitat Jaume I, 2001); and Ofelia Ferrán, "Los Campos de la Memoria: The Concentration Camp as a Site of Memory in the Narrative of Max Aub" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, 2009).

Primary sources on the Djelfa camp can be found in the private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M). Additional unpublished documentation can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M). CAOM holds several files related to Djelfa (available in microform as USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, files 9H115, 9H116, and 9H117; and reel 7, file 9H120). USHMMA also holds the Hans Landesberg collection (Acc. No. 2004.295), which contains some Djelfa documentation, and an oral history interview with Harry Alexander (RG-50.030*0007; interviewed April 4, 1991). The Alexander interview is one of the most detailed accounts of Djelfa. VHA holds two testimonies by Djelfa survivors, including Charles Flejszer, January 16, 1996 (#8104). Published testimonies on the Djelfa camp are Paul D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux: Mémoires d'un péporté politique en Afrique du nord (1940–1945)* (La Rochelle: Imprimerie Jean Foucher & Cie, 1957); and the following memoirs by Max Aub: *Campo francés* (Paris: Ruedo ibérico, 1965); "*San Juan*," *tragedia* (Mexico City: Ediciones Tezontle, 1943); and *Diario de Djelfa* (Mexico City: J. Mortiz, 1970).

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NOTES

1. D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux*, pp. 92–93.
2. Wyss-Dunant report, August 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.
3. Ibid.
4. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0007, Harry Alexander, oral history interview, April 4, 1991; D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux*, p. 116.
5. Wyss-Dunant report, August 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-67.008M, box 1, folder 15.
6. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, box 1, folder 33, pp. 47–48.

DJENIEN BOU REZG

Built primarily as a fortified military post by General Delebecque in March 1885 to control movement of people and goods between the Moroccan oasis of Figuig and Aïn Sefra, Djenien Bou Rezg was located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) southwest of Aïn Sefra in Algeria. Before World War II the site was used for the political exile of French communists and Algerian Muslim nationalists. In 1940, under the authority of Vichy's military commanders, Djenien Bou Rezg became a detention site and "punishment camp" for political prisoners from France and North Africa; the prisoners were subjected to harsh punishment in the Saharan interior there. The camp was officially closed in 1943.

Capitaine Metzger, a former member of the French Popular Party (*Parti Populaire Français*, PPF) in Tiaret became the first military supervisor of Djenien Bou Rezg in 1940. After its establishment in 1936, the PPF waged a strong antisemitic campaign in Algeria, disseminating antisemitic propaganda among European settlers in Algiers and other cities. On his appointment as military supervisor of Djenien Bou Rezb, Metzger instituted a policy of terror inspired by PPF ideology. His hatred was directed toward all detainees: Jews, Muslims, and communists from France, Spain, Germany, and Austria. Called "undesirables" (*indésirables*) by the Vichy authorities, the prisoners thus faced terror and repression at Djenien Bou Rezg.

On July 1, 1941, the management of the camp was transferred to Lieutenant Pierre de Ricko, a naturalized French citizen of Russian origin, whose subordinates included Louis Villy, a pro-fascist Alsatian; Ali Guesmi, an Arab policeman; Georges Fabre; Hugues Krengel, a former member of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE); and other guards such as Ernest Dupont and Julien Dupont.

According to André Moine, Djenien Bou Rezg was a fortress surrounded by a 7-meter (nearly 23-foot) high wall. Isolated from the local population, the camp housed Jewish, Muslim, and European detainees. Before the arrival of de Ricko, the prisoners lived together in one courtyard. De Ricko decided to isolate the detainees in separate sections of the camp and ordered his guards to forbid direct communication between the different groups. Walls surrounded each group of prisoners, limiting their capacity to escape. They slept on a cement floor on mats and so were vulnerable to scorpion stings and snake bites. Hygiene was nonexistent, while food was scarce and nutritionally meager. The prisoners usually got up at 6:00 A.M. After breakfast, which was mostly just coffee, they were grouped into teams, given digging tools, and were marched to work sites where they usually cleared the riverbed of rocks, constructed water reservoirs, or cleared roads. Those who broke camp regulations were placed in solitary confinement for days. Djenien Bou Rezg had an administrative section, which included a kitchen, offices, housing for guards, and a quarter with about 20 prison cells.

In 1941, prisoners from the Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe camp in Vichy France, primarily French communists and union delegates, were transferred to Djenien Bou Rezg. Approximately 40 political prisoners were also transferred from the Bossuet camp to Djenien Bou Rezg. Some prisoners were moved to other camps in Mecheria (for instance, Benkemoun Israël) and Bossuet (for example, Paul Nahmias), whereas others were moved from Mecheria to Djenien Bou Rezg (including Mardochée Hazana and Abraham Bensoussan) and from the Djelfa camp to Djenien Bou Rezg (including Jacob Zeberou).

Many famous individuals were detained in Djenien Bou Rezg. Bernard Lecache, the president of the International League against Antisemitism (*Ligue internationale contre l'antisémitisme*, LICA), was transferred from the Bossuet camp to Djenien Bou Rezg in 1941 before being moved again to the Djelfa camp in the Ghardaïa region. Members of the International Solidarity of Anti-Fascists (*Solidarité internationale antifasciste*, SIA) were also sent to Djenien Bou Rezg. They included Grau, Joseph Vallet, Blessi, and Stéphanie Helena who provided logistical help to many sympathizers and combatants of the Spanish Civil War. Grau died on January 23, 1942.

Many members of the nationalist Algerian People's Party (*Parti Poulaire Algérien*, PPA) were held in Djenien Bou Rezg. They included Maamar ben Bernou, Mohand Amokrane Khelifati, Ahmed Mezerna, and Mohamed Arezki Berkani. Berkani wrote one of the few surviving Muslim testimonies about his experience on the camp.

Members of the Algerian Communist Party were also sent to Djenien Bou Rezg. They included Mahed Badsi, Kaddur Belkaim, Larbi Bouhali, Amar Ouzegane, and Ali Rabia. Belkaim and Rabia died in the camp. In addition, important Algerian religious figures such as Cheikh Azoug Tahar (84 years old) and Cheikh Chetout Ahmed (75 years old) were sent to the camp.

On December 22, 1942, the prisoners went on a hunger strike. De Ricko ordered his guards either to limit their access to doctors at the Aïn Sefra hospital or to forbid their access to medication. Many detainees were put in individual cells and some died. In July 1944, the administrators and military personnel of Djenien Bou Rezg were held responsible for the prisoners' abuse in the camp by a military court.

SOURCES There is a wide range of secondary literature about the camp at Djenien Bou Rezg, including Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ğalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron, 2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions de Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006). Background on the Djenien Bou Rezg military post can be found in Bernard Augustin and Napoléon Lacroix, *Algérie: Historique de la pénétration saharienne* (Alger-Mustapha: Giralt, 1900), p. 103; and Paul Gaffarel, *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale de la France: Dépuis 1870 jusqu'en 1905* (Marseille: Barlatier, 1906), p. 42.

Primary sources documenting the camp at Djenien Bou Rezg can be found in A-ICRC, C SC Algeria (reports of visits to camps in Algeria, 1942–1944). Additional documentation

can be found in CAOM (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.062M, reel 6, files 9H116, 9H117, and 9H118; reel 7, files 9H121 and 9H122; and reel 8, file 9H123). There is an extensive memoir literature on the camp, including Mohamed Arezki Berkani, *Mémoire: "Trois années de camp," un an de camp de concentration, deux ans de centre disciplinaire, Djenien-Bou-Rezg, sud oranais, 1940 à 1943 (régime Vichy)* (Sétif: N.P., 1965). André Moine, a communist militant arrested in August 1939 and detained in Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe before being sent to Djelfa and Bossuet, is one of the few Algerian camp survivors who collected interviews regarding life in Djenien Bou Rezg and prisoner conditions. His collection is *Déportations et resistances Afrique du Nord 1939–1940* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

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DJERRADA

Djerrada is 263 kilometers (163 miles) east of Fes. Located near the Beni Snassen Mountains in Morocco close to the Algerian border, the Djerrada (or Jerada) camp was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*). With a capacity of 230 detainees, the camp was reserved for the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 2. The camp opened during the summer of 1941.[1] On July 28, 1942, when Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp, he counted 145 Spaniards, 33 Germans, 11 Poles, 10 Austrians, 10 Belgians, 5 Yugoslavs, 3 Romanians, and 11 others. There were four internees in the hospital in Oujda (47 kilometers or just over 25 miles northeast of Djerrada), and seven were exempted from labor.[2]

The camp consisted of six tile-covered barracks. Some barracks were made of concrete and others of wood. The rooms were of different sizes to accommodate the various groups of forced laborers. The double-tiered bunks were made of wood, and the space was generally very crowded. Mattresses were not provided, and the inmates slept mostly on straw.

The forced laborers worked in the nearby coal mines. Skilled workers earned up to 1,000 francs every two weeks. Others were paid between 14 and 60 francs per day. They were provided 625 grams (1.4 pounds) of bread a day, meat six times a week, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine daily, in addition to a supplementary ration of a quarter-liter of wine for men who worked in the mine pit. The night shift workers got a double ration for breakfast. A typical breakfast was coffee, 120 grams (4 ounces) of bread, and sauteed liver. Lunch consisted of fresh tomatoes (one per person), roasted lamb, fried squash and eggplant, peaches for dessert, one-quarter liter of wine, and 250 grams (around 8 ounces) of bread, whereas dinner included tomato soup, pancakes à la mode, baked potatoes, tomatoes, onions, a quarter-liter of wine, and 250 grams of bread.

There was a canteen inside the camp and a hall where a few newspapers and magazines were displayed for readers. Mail was delivered daily. Games such as dominoes, cards, and checkers were available. Toiletries and beer were also sold. The mining administration provided work clothes—each prisoner was issued a pair of shorts, two khaki shirts, and one blue shirt, as well as one better outfit. Outdoor entertainment was limited to after work hours. Each worker was allowed 12 days of annual leave. However, occasionally they were allowed to leave for Oujda if transportation was available. A Mass was celebrated every Sunday at the chapel on site, and a priest visited the camp once a week.

There was one shower in the camp, but the inmates were allowed to use showers at the mine. The infirmary at the mine had one bathroom, which was not clean. Half of the forced laborers worked above ground and the other half in the pit. The health of the pit workers was good overall. In addition to three foreign male nurses, the mining company's doctor and a dentist were present at the camp at all times. The company provided medications. Conditions at Djerrada were relatively good, although some prisoners occasionally complained about the food quality. There were few cases of disciplinary action.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Djerrada camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

A primary source on the Djerrada camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. "Liste des Belges passes par Bou-Arfa-Djeraba (sic.)," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371266.
2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.

EL-ARICHA

El-Aricha (Al-Arisha, Al-Aricha, El-Arisha) is located in the high plateaus of Algeria, 480 kilometers (298 miles) southwest of Algiers, almost 118 kilometers (73 miles) northwest of Mecheria, and just over 303 kilometers (189 miles) north of Colomb-Béchar. The El-Aricha confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It was located in the Oran Département.

As of November 30, 1941, the camp administration consisted of a camp director, an assistant manager, two secretaries, one assistant secretary, and a postman. To supervise the *douair* (Muslims engaged in auxiliary police service) and militia, there were one troop commander, four French officers, three indigenous officers, two French head corporals, and two indigenous corporals. About 50 to 55 *douair* served at the camp. The militia at El-Aricha had a strength on paper of 99 personnel, but just 67 soldiers were deployed.[1]

El-Aricha held Frenchmen and indigenous people deemed dangerous to public security.[2] For that reason the camp was surrounded by barbed wire. In 1941 there were 124 "undesirables" detained in El-Aricha: 74 Frenchmen, including Jews, and 50 indigenous people. In January 1942, there were 65 Frenchmen, including 9 Jews; 95 indigenous people; and 1 foreigner of an unspecified nationality.

El-Aricha prisoners suffered various fates. One inmate, René Devoyon, was selected for "liberation without condition of (forced) residence."[3] Italian prisoner Giuseppe Clemente was imprisoned at El-Aricha in 1941 and later interned at Djelfa the following year.[4] A prisoner with the first name of Kouider (or Kaddeur) escaped El-Aricha.[5]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at El-Aricha were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943. In the first six months of 1943 there was an unsuccessful campaign to deploy the inmates from CSS El-Aricha and CSS Bossuet in the mines at Kenadsa.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing El-Aricha are Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005): Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

Primary source material available for El-Aricha can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 to 9.

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NOTES

1. "Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, Département d'Oran, Centre de Séjour Surveillé d'El-Aricha," November 30, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, n.p.
2. "Maroc, Chantier de l'Oued Akreuch 198," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 9, p. 6.
3. "Bossuet," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
4. "Surveillance Suspects: État Français," March 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.; "Surveillances Suspects: État Français, Alger," USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.; and "Le Général Noguès, Résident Général de France au Maroc à Monsieur la Général Commandant en Chef Weygand, Gouverneur Général de l'Algerie," October 25, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 7, n.p.
5. "Surveillance suspects camp État Français," December 5, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
6. "Surveillance suspects camp, République Française," May 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.; and "Surveillance suspects," May 31, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.

EL-GUERRAH

El-Guerrah (also El-Guerre or Guerrah) is located in northern Algeria, 326 kilometers (203 miles) southeast of Algiers and 25 kilometers (16 miles) south of Constantine. El-Guerrah was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

The secondary sources contradict each other, as well as the primary source material, giving conflicting information about when the El-Guerrah camp was established, the category of forced laborers it held, and where it fit within the structure of forced labor camps in Vichy-run Algeria. Historians Michel Ansky and Zosa Szajkowski agree that El-Guerrah held Jews who were mobilized to do forced labor, but disagree as to the distribution of such camps. Szajkowski contends that each Algerian department housed a concentration camp for Jews mobilized as forced laborers: Cheragas (Algiers), Bedeau (Oran), and El-Guerrah (Constantine). By contrast, Ansky claims that there were two camps for Jews in each department; in Constantine the camps were El-Guerrah and El Meridja. The claim that El-Guerrah held Jewish forced laborers conflicts with extant archival documents, which state that the camp was already in use for indigenous forced laborers by the time of the Allied invasion in 1942.

Archival documents show that there were five sites where demobilized forced laborers were stationed in the Constantine Département, including Constantine, Oued-Zenati-Bone (today: Oued Zenati), and Sétif-Satne-Saint-Arnaud, as well as El-Guerrah. Apart from El-Guerrah and Constantine, it is not clear how many such sites were forced labor camps.[1]

At least initially, El-Guerrah held indigenous demobilized workers who were part of the group of demobilized workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Démobilisés*, GTD), GTD No. 1, deployed by the Algerian National Railway. On August 31, 1942, the camp held 60 laborers. On September 30, 1942, the total number of laborers increased by four. At one point, El-Guerrah held at total of 160 demobilized laborers.[2] El-Guerrah had one superintendent and two supervisors for the group.

According to Ansky, the conditions in El-Guerrah were similar to those in the Magenta concentration camp, known as "the trap of Magenta" (*piège de Magenta*). Magenta's food, hygiene, and the general political climate were deplorable. Those detained in El-Guerrah faced the same inadequate material conditions and humiliating circumstances.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, but El-Guerrah continued to operate for some time afterward.

SOURCES The secondary sources that mention El-Guerrah are Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary source material available for El-Guerrah can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8.

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NOTES

1. "Lieux de stationnement du Groupement et des différente Groupes composant le Groupement," October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.; and "Encadrement," October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
2. "Tableau Annexe I Organisation-Stationnement et Éffectifs des Unités de Travailleurs Démobilisés," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 4.

FORT CAFFARELLI

Fort Caffarelli (Fort Carafelli or Fort Cafarelli, now Djelfa Bedeau) was a prison in Vichy-run Algeria located 232 kilometers (134 miles) south of Algiers, just over 2 kilometers (1.25 miles) from the Djelfa camp and very close to the village of Bedeau. Fort Caffarelli confined inmates from the Djelfa camp deemed recalcitrant and whom the Vichy authorities wanted to punish.

In April 1941, soon after it opened, Djelfa was full of former members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) and the International Brigade (Interbrigade), Jews of various nationalities, and Soviet citizens. In 1942, there were 180 to 184 Jews, 60 Russians, 46 Poles, and 78 other nationalities present at Djelfa.

The disciplinary measures at Djelfa were imposed by the camp's second commandant, Générale Jules César Caboche; his adjutant, Jean Gravelle; and the camp supervisors. The most common form of punishment at Djelfa was imprisonment at Fort Caffarelli: almost half of Djelfa inmates were imprisoned there at one time during their stay. If a reason did not exist for imprisonment, Caboche invented one. For example, Caboche prohibited the detainees from lighting fires for heating, under penalty of imprisonment at Fort Caffarelli.

At Fort Caffarelli, the Russian prisoners were lodged in two rooms with unglazed windows. One Jewish detainee, Dr. Alexandre Roubakine—a medical doctor and prominent scientist—was sent to Fort Caffarelli for 17 days because he wrote in a letter to his family that "Europe is dying of hunger under German domination."[1] During a debate in the British House of Commons on March 24, 1943, a member of Parliament stated that at Djelfa the prisoners were sent to the "dungeons" at Fort Caffarelli and often horsewhipped naked in front of other prisoners.[2]

Former prisoner Paul d'Hérama recalled that at Fort Caffarelli the guards were *douair*, Muslims engaged in auxiliary police service, with the ranks of corporals and sergeants, who were overseen by four Muslim warrant officers. Only the supervising officers were French.[3]

The prison at Fort Caffarelli consisted of 10 to 12 cells, each measuring about 3.1 square meters (33.6 square feet) and holding up to three prisoners. A cement block without a mattress served as the bed, and it was forbidden to possess more than one blanket. Smoking and reading were also forbidden. There was no lighting, and outdoor walks were not allowed.

On arrival the new inmates at Fort Caffarelli were divided alphabetically into groups of 20, with a leader for each group. D'Hérama described this practice as "naturally, a fascist organization." In the courtyard eight tents were installed for every 12 men, with the additional prisoners lumped together with those already crammed into the cells in the buildings. Food was prepared outside. The prison's water tank, which had an unreliable pump, served the camp's cooking, bathing, and washing needs. Counting the guards, the equipment serviced 600 people.[4]

Roubakine described his experience as follows: "Food consisted of six ounces [170 grams] of bread per day and two measures of always meatless camp soup. In winter it was freezing and the more so as the panes of the windows beneath the ceiling were broken . . . . After a few days in a cell, the prisoners were directly taken to the infirmary or to the hospital."[5]

There were widespread gastrointestinal epidemics, principally dysentery and typhoid. As former prisoner Frederic Guijarro recalled,

> In April-May 1941 the sick (from Djelfa) were interned at Fort Cafarelli, until the hospital was completed. . . . The sick lived in tents on the ground and everyday they traveled two kilometers [1.2 miles] on foot in freezing cold or stifling heat, to go to the surgery for a consultation. When Générale Beynet decided that the sick would return to Fort Cafarelli, they were all put in the same room, whether infectious or not, except on the day of inspection.[6]

Historian Jacob Oliel claims that, on August 11, 1942, the confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS) of Djelfa was temporarily located at Fort Caffarelli while the Djelfa camp was being reorganized to serve as a forced labor camp. But multiple reports document that this relocation actually lasted more than a year, from the beginning of the spring of 1941 until September 1, 1942.[7] In a letter dated December 30, 1942, the military commandant of the Ghardaïa Territory asked the commander of the 19th Territorial Region, Algiers, if it was possible to transfer prisoners to the Ghardaïa Territory. It was suggested that a camp of 1,000 be constructed at Djelfa while 200 prisoners were being held in Fort Caffarelli. A similar message was recorded on January 16, 1943, from Algiers in a "Note of Service."[8]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the prisoners were progressively returned to civilian life. Yet Fort Caffarelli was still in operation well into 1943. Two prisoners who passed through Fort Caffarelli during this period were a Belgian, Gabriel Delépine, who was held there for 56 days at the end of March 1943,[9] and Capitaine Khibner, a Soviet citizen who wrote the following year that he "was among those who on March 15, 1943, were threatened with death by Colonel Brot at Fort Caffarelli."[10]

SOURCES Secondary literature on the Fort Caffarelli camp includes Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du decret Crémieux à la Liberation* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); *Henri Msellati, Les Juifs d'Algérie sous le regime Vichy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary source material documenting the Fort Caffarelli camp can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M; CDJC; and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Two testimonies on the camp are Paul D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux: Mémoires d'un déporté politique en Afrique du Nord (1940–1945)* (La Rochelle: Imprimerie Jean Foucher and Cie, 1957); and Max Aub, *Diario de Djelfa* (1944; Valencia: Edition de la Guerra & Café Malvarrosa, 1998).

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NOTES

1. As quoted in Oliel, *Camps du Vichy*, p. 106.
2. Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, March 24, 1943 (London, 1943) col. 1728, cited in Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion*, p. 158.
3. D'Hérama, *Tournant Dangereux*, p. 94.
4. Ibid., pp. 94–96.
5. CDJC 385-3, Roubakine, "Quelques renseignements sur le camp d'internees politiques étrangers de Djelfa," (April 1943); other eyewitness accounts of this camp have been published in Moine, *Deportation et resistance*, pp. 195–196.
6. Moine, *Deportation et resistance*, pp. 195–196.
7. Commandant Militaire du Territoire de Ghardaïa à Monsieur le Gouverneur General de l'Algérie, Direction de la Sécurité Générale, August 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, n.p.; Directeur du C.S.S. à Monsieur le Commandant Militaire du Territoire de Ghardaïa à Laghouat, August 6, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.; Général Jaubert Commandant Supérieur du Génie de la 19ème Région à Monsieur le Gouverneur Générale de l'Algérie Direction de la Sécurité Générale, July 16, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.; and Général de Division Beynet Commandant la 19ème Région à Monsieur le Gouverneur (Direction des Territoires du sud Service du Personnel Militaire), February 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
8. Commandant Militaire du Territoire de Ghardaïa à Monsieur le Général de Division Commandant la 19ème Région Territoriale, December 30, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.; and "Note de Service," January 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.
9. "Liste des Belges passes par le Fort de Cafarelli," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371278.
10. Commandant Militaire du Territoire de Ghardaïa à Gouveneur Générale de l'Algérie—Direction des Affaires Musulmanes et des Territoires du Sud, March 6, 1944, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, n.p.

GÉRYVILLE

Géryville (today: El Bayadh) is located 270 kilometers (168 miles) southeast of Oran in Algeria. The camp of Géryville was set up in a military base of the 19th Military Region south of the town. Headed by the officer Estebbe, the Géryville camp was mainly a refugee center for members of the Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE) unable to be repatriated and to live in France. The detainees were allowed to live in the LE barracks on base. Overall they were free to move around and work in the city or on the base.

In 1940, 44 British sailors and officers were interned in the camp, where they remained until October 1, 1942. Other prisoners were transferred to Géryville. In November 1941, they included prisoners on trial (46), indigenous people (177), French "undesirables" (35), and indigenous "undesirables" (47).

In May 1942, the German vice consul of Algiers toured Géryville as part of the ongoing search for German nationals to be repatriated as part of the Franco-German Armistice.[1]

After the Allied landing in Operation Torch in November 1942, Géryville held German prisoners of war (POWs).

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Géryville camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Jacques Cantier, *L'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2002); and Sylvie Thénault, *Violence ordinaire dans l'Algérie coloniale: camps, internements, assignations à résidence* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2011).

Primary sources documenting the Géryville camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M), and the France North African Colonies collection from CAOM (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.062M).

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NOTE

1. Message Express, Le Chef du Gouvernement, Directeur des Services de l'Armistice, to Gouverneur Générale Algérie and le Général Commandant la 19ème Région, May 19, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 8.

HADJERAT M'GUIL

Hadjerat M'Guil (also Hadjeret et Meguil) was a disciplinary, penal, and isolation camp in the territory of Ain Sefra in southwestern Algeria at the northwestern edge of the Sahara. The camp was 143 kilometers (more than 89 miles) northeast of Béchar (formerly Colomb-Béchar) and 158 kilometers (almost 98 miles) south of Meridja. Hadjerat M'Guil was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Hadjerat M'Guil was one of the camps of South Oran (*Camps du Sud-Oranais*) and depended administratively on Colomb-Béchar, which was under the supervision of Colonel Liebray, the military commandant of the Ain Sefra Territory, and Lupy, the Inspector General of the Confinement Centers (*Centres de Séjour Surveillé*, CSSs); officially these camps were classified as confinement centers, although Hadjerat M'Guil also housed a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 6.

When Hadjerat M'Guil was set up in October 1940 it had 2,070 prisoners, including 250 Jews and 1,300 Spaniards, although it typically held only about 150 inmates. Many of the prisoners were forced laborers from other camps who were former volunteers for the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) or Spanish Civil War veterans who had been sent to Hadjerat M'Guil for political reasons when they were labeled as "suspects."[1] For example, Dr. Joseph Heller was sent to Hadjerat M'Guil by the Vichy authorities because he had fought with the Spanish Republicans against Franco. There were three prisoner categories—foreign workers, political refugees, and Jews; the breakdown of nationalities in the camp was as follows: 101 Germans and Austrians (among them 54 Jews), 2 Jews from the German Saarland, 1 Japanese, 18 Italians (including 1 Jew), 4 Hungarians (including 2 Jews), 3 Romanian Jews, 4 Swiss, 2 Russians, 1 Greek, 2 Albanians, 38 Yugoslavs, 1 Portuguese, and 2 Turkish Jews. At the end of 1941, the Jewish prisoners were sent to Kenadsa to work in the coal mines. In late January 1942, all of the prisoners from the closed Abadla disciplinary camp were transferred to Hadjerat M'Guil.[2]

On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. The railway was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. Soon after the Allied landing on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) reported on November 18, 1942, that Hadjerat M'Guil had 200 prisoners working on railroad construction.[3] On December 21, 1942, the AFSC reported that 200 internees were still at Hadjerat M'Guil and that the organization wanted to offer food and clothing assistance to them.[4] In January 1943, Hadjerat M'Guil was officially closed, and the remaining prisoners distributed between Colomb-Béchar and Kenadsa. Some who eventually achieved freedom joined the British Pioneer Corps.

Hadjerat M'Guil was notorious for its maltreatment of prisoners and inhumane living conditions and was nicknamed with considerable hyperbole the "French Buchenwald" by survivor Golski. Its prisoners were starved, tortured, and subjected to humiliation.[5] Transfer to Hadjerat M'Guil was held as a threat to prisoners in nearby camps in Ain Sefra, such as Kenadsa. The torturers at Hadjerat M'Guil included Commandant Viciot; camp reserve lieutenant Santucci; his assistant, the head of warrants Finidori; the chief accountant Dauphin; and the guard Riepp, who was of German origin and a former officer of the Nazi Storm Troopers (*Sturmabteilungen*, SA). According to Golski, Riepp was "the incarnation of evil: he passed his days and nights thinking of new tortures to inflict."[6]

The detainees were kept under constant watch and forced to work for 50 centimes (or a half-franc) per day. Golski recalled that the work was brutal and carried out under extreme conditions. The sun was oppressive, and temperatures reached as high as 49 to 54° C (120 to 130° F). As an example of the brutal work, Golski said that the workers had to carry 176 pounds (80 kilograms) of water to camp, making 12 trips each morning and 12 each night. This labor added up to 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) per day. Golski concluded, "After spending seven months (in Hadjerat M'Guil) I think that Dostoevsky's *The House of the Dead* (about a Siberian prison camp) is a trifle (*bagatelle*)."[7]

Food was insufficient, consisting of soup and a piece of bread; thus starvation was a cause of death of some inmates. Clothing was pitiful and full of parasites.[8] The lack of bathing water meant that the inmates could not shower. Most of the inmates lived in tents,[9] but those in cells had to share them with two other prisoners and had to relieve themselves in their mess tins. Sometimes the interned doctors were forbidden to bandage the open wounds of the prisoners, caused by brutal beatings by the guards. Ten to twelve prisoners (including three Jews) died from malnutrition or torture. Among the punishments at Hadjerat M'Guil were the "tomb ordeal" and the "lion's cage." For the tomb ordeal, the victim had to lie down in a ditch 1.6 meters (5.25 feet) long and nearly a meter (over 2.5 feet) wide where he was immobilized for between 8 to 25 days. During this time he was continually taunted and tormented by Arab and Senegalese guards, who hit him with their rifle butts and threw stones at him. For the lion's cage punishment, the inmate was put in a closed hole surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by a Senegalese sharpshooter. The prisoner could only either stand up or lie down.

Mosca accused one victim named Moreno of being a violent criminal. Over the next few days Moreno was tortured by having to run long distances carrying water or wood; when he spilled any water, he was struck with iron bars or wooden clubs. He was ordered to throw himself to the ground and get up again. When Moreno fell to the ground unconscious, he was stripped below the waist and thrown into a cold cell. After regaining consciousness he was fed a mixture of pepper, salt, and paprika in hot water. On September 25, 1942, he was sent to the mortuary to await death and died that night.

Survivor Louis Cohn testified that Dauphin, the chief accountant, displayed a particular kind of sadism: "Dauphin saw that the men were scared. He could read it in their eyes and that gave him a certain pleasure . . . He took a more and more lively pleasure in beating. In inspiring terror."[10]

Censorship in Algeria was very strict and did not permit any reporting about the foreign workers and their internment in the press. Following the liberation, in the summer of 1943, the press started publishing details about atrocities in the camps.

The offenses in Hadjerat M'Guil were too heinous to be ignored, and a military tribunal to try the perpetrators was set up by the French authorities in October 1944. On March 3, 1944, the court of Algiers issued the verdict. Viciot, Lieutenant Santucci, Finidori, Dauphin, and Riepp were sentenced to death. Santucci and Riepp were executed on April 12, 1944. The death sentences for Finidori and Dauphin were commuted to forced labor for life. Dourmanoff was also sentenced to forced labor for life. Mosca, Trecs, and Doffi were sentenced to 20 years of forced labor and Cellier to 10 years of forced labor.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Hadjerat M'Guil begin with Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Memoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998); Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ğalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron, 2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; and André Labry, *Les Chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Hadjerat M'Guil can be found in USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); USHMMA, RG-43.071M (Selected records from collection LII Algeria 1871–1947); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. The personal papers of Paul Hollander, 1939–1944 are held at WL (Doc. collection 963; Acc. No. 52278); Dr. C. F. J. Bergmann's original diary recording his experiences at Hadjerat M'Guil is also held at WL (Doc. collection 616). VHA holds an interview on the camp by Louis Cohn (#9399; February 12, 1996), and Kenadsa survivor Paul Hollander (#20060; October 3, 1996) mentions the camp in his interview as well. A published testimony is Golski, *Un Buchenwald français sous le règne du Maréchal* (Périgueux: Éd. Pierre Fanlac, 1945).

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NOTES

1. "Historique du Camp, Hadjerat M'Guil," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371163.
2. "Historique du Camp Abadla, ou Ksar-El-Abadla," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371162.
3. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), November 18, 1942, box 1, folder 33, pp. 44–45.
4. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, December 21, 1942, box 1, folder 33, p. 63.
5. Golski, *Un Buchenwald français*.
6. Ibid., quoted in Oliel, *Les Camps de Vichy*, p. 74.
7. Ibid.
8. Annexe 26, Tribunal Militaire d'Armée de Cométence Particulière séant à Alger, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371225.
9. Annexe 28, "Rapport sur les faits de violences commises par functionnaire sans motifs légitimes," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371229.
10. VHA #9399, Louis Cohn testimony, February 12, 1996.

IM-FOUT

Located approximately 95 kilometers (59 miles) southwest of Casablanca and 42 kilometers (26 miles) southwest of Settat in Morocco, the Im-Fout (also spelled Imfoud, In-Fout, and Infoud) forced labor camp was built on a deep gully at the bank of the Oum er Rbia River and housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 9. Under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) in Rabat, the camp was located near a dam construction site. It consisted of cement and stone buildings with low ceilings. The rooms had wooden beds supplied by the corps of engineers, but they were infested with bed bugs. The floors were made of cement, and the rooms were hot. Each barrack held approximately 100 people, each of whom was issued one blanket.[1]

During his visit to the camp, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representative Dr. Wyss-Dunant recorded that the camp housed 264 men: 205 were in the camp at the time of his visit; among the absent, 19 were hospitalized, and 29 were on external assignment.[2] On April 5, 1943, Édouard Conod, another ICRC representative, visited the camp, noting that it had only 23 prisoners (9 Spaniards, 9 Germans and Austrians, 3 Russians, 1 Italian, and 1 Pole). All of them were soon to be released after finding jobs in Casablanca.

While the camp's assembly hall was under construction, the prisoners had access to a canteen set up for the dam construction workers. The food was adequate. The meal menus varied, but included the following foods: boiled eggs, coffee, bacon, jam, and sardines in oil for breakfast; chickpea salad, roast pork, baked potatoes, watermelon, tomato salad, stuffed tomatoes, squash salad, eggs with spicy sauce, lamb stew, cheese, and a half-liter (over a pint) of wine for lunch; and lentil, vegetable soup, and onion soup; beef stew and pork stew; pork; mashed beans; biscuits; hard-boiled eggs with tomato sauce; fig squares; and a half-liter of wine for dinner.

The forced laborers were paid 1.50 francs per day with the potential to receive a bonus. They were issued shorts in the summer and cloth work suits, raincoats, and sweaters in the winter. They bathed in the river and drank spring water brought by truck. They were allowed to wash their clothes once a week. A male nurse supervised a well set-up infirmary.

A German Jewish prisoner pushes a cart in the stone quarry of the Im-Fout labor camp in Morocco, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #50721, COURTESY OF SAMI DORRA.

A doctor visited the camp once a week and treated mild cases of illness; very sick prisoners, such as survivor Sami Dorra, were taken to a hospital in Casablanca.[3] There was a library with some books and games that the prisoners shared with dam workers. They did not have access to places of worship, but they could take an annual 12-day leave. Mail was distributed daily.

According to Dr. Wyss-Dunant, overall the morale of the inmates was very low because their calls for release were rarely answered. Many suffered from health issues, including malaria, because of poor living conditions. According to survivor Sami Dorra, there were also cases of typhus at Im-Fout.[4]

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Im-Fout camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Im-Fout camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); NaP, JAF 1007: MSP-L (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-48.011M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA holds an oral history interview with survivor Sami Dorra (RG-50.030*0576, interviewed April 30, 2010) and photos of the camp and dam project that Dorra donated to USHMMPA (WS #50719–50721 and 50724–50725).

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NOTES

1. “Notice sur Imfout,” Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d’Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371149.
2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), July 16, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0576, Sami Dorra, oral history interview, April 30, 2010.
4. Ibid.

IMMOUZER DES MARMOUCHA

The Immouzer des Marmoucha (Imouzzer) camp was located in the Fes region, in the Middle Atlas Mountains of Morocco (more than 1,700 meters [almost 5,600 feet] high), approximately 91 kilometers (57 miles) southeast of Fes. It was a camp for foreign workers who were assigned to the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN), which was responsible for maintaining the railway link between Morocco, Algeria, and the coal mines in western Africa. The French Army was in charge of the camp; in late December 1941, it had 179 inmates. According to historian Michel Abitbol, the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) comprised mainly foreign Jews—most from Central Europe with a few French Jews from mainland France—as well as some Spaniards or Italians. According to historian Jacob Oliel, there were between 200 and 250 forced laborers at Immouzer. The camp was operational from October 1940 to November 1942 when the Americans landed during Operation Torch. The camp never held any Moroccan Jews.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the forced labor camp at Immouzer are Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); André Moine, *La déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); and Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Immouzer forced labor camp can be found in CDJC, collection CGQJ (414–50) regarding labor camps and transit camps, and, at CAHJP, the private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

Eliezer Schilt
Trans. Allison Vuillaume

KANKAN

Kankan is located in eastern Guinea, 488 kilometers (303 miles) east of Conakry, Guinea, and 984 kilometers (611 miles) southwest of Tombouctou, Mali. Guinea was part of colonial French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF). Kankan was the terminus of a railway that ran from Conakry up the Niger River, spanning 531 kilometers (330 miles). The Kankan internment camp was actually located 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the town at Bordo, an agricultural station.[1]

The Vichy governor general, Pierre Boisson, directed all AOF internment camps. The camps were established to hold Allied prisoners of war (POWs), although, because Vichy was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status. The

Vichy authorities in West Africa operated internment camps at Kankan, Conakry, and Tombouctou. Kankan was newer than the other internment sites in the AOF, but still lacked basic amenities, such as running water, toilets, and electricity.[2] A large well on the grounds provided the water supply. Initially, there were "decent beds and mosquito nets," but this was not the case for prisoners who arrived in late 1942.[3]

The food at Kankan was of good quality, but was in short supply. The local people sold the internees oranges and bananas.[4] The food was supplied by the train station buffet in the town of Kankan and warmed at the camp by an African cook.[5] George Whalley, 2nd Radio Officer aboard the SS *Criton*, deemed Kankan superior in many ways to Conakry and Tombouctou: "The sight of trees, grass, etc., after the sandy waste of Timbuctoo was very restful." Whalley was also impressed that the camp was well supplied with books and games.[6] This improved situation was due to the arrival of next-of-kin parcels and the kindness of Royal Air Force (RAF) officers interned at Koulikoro, a military internment camp in southwestern Mali.[7]

Kankan held European, American, and African internees. Initially the camp housed 32 British soldiers and 10 African firemen from Freetown, and it eventually reached its full capacity of 150 prisoners.[8] The Europeans at Kankan (mainly British and Norwegians) were housed in a farm building with mud walls and a galvanized iron roof. A "lavatory"—a mud hut covering up a hole in the ground—was located next to their accommodations. The African firemen were housed in mud huts within the compound. The compound was spacious, and the internees enjoyed walks inside the camp. A wooden fence more than 3.5 meters (12 feet) high surrounded the camp, and armed guards patrolled inside. Internees were punished by being sent to the stockade; their sentences usually lasted two weeks. The stockade was a small hut with high walls, but lacking a roof. There were no sanitary facilities inside the stockade or relief from either the sun or cold nights.[9]

The seamen of the armed French sloops patrolling the waters off West Africa intercepted several British merchant vessels, among them the Royal Merchant Navy prize vessel, the SS *Criton*, and the SS *Allende*, and captured their crews. The *Criton*'s crew was interned successively at Conakry, Tombouctou, and Kankan. Noel Clear, Criton's chief engineer, described as "rather a strange coincidence" that at all three camps the native military band rehearsed nearby. He claimed, "We (the prisoners) were inclined to wonder if this was part of our punishment."[10]

A telegram dated August 9, 1942, stated that the British merchant seamen who were interned at Tombouctou were being transferred to "a camp near Kankan."[11] Before they arrived, the Kankan internees received tinned food and soap from the British Red Cross Society (BRCS).[12] The internees from Tombouctou arrived at Kankan on August 25, 1942, where they joined a group of *Criton* seamen who had been interned at Kankan since September 1941. As of April 11, 1942, there were 18 prisoners from the *Criton* including Peter Le Quesne Johnson, who served as Senior British Officer (SBO) and was responsible for official correspondence.[13]

The American missionaries at Kankan (the AOF headquarters of the Christian and Missionary Alliance, CMA) often visited the camp and interceded with the French police on behalf of the internees. They asked the authorities to treat the prisoners like human beings. Every Sunday morning there was a brief, missionary-led church service, with a French officer fluent in English always being present. This officer served as a sort of informant, and his presence prevented any news from the outside world reaching the prisoners. The French authorities finally allowed British-issued military uniforms to be delivered to the prisoners. As a result there was ample clothing; in fact, internee Peter de Neumann wore his until he reached the United Kingdom in 1943. Some parcels of cigarettes and tobacco also arrived, which the *Criton* crew shared throughout the camp.[14]

At the start of October 1942, two men who had earlier attempted to flee the Tombouctou camp made another escape attempt. They were missing for four days and, on their recapture, were sentenced to two weeks in the stockade. After they went missing, the internees were locked in their rooms at night and the windows were closed, preventing all ventilation.[15] The internees' footwear was confiscated to prevent further escapes, and the shoes were left in a heap to rot in the sun.[16] Whalley observed that the authorities "completely closed their eyes to the fact that the two men who escaped had walked about 150 miles [241 kilometers] in five nights wearing sandshoes."[17] Just after this incident the survivors of the Dutch ship SS *Delftshaven* arrived at Kankan from Conakry; there were four British citizens among them. The food supply decreased as a result of the additional internees.

After Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, many of the arrested African civilians were released, leaving the *Criton* crew alone in the camp. At this point the Vichy authorities disbursed the crates of army clothing and more than 180 food parcels designated for the crew, which significantly improved the prisoners' situation.[18] Up until this point the Vichy authorities had withheld the parcels and stored them at the Kankan police station.[19] The remaining prisoners were allowed to send telegrams and write letters home.[20]

In French Guinea, the Vichy authorities retaliated for Operation Torch by arresting American missionaries and local civilians suspected of being pro-British and detaining them from November 9 to 24, 1942. This local decision did not reflect the wishes of the French governor general.[21] CMA members P. Possiel and Reverend Clifford C. Ryan were interned at Kankan and appealed to Fayette J. Flexer, the U.S. consul in Dakar, documenting their experience.[22]

Initially, the missionaries, their families, local inhabitants of Kankan (French, Greek, Syrian, and African), and African British subjects were brought to the CMA compound in Kankan by the Vichy gendarmes. On November 13, 1942, Pastor Rupp was brought up from Mamou, Guinea, along with 79 others in two freight cars and taken on foot to Bordo under

military escort.[23] On November 16 the male American missionaries (a total of four: Kurlak, Showell, Possiel, and Ryan) were separated from the women and children and sent to the Bordo camp. Thus the camp population at Bordo increased from approximately 50 to several hundred internees, without a corresponding increase in camp facilities or supplies.[24] At Bordo indigenous troops served as guards and carried bayonets.[25] From sunset until sunrise the prisoners were not allowed outside.

The missionaries remained in the camp until November 24, 1942. Although all the Americans were set free, British, Dutch, and Norwegian internees were held until they could be repatriated. They were forbidden to write home or to the U.S. consulate; camp staff refused to send some of Peter Johnson's official correspondence to the U.S. consul.[26]

The *Criton* crew remained at the Kankan camp until December 14, 1942.

SOURCES An unpublished but detailed account of the Kankan internment camp is Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). This account is based in part on documentation about his father's internment. De Neumann also contributed to entries for the BBC *WW2 People's War* series that address the camp at Kankan, which can be found at www.bbc.co.uk/history. Additional information about the Kankan camp can be found in Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996).

Primary sources on the Kankan internment camp can be found in AN, Pierre Boisson collection; NARA, Record Group 84, "Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the US Department of State, Senegal, Dakar Consulate General, General Records 1940–49"; and IWM, "The Private Papers of P Le Q Johnson," Cat. Documents 101, 1988.

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NOTES

1. Report of former internee Noel T. Clear, reproduced in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 127.
2. Ibid., p. 126.
3. Ibid., p. 127.
4. Ibid., p. 128.
5. Whalley report in ibid., p. 142.
6. Ibid., p. 142.
7. Clear report in ibid., p. 127.
8. Whalley report in ibid., p. 142.
9. Clear report in ibid., p. 115.
10. Ibid., p. 126.
11. Telegram, August 9, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 711.4.
12. Whalley report in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 142.
13. Memorandum, April 11, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1 (2521), folder 704, pp. 1–2; "Private Papers of P Le Q Johnson," IWM, Cat. Documents 101, 1988.
14. Clear report in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 127.
15. Whalley report in ibid., p. 143.
16. Clear report in ibid., p. 127.
17. Whalley report in ibid., p. 143.
18. Ibid.
19. Clear and Whalley reports in ibid., pp. 128, 148.
20. Whalley report in ibid., p. 143.
21. Copy, The Christian and Missionary Alliance, Dedougou, Cote d'Ivoire, January 15, 1943, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320 p. 1.
22. Kankan, Guinea Francaise, AOF, December 4, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, p. 1–4; Mr. Fayette J. Flexer, American Consul, Dakar, Senegal, December 7, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320 pp. 1–3.
23. Kankan, Guinea Francaise, AOF, December 4, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, p. 1; Mr. Fayette J. Flexer, American Consul, Dakar, Senegal, December 7, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, pp. 1–2.
24. Clear report in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 115.
25. Kankan, Guinea Francaise, AOF, December 4, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, p. 2.
26. Mr. Fayette J. Flexer, American Consul, Dakar, Senegal, December 7, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 320, p. 3.

KASBAH TADLA

Kasbah Tadla (Kasba Tadla) is located in central Morocco, 161 kilometers (100 miles) southeast of Casablanca and 195 kilometers (121 miles) northeast of Marrakech. The Kasbah Tadla camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Following the Vichy regime's forced demobilization of the Polish Army units serving on the Western front in July 1940, a group of Polish laborers was detained at Kasbah Tadla in 1941. According to a Hebrew Immigration Committee (HICEM) report for June and July 1941, there were 900 detainees at the Kasbah Tadla, Oued Zem, and Sidi El Ayachi (Azemmour) camps in Morocco.[1] On December 27, 1941, there were 97 internees at Kasbah Tadla.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. A group of British personnel (Navy, Army, and Merchant Navy) interned at an unnamed camp 19 kilometers (12 miles) inland from Casablanca were transferred the day after the invasion to Kasbah Tadla, where they were housed in clean military barracks. Their stay in Kasbah Tadla lasted only 36 hours, when news of the Anglo-American liberation reached the camp on November 11, 1942.

After 1942 the detainees at Kasbah Tadla were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Kasbah Tadla camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Michel Abitbol, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord sous Vichy* (Paris: G. P.

Maisonneuve et Larose, 1983); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Lidia Milka-Wiczorkiewicz, "Groupement spécial Polonais à Kasba Tadla en 1941," *Ht* 38 (2000): 105–124; Mieczysław Zygfrid Rygor-Słowikowski, ed., *W tajnej służbie: Polski wkład do zwyciestwa w drugiej wojnie światowej; In Secret Service: The Polish Contribution for Victory in the Second World War* (London: Mizyg Press, 1977); David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc: Témoignages du passé Judéo-Marocain* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2012); and Stanton Hope *Ocean Odyssey: A Record of the Fighting Merchant Navy* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1944).

Primary source material documenting the Kasbah Tadla camp is available in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reel 6.

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NOTE

1. HICEM, "Maroc," June-July 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 6.

KENADSA

Kenadsa (Kenadza or Kenadzan) is located in southwestern Algeria at the northwestern edge of the Sahara, 21 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Béchar (formerly Colomb-Béchar) and 49 kilometers (30 miles) east of Méridja. Its coal fields, which were discovered in 1907 and first mined in 1917, reached their maximum productivity during World War II. Kenadsa was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railroad project. The railroad was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. The coal mines at Kenadsa belonged to the railway, and both were owned by the government. The camp was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) in Rabat and the Office of Manpower and Work in Algiers. Approximately 350 tons of coal were extracted daily for use on the Algerian portion of the railway.

Approximately 6,000 workers were housed in two separate camps at Kenadsa: one for Algerians and one for Europeans. Five thousand of the workers were north Algerian mountaineers, called Kabyles, and 1,000 Europeans were deemed "alien workers." The Kabyles worked in the mines, which were about three kilometers (two miles) south of the camps. In June 1940, the Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was disbanded, and its volunteers enlisted in the LE for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) were sent to camps in North Africa, including Kenadsa. The Europeans served as engineers, designers, overseers, doctors, accountants, and architects.

Initially there was only one company for the Europeans, but the administration soon decided to divide the company into the following groups of foreign workers (*Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTEs): GTE Nos. 3, 4, 7, and 8. Most of the detainees in GTE No. 3 worked for the mining company. GTE No. 4 had "undesirables," including Jews, some employed and others unemployed. GTE No. 8 was made up of Spanish refugees. When Dr. Wyss-Dunant, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), visited the European camp on August 3, 1942, he reported that there were 600 detainees: 300 German and Austrian Jews, 280 Spaniards and Poles, and the remaining 20 people representing other nationalities.[1] Survivor Eric Loëwe (later Harris) recalled that the camp had "Frenchmen, Germans and Austrians who were the majority, Romanians, Greeks, Slavs, Belgians, Dutch, a few British subjects, one Australian and two Americans."[2] The Jewish prisoners in the nearby disciplinary camp at Hadjerat M'Guil were transferred to Kenadsa at the end of 1941.

The detainees were required to sign labor contracts with the Mediterranean Nigerian Company. They were classified as wartime labor conscripts (*requis*), and the contract made them subject to military discipline. The Kabyles received 24 to 30 francs per day, and the Europeans received 10 francs per day, with board and lodging. The camp guards were Arab *goumiers* (fighters provided by Arab tribes to police French colonial territories), Senegalese sharpshooters, and former LE officers, most of whom were antisemitic Germans. The Kenadsa commander was Lieutenant Muttel.

There were 20 men per tent. Wyss-Dunant reported that whitewashed adobe barracks, "*ghorfas*," also provided accommodations. Each ghorfa consisted of a central corridor and rooms holding four to six men each. There were no cement floors, and internees slept on mats with a single blanket apiece. Carbide and acetylene lamps provided light in the winter. Clothing was scarce: each man possessed only one pair of trousers (called *sérouals*), one shirt, a pair of sandals, socks, and a tropical helmet. Toothbrushes, towels, sheets, and soap were luxuries.

Water was scarce, but Wyss-Dunant reported that drinking water was sufficient and that the men were able to shower—but only once a week. There were wells, and water was drawn each day for only two hours. The camp was very unsanitary: bugs such as lice and fleas were rampant, and the camp did not have sulfur or any other means to fight them.

The spread of disease, particularly typhus, was a serious problem. Those who succumbed were evacuated to the Colomb-Béchar hospital. The infirmary at Kenadsa was housed in two rooms in a specially constructed ghorfa, but it lacked basic medicine, bandages, tape, and iodine. The resident doctors were a Jewish detainee and a local doctor from Kenadsa. There was also a hospital in the town of Kenadsa where internees with more serious problems could be admitted.

The men were free to travel to Kenadsa; however, only Muslims were allowed inside the holy village walls of Kenadsa, while the Jews had to stay outside. The detainees could also go to the canteen in the miners' camp, where they could buy very expensive meals and drinks. "Coffee" consisted of dried

roasted dates and figs with water. The orange juice was also artificial. Wyss-Dunant reported that food consisted of 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of bread and one-quarter liter (1 cup) of wine daily, and meat five times a week.[3] In the evenings the men retired to the camp for conversation.

The detainees in GTE No. 4 had a harder life than the rest because they only made 50 centimes (1 U.S. cent in 1940s dollars) per day. Rather than working in the better paying coal mines, they built barracks. There were three shifts of eight hours per day for workers in every GTE. The weather conditions were severe. In winter, the temperature ranged from 38° C (100° F) at 3 P.M. to almost -18° C (0° F) at 3 A.M. In summer, the temperature rose as high as nearly 63° C (145° F) in daytime and as low as 15.5° C (60° F) at night. It was so hot in the middle of the day that the forced laborers could not work.

The jail at Kenadsa consisted of eight holes dug in the ground, each the size of a person. The jail was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by an Arab with a rifle. The inmate was meant to lie in the hole all day long and not stand up: there were no blankets or reading materials. Loëwe recalled an incident when one man became unhinged after lying there for 15 days and was then shot outside the camp. "This would serve as an example for the rest of them," said the authorities.[4]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch, November 8 to 16, 1942. On November 10, 1942, Admiral Jean François Darlan ordered the draping of all public institutions with Allied and French flags. During the night of November 11, 1942, an American flag was hoisted on the main flag pole of the Kenadsa camp. The detainees were accused of perpetrating this act, and many were arrested by the camp guards.[5] On December 12, 1942, there was a protest by other inmates against the internment of German and Italian fascists in Kenadsa.

After the Allied invasion, the forced laborers were gradually returned to civilian life. In Kenadsa about 600 detained foreigners became volunteers, serving at the British Pioneer bases at Hussein-Dey and Maison-Carrée. The 250 Jewish internees classified as EVDG were not liberated because they were still judged to be "particularly suspect." The liberation of Jews was formally banned for 18 months.

The officers of Kenadsa were put on trial in February 1944 in Algiers alongside other officers from Vichy-run camps in Algeria. Quite a few members of the unit of survivor Paul Hollander, a German Jewish former member of the LE, testified in the trial. Four to five people were sentenced to death, a few to life imprisonment, and others to 10-year and shorter sentences.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Kenadsa include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Memoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998); Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ǧalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron, 2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; and André Labry, *Les Chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Kenadsa can be found in USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and USHMMA, RG-43.071M (Selected records from collection LII Algeria 1871–1947). The personal papers of Paul Hollander, 1939–1944, are held at WL (Doc. collection 963; Acc. No. 52278). The unpublished autobiography of Eric Loëwe (Harris), "Twelve Years, 1933–1945," is held in the personal papers of David A. Harris. VHA holds rich interviews on the camp by Paul Hollander (#20060; October 3, 1996); Rodolphe Manes (#8339; January 24, 1996); Eric Meier (#19197; September 4, 1996); Peter Roberts (#1620; March 16, 1995); and Emile Schick (#33286; June 27, 1997).

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 3, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
2. Loëwe, "Twelve Years," p. 13.
3. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, August 3, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
4. Loëwe, "Twelve Years," p. 20.
5. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, December 28, 1942, box 1, folder 33.
6. VHA #20060, Paul Hollander testimony, October 3, 1996.

KERSAS

Kersas (Kersah, Kerzaz, Khersas, Kerras) is located in the region of Ain Sefra; it is an oasis in central-west Algeria, 912 kilometers (567 miles) southwest of Algiers and 253 kilometers (157 miles) southeast of Colomb-Béchar. Kersas was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940; it also served as a a disciplinary and isolation camp for prisoners near the Moroccan-Algerian border.[1] Kersas had the reputation of being the "Devil's Island of the Sahara," a reference to the penal colony off the coast of French Guiana.

When some members of a group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Démobilisés*, GTD), GTD No. 6, protested against the harsh working conditions at the Ksabi detention site, the Vichy authorities tried to discourage any further protest: it turned GTD No. 6, a company of 150 internees, into a disciplinary company of workers (*companie de discipline des travailleurs*) and sent the men to Kersas. When there was a comprehensive inspection by the Vichy authorities of the North African camps in May and June 1941, GTD

No. 6 was exempted because it was divided into two groups at that time: one was at the Kersas camp and the other at the Ksabi detention site.[2]

Kersas had a capacity of approximately 100 prisoners. The company included men whom Vichy deemed political suspects and those who served in the International Brigades (Interbrigades) of Spain, who later volunteered and fought for France. The internees were of varying nationalities, including some Belgians.[3] At Kersas, the forced laborers were assigned to the construction of two barracks.[4] The inmates at Kersas did not have tents. They dug holes in the sand to sleep in, which were just long enough for the men to stretch out. There was no shelter for the internees from the mid-day heat or the bitter cold of the desert night. After finishing work for the day, they were forbidden from talking to each other and from playing cards. Each evening they had to give their sandals to the guards to prevent escape attempts. Anyone who passed through this company became a broken man.

The camp was staffed by adjutants, Corsican and German sergeants who viciously ruled Kersas. Goyou was the head of GTD No. 6. He was under the direction of Commandant Viciot, who served as commandant for all of the forced labor groups stationed in Southern Oran. There were both French and indigenous guards.[5] The Arab guards were called *goums*. The typical sentence was for three to six months. It was up to the discretion of Goyou whether to extend a forced laborer's confinement by an additional three months. The camp was adjacent to the Saoura River, and when it flooded the camp, the workers were transferred to the nearby Ksabi and Abadla camps.[6]

In November 1940 there was a transfer to the Kenadsa camp.[7] A notable prisoner at Kersas was Karl Stössler, who was from Vienna, Jewish, and a member of GTE No. 14. He was interned at Kersas on October 10, 1940, and remained there for a half-year before being transferred to Kenadsa.[8]

From May to November 1942 nine forced laborers died. Bienstock was tortured and died in the hospital. Moreno was strangled to death. Marshall became weak and died. Yaraba de Castillo, who had rickets and tuberculosis, died of his illnesses, in addition to suffering the ill effects of being overworked and hungry. Nazzariaz was tortured to death. Alvarez Ferrier and Kyzonois were beaten to death. Poras and an unnamed foreign worker were murdered.

Each meal consisted of soup and a slice of bread. There was no water with which to bathe, and the camp was full of parasites. The workers were punished constantly. The men who were punished by close confinement did not have the right to leave the prison and go outside to relieve themselves. Instead they were forced to use their eating bowl as a latrine. For a serious infraction, the workers were locked up for eight days in a cell. During this time they were beaten with heavy sticks and were fed two quarts of salted water and a slice of bread daily. The Vichy commandant handed over to the Italian Fascist authorities an Italian antifascist and French Army volunteer named Taba who was being held in Kersas.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Kersas were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention Kersas include Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary source material is available in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA; and in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

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NOTES

1. Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371111 and 82371280.
2. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371244.
3. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371158.
4. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371159.
5. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371158.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371159.
8. Stössler report, Casablanca, March 8, 1943, CAHJP, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, folder 5, pp. 26–34.

KHENCHELA

Khenchela was a camp located in northeastern Algeria, 397 kilometers (247 miles) southeast of Algiers and 114 kilometers (71 miles) southeast of Constantine.[1] It was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Initially in Algeria nine groups of refugees were divided between the camps at Boghar (one group), Colomb-Béchar (six groups), and Khenchela (two groups), and there was a detachment at Quargla as well. Subsequently other camps at Djelfa and Berrouaghia were established to receive foreign internees. French nationals and Algerians were sent to Bossuet.

In Khenchela, the Vichy authorities set up a refugee center for the former members of the French Foreign Legion (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) who could not return to their country of origin or to French territory. The workers enjoyed relative freedom. Several of them were authorized to work in the town of Khenchela. Others were temporarily employed in the service of the garrison. As of April 1, 1941, there were 379 foreign workers at Khenchela.[2]

In correspondence from the governor general of Algeria to the military commandant of the Ain Sefra Territory in Colomb-Béchar on December 6, 1940, the two groups of foreign workers stationed at Khenchela were cited as Groups

2 and 7.[3] Another report sent by Colonel Lupy, the inspector general of the groups of workers in Algeria, to the governor general of Algeria, on December 8, 1941, indicated that the two groups stationed at Khenchela were Groups 7 and 8.[4]

In June 1941 Group 7, which was initially stationed at Khenchela, was transferred to Kenadsa without any protests from the internees.[5] Group 8, which had only just arrived at Khenchela by this point, was made up exclusively of Spanish deserters from the Soviet Red Army. They presented themselves in a way that was an improvement over other prisoners: they were disciplined and relatively well dressed. The sleeping arrangements were normal, the food sufficient, and the camp was clean.[6] This group was subsequently transferred to Kenadsa.[7]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Khenchela were progressively returned to civilian life. However, as of December 15, 1943, there were still groups of foreign workers at Khenchela.[8]

SOURCES Secondary literature that mentions the Khenchela camp includes Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material is available in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA; in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6, 8, and 9; and in the AFSC Casablanca collection, available in hard copy at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371111.
2. Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 5.
3. "Surveillance des étrangers, Corp," December 6, 1940, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
4. "Le Colonel Lupy, inspector général des Groupements de Travailleurs de l'Algérie," December 8, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
5. Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b., Doc. No. 82371245.
6. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371241.
7. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371153.
8. Ibid., Doc. No. 82371221.

KINDIA

Kindia (Kinda) is located in western Guinea, 106 kilometers (66 miles) northeast of Conakry, Guinea; 1,301 kilometers (over 808 miles) southwest of Tombouctou, Mali; and 716 kilometers (445 miles) southeast of Dakar, Senegal. A railway line connects Conakry to Kindia. Guinea was part of colonial French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF) until 1960. From February 12, 1940, to August 1942, the governor of French Guinea was Antoine Félix Giacobbi. The Vichy governor general, Pierre Boisson, directed all internment camps in the AOF established for Allied prisoners of war (POWs). Because Vichy was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status.

Before the war there was a French Army camp in Kindia. On November 28, 1940, a group of rebels attacked French officers at that military camp. The French officers and African soldiers quickly lost control, and there was a threat of an attack on the railway. The colonial authorities gradually retook control of the situation and imprisoned the rebels. It is not clear whether the military camp involved in this revolt is the same as the Vichy camp at Kindia that interned Allied POWs. In November 1940, there was another failed mutiny against the Vichy regime in the Kankan camp.

The poor conditions at the Kindia camp were similar to those found at the Conakry camp. There was just enough food to prevent starvation. The British and Commonwealth internees reported that their inadequate rations consisted of rice, beans, and macaroni. For breakfast they had a cup of coffee and a piece of bread. They were not given real dinner plates and instead ate from bowls. After a while they were each given a small napkin. They did not have shoes. Officers and sailors were kept in common quarters in contravention of the 1929 Geneva Convention. Armed with bayonets, the guards led the internees to the lavatory. Despite the poor treatment, the British did not hold their French guards responsible. Rather, they blamed the French high authorities' lack of imagination and skill for the ill treatment. According to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, Second Engineer Officer Lewis Elliot of the Canadian Merchant Navy is buried in the Kindia Christian Cemetery. An officer aboard the SS *Portadoc*, he died on May 25, 1941, presumably as an internee at Kindia.

In July 1941, some members of the crew of the Greek steamer, SS *Pandias*, were sent to the camp at Kindia, and some were dispatched to the Conakry camp. The master of the ship was Captain Petra Panapolous, and most of the crew was British.[1] They had spent 17 days at sea and were not doing well when they arrived in the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Kindia internment camp include Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996); and an unpublished but detailed account of the camp, Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). This account is based in part on documentation about Bernard de Neumann's father's internment. Information on Second Engineer Officer Elliot can be found at www.cwgc.org.

Primary source material on the mutiny at Kindia can be found in CAOM, Aff. pol., 638, dos. 6, "troubles et incidents divers; mutinies à Kindia," November 28, 1940; and TNA, ADM199.

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NOTE

1. Report of Captain Lewis, n.d., ADM199/2137 Enc 114, as cited in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 148.

KOULIKORO

Koulikoro (Koulikorro) was a military internment camp in southwestern Mali, 655 kilometers (407 miles) southwest of Tombouctou and 53 kilometers (33 miles) northeast of Bamako. Mali was part of colonial French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF) and was named French Sudan before it gained independence. At the time of Nazi Germany's defeat of France in 1940, there was a local French African railroad line that ran from Dakar to Koulikoro. Following Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain's decree to build the Mediterranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) Railroad to connect North and West Africa, Koulikoro was designated as a terminus for the new railroad. The camp was 5 kilometers (3 miles) from the Koulikoro rail station.

The Vichy government was in charge of the AOF from June 1940 to January 1943, and the Vichy governor general, Pierre Boisson, directed all internment camps in the AOF; these camps were established to hold Allied prisoners of war (POWs). Because Vichy was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status. Koulikoro was one of the AOF camps that interned the crews of British, Dutch, Danish, and Greek ships in poor living conditions. However, the conditions at Tombouctou were reported to be worse than those at Koulikoro.[1] There was a sergeant in charge of the Koulikoro camp, and he served as a liaison between the internees and the Vichy authorities.[2] The French guards socialized with the internees, sharing news from outside the camp.

George Whalley and Peter Le Quesne Johnson (both of whom later served aboard the SS *Criton*) first served on the MV (Motor Vessel) *Memnon*, which was torpedoed on March 11, 1941. The crew was taken to the Dakar hospital and transferred to the Koulikoro camp at the end of April 1941. This group of 60 men joined about a dozen Royal Navy (RN) and Fleet Air Arm (FAA) personnel already interned at the camp. The internees were housed in newly constructed brick buildings with thatched roofs, and they were issued comfortable new beds. Water was supplied directly from the Niger River, which was a 20- to 30-minute walk from the camp. Given the oppressive heat, the internees requested help to carry the water, and a party of indigenous sharpshooters (*tirailleurs*) was assigned to the task. Many of the internees suffered from diarrhea due to drinking impure water. The camp doctor visited every morning and supplied them with quinine, but the internees (including the ship's doctor) did not think highly of his expertise.[3]

Initially the sanitary conditions were poor, but later improved. The internees bathed in the river, with half the camp bathing each day at 4:30 P.M. They were escorted to the river and forbidden from wearing hats, because hats would have been essential to an escape. The internees were allowed to write weekly letters, which were collected each Monday to be censored. They prepared their own food, in small quantities: the cost of food could not exceed 14.25 francs per day. Bread and a half-bottle of wine were supplied daily, and they also ate macaroni, vegetables, rice, and meat. They only had forks and spoons, but no knives. The internees had to eat their meals on the ground or at their beds. Although the camp was plagued by deadly snakes, anti-venom serum was not available. They were fortunate to have mosquito netting over their beds, because the camp harbored many mosquitoes, insects, termites, ants, and flies. The group left Koulikoro at the end of May 1941, by which point the rainy season had started. The camp compound, which had started out as hard clay, became a swamp.[4]

Notable internees included Humphrey H. Jackson of the FAA, Fred S. Milthorp of the *Sally Maersk*, MacRitchie of the steamer *Tweed*, a British Indian named Numahamed of the *Jhelum*, Sub-Lieutenant Stretten of the *Criton*, Canadian fighter pilot Allan Robert McFadden, and Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) officer Dusty Rhodes. Six United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) personnel made a forced landing at Conakry on May 7, 1942, and were then interned at Koulikoro.[5] It is likely that the Royal Air Force (RAF) officers interned at Koulikoro sent the *Criton* crew at Tombouctou a parcel of books, playing cards, and cigarettes.[6]

Vichy Générale de division Jean-Joseph-Guillaume Barrau issued a decree in September 1942 with the aim of improving camp organization and management, living conditions, and the pay (in francs) given to prisoners by rank. Upon entering the Koulikoro camp, each prisoner was issued a set of European clothes (undershorts, shirts, shorts, handkerchiefs, socks, shoes, and helmet), and a towel, bowl, tableware, plate, sheet, blanket, and mosquito net. Interned British Africans were worse off. They received only a mat and a blanket or two. The internees were allowed to take walks outside the camp. Despite Barrau's measures, the camp conditions remained harsh.

The Italian-born hotelier Joseph de Nicolay, who resided in St. Louis, Senegal, was held at Koulikoro well after the Operation Torch landings in November 1942. His case demonstrated that wartime camps were used to intern political suspects with Axis ties long after the cessation of immediate hostilities. Given that Nicolay was an Italian national, he was a suspect.[7] Nicolay's case also indicated that the administration of the Vichy camps was handed to Gaullist forces after Operation Torch.[8] As of January 28, 1944, Nicolay was still in Koulikoro while his wife was in Casablanca lobbying for his release.[9]

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Koulikoro internment camp include Catherine Akpo-Vaché, *L'AOF et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, septembre 1939–octobre 1945* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 1996); Vincent Joly, *Le Soudan français de 1939 à 1945: Une colonie dans la guerre* (Paris: Karthala Éditions, 2006); and Wayne Ralph, *Aces, Warriors & Wingmen: Firsthand Accounts of Canada's Fighter Pilots in the Second World War* (Missisauga, Ontario: John Wiley & Sons, Canada, 2005). An unpublished but detailed account of the Koulikoro camp is Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). The author's account is based in part on documentation about his father's internment.

Primary sources on the Koulikoro internment camp can be found in AN, Pierre Boisson collection; NARA, RG-84, Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the U.S. Department of State, Senegal, Dakar Consulate General, General Records

1940–49; IWM, "The Private Papers of P Le Q Johnson" Cat. No. Docs. 101, 1988; and AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296.

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NOTES

1. Extract from a letter from J. M. Gray, President, Gambia Branch, BRCS, July 21, 1942, to Colonial Secretary, Viscount Cranbourne, reproduced in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 157.
2. George Whalley report, reproduced in ibid., p. 133.
3. Ibid., pp. 131–133.
4. Ibid., p. 133.
5. USAAF internees in French West Africa, September 12, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 711, "War. Peace. Friendship Alliance," p. 1.
6. Noel Clear report, reproduced in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," pp. 124, 127.
7. Copie: "Koulikoro, le 15 juillet 1943, J. de Nicolay, Hotelier a St. Louis (Sénégal) interné à Koulikoro," USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), folder AFSC "N," pp. 1–2.
8. Monsieur le Lt-Colonel Kerdavid, November 11, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), folder "N," pp. 1–2.
9. "Division of Public Welfare and Relief Refugee Section," January 28, 1944, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), folder "N," n.p.

KSABI

The Vichy authorities established a disciplinary camp in Ksabi (El Ksabi), Algeria, which is 985 kilometers (612 miles) southwest of Algiers, 170 kilometers (106 miles) southeast of Kersas, and 384 kilometers (244 miles) southeast of Abadla. The prisoners originated from the Kersas camp and constituted the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Démobilisés*, GTD), GTD No. 6. Commanding GTD No. 6 was a French officer named Goyou, who in turn answered to the commander of forced labor groups in Southern Oran, Commandant Viciot. The first group of Kersas prisoners was transferred to Ksabi after the flooding of the Saoura River, so not all the transfers were for disciplinary reasons.

A Belgian report in the International Tracing Service (ITS) archives noted that among the Ksabi group were internees representing various nationalities. The prisoners' terms of confinement in the disciplinary camps lasted from three to six months, but could be extended at the discretion of the commandant of GTD No. 6, Guyon.[1] They lived in *marabout* (large) tents and were transferred to the Abadla disciplinary camp after they completed their sentences.[2] According to a related report, the prisoners at Ksabi built barracks.

Colonel de Brion, the inspector general of demobilized foreign workers in the vicinity of Colomb-Béchar, did not inspect GTD No. 6 during his tour of the camps in June 1941. His reasons for not doing so were that the group was divided between the Kersas and Ksabi sites, and his tour took place as the Kersas prisoners were being transferred to Abadla.[3] In a separate report, Colonel Lupy, another inspector general of demobilized foreign workers, claimed that members of GTD No. 6 mutinied at Ksabi and therefore had to be closely guarded at Abadla.[4]

In 1941, the German delegation to the Franco-German Armistice Commission demanded that the French authorities account for why an alleged deserter of the German Army who was confined at Ksabi was killed during an escape. The prisoner in question, named Niersmann, made the attempt with two confederates.[5]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Ksabi camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Ksabi is briefly mentioned in Pierre Caron and Pierre Cézard, eds., *La Délégation aupres de la Commission allemande d'armistice: Recuiel de document publiées par le gouvernement français*, 5 vols. (Paris: Costes, 1947–1959).

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NOTES

1. "Kersah," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371158-82371159.
2. "Historique du Camp Ksabi," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371160.
3. Annexe 32, "Rapport du Colonel de Brion, Inspecteur Générale sur les Groupes de démobilisés étrangers du Groupement de Colomb-Béchar," June 1941, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371241.
4. Annexe No. 31, Gouvernement Générale de l'Algérie, "Rapport du Colonel Lupy C.R. Inspecteur des TED sur le GTED No. 6 à Abadla," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371236-82371237.
5. Caron and Cézard, eds., *La Délégation*, 5: 217.

LAGHOUAT

Also known as the Nili camp, the Laghouat camp was established in the military barracks of the French sharpshooters (*tirailleurs*), located 329 kilometers (204 miles) south of Algiers. The camp was a prison for French colonial dissidents before World War II and served as an internment camp for British and Commonwealth servicemen between April 1941 and November 1942. The camp also held Canadian and South African prisoners, although the Vichy authorities called it the "camp for British internees Laghouat" (*Camp des internés britanniques Laghouat*).[1] Because Vichy was officially neutral, the prisoners were given internee status. The camp was set up initially to hold some internees from the Djelfa camp, who were French "undesirables" (*indisérables*), more than 102 kilometers (over 63 miles) northeast of Laghouat.

The Laghouat camp consisted of two buildings, one of which had an isolation cell for punishment. A triple barbed-wire fence surrounded the compound, and the guard towers were equipped with machine guns and searchlights.

Its guard force consisted of a battalion of Arab tirailleurs and a cavalry unit, the Premier Spahis, under the command of Commandant Jeunechamp and French officers. According to former internee James Arthur "Buster" Brown, the internees got along well with the spahis, who occasionally performed horseback riding tricks just outside the barbed-wire fence for the internees' benefit. In contrast, he remembered, the prisoners preferred to bait the tirailleurs, making faces at them and hurling insults.[2]

In the summer of 1942, more than 550 servicemen were interned at Laghouat. Among the detained sailors were entire or partial crews from the HMS *Havock*, HMS *Duncan*, HMS *Legion*, and HMS *Manchester*, the last crew arriving in late August 1942. For a time, Commander Richard Jessel of the HMS *Legion* served as the Senior British Officer (SBO). In August 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), visited the camp. He found that the internees suffered from boredom and were not allowed to leave the camp, except for Sunday Mass at the local Catholic church.[3] Laghouat was also overcrowded, which left the internees susceptible to disease and led to shortages of food and water. According to Charles Lamb, who was interned at Laghouat from December 1941 until its closure, the only ship's physician held in the camp succumbed to poliomyelitis.[4]

Because of their status as internees, not prisoners of war (POWs), the prisoners were entitled to send and receive letters and telegrams. Lamb, a Royal Navy pilot, used this privilege to communicate clandestinely with MI 9, the section of British intelligence tasked with escape and evasion. To do so, he employed a letter code that air crew members were trained to use in case of capture. His rescue plan for the camp, using a nearby field adequate for landing aircraft, came to the attention of the MI 9 director, Norman Crockatt, according to historians M. R. D. Foot and J. M. Langley. The plan was never implemented, Lamb recalled, because camp morale deteriorated.[5]

On the night of June 6, 1942, 29 internees tunneled out of the camp. The internees had been digging the 62-meter (68-yard) tunnel for seven months, ventilating it with disused Klim cans formed into a pipe. (A popular brand of canned milk during World War II, Klim was milk spelled backward.) The work began with the discovery of an unused cellar beneath the interned officers' quarters. Given the harsh desert conditions and the strong guard force, all of the escapees were recaptured within three days. Another escape took place on October 19, 1942, when seven prisoners managed to flee before being recaptured. Flight Officer James Douglas Hudson participated in both escapes. Oral histories collected by the Imperial War Museum (IWM) mention the killing of one escapee, but there is conflicting information on the circumstances and date of the incident and the victim is not named.[6]

Following the Allied landings in Morocco and Algeria during Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, the French authorities transported the internees by truck to Algiers for repatriation. After the assassination of Admiral Jean François Darlan, then the highest ranking Vichy officer in French North Africa, on December 24, 1942, Laghouat was used to intern many Algerian Jews on the orders of his successor, Générale d'Armée Henri Giraud. Among those arrested were members of the Jewish resistance in Algiers, including José Aboulker, an important figure in the clandestine negotiations leading to Operation Torch.[7] The U.S. authorities ordered the closure of the Laghouat camp in February 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Laghouat camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Édition du Lys, 2005); Jonathan F. Vance, *Objects of Concern: Canadian Prisoners of War through the Twentieth Century* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994); and M. R. D. Foot and J. M. Langley, *MI 9: Escape and Evasion, 1939–1945* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

Primary sources on the Laghouat camp can be found in IWM, including the private papers of W. E. Terry (Document 3619); the interview of James Arthur "Buster" Brown, December 15, 1988 (Cat. No. 10504, available at www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80010282); the interview of John Laraway, January 28, 2001 (Cat. No. 22361, available at www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80021093); and the interview of Alfred John Surridge, August 9, 1990 (Cat. No. 11455). Published testimonies by Laghouat internees include Charles Lamb, *War in a Stringbag*, foreword by Sir Charles Evans (1977; London: Cassell, 2001); and James Douglas Hudson, *There and Back Again: A Navigator's Story* (Heighington, UK: Tucann Design & Print, 2004). Shortly after repatriation, internee Richard Goulden Brickell published an account of the June 1942 Laghouat escape, "Laghouat Escape Tunnel," *The Engineer* (April 1943): 445–446. Ray "Taff" Davies posted an account of his internment at the Wartime Memories Project, www.wartimememories.co.uk. An interview with Jose Aboulker about his resistance activities and a mention of his internment at Laghouat can be found in Georges-Marc Benamou, *C'était un temps déraisonnable: Les premiers résistants racontent* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1999), pp. 205–224.

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NOTES

1. Lamb, *War in a Stringbag*, p. 258.
2. IWM, interview with James Arthur "Buster" Brown, December 15, 1988 (Cat. No. 10504), available at www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80010282.
3. Ibid.
4. Lamb, *War in a Stringbag*, p. 281.
5. Ibid., p. 276.
6. IWM, interview of John Laraway, January 28, 2001, Cat. No. 22361, available at www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/80021093; and IWM, Brown interview.
7. Interview with José Aboulker, April 25, 1998, and August 10, 1999, reproduced in Benamou, *C'était un temps déraisonnable*, pp. 223–224.

LA MARNE

La Marne was located in northwestern Morocco on a large farm next to the town of Sidi Hadjej (Sidi Hadjadj, Sidi Hajaj), approximately 15 kilometers (more than 9 miles) east of Casablanca and nearly 76 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Rabat. La Marne was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It held the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) GTE No. 5.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. When the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representative Camille Vautier visited the camp on April 24, 1943, the total number of detainees was 296: 291 Italians and 5 former members of the French Foreign Legion. At the time the commandant was Capitaine Ménager. During May 1943, Heinz Steinberg was one of the detainees at La Marne, following his detention at Oued Akreuch and Ait Amar.[1] After 1943, the detainees at La Marne were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning La Marne is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the La Marne camp can be found in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296.

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NOTE

1. Commandant Kiesele, Direction de la Production Industrielle et du Travail, Rabat, August 5, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 6 (R–S), folder "Sm–Sz," n.p.

LE KREIDER

Le Kreider (today: El Kheither) is an oasis approximately 77 kilometers (42 miles) south of Saïda, Algeria. As a forced labor camp in World War II, it was also known as Saïda, probably because of its proximity to the city.[1] The camp was located at the railway juncture connecting Mecheria to Perrégaux via Saïda, not far from Le Kreider village. It housed the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED), GTED No. 1, most of whom worked in agriculture. The majority of prisoners were Italians, who had been detained in Algiers before being transferred to Le Kreider.

On January 11, 1941, there were 341 forced laborers at Le Kreider. This number decreased to 101 by July 20, 1942. The prisoners were forced to dig canals. There were no buildings in the camp, and so the prisoners slept in the open on mats. Many died of malaria as a result. There was a shortage of drinking water, although the neighboring village of Le Kreider had an abundance of water. Food was scarce, and access to an infirmary was limited.

The camp was mentioned during a French Army investigation convened in Algiers in late 1943.[2]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Le Kreider camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Le Kreider camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); the France North African Colonies collection (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-43.062M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. "Notice sur Saïda," December 27, 1951, Rapport définitif No. 52, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371155.
2. "Le Colonel Lupy à Monsieur le Capitaine Juge d'Instruction au TM d'Armée—Alger," December 27, 1951, Annexe 24, Rapport définitif No. 52, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371221.

MAGENTA

Magenta is located in central Algeria, 412 kilometers (256 miles) southwest of Algiers, 111 kilometers (69 miles) south of Oran, and nearly 136 kilometers (more than 84 miles) north of Mecheria. The Bossuet camp was located on the road leading to Magenta. Magenta was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. Noted for being like a concentration camp, the camp at Magenta was known as "the trap of Magenta" (*piège de Magenta*).

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Magenta were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943. It was not until late January 1943 that Algerian Jews interned in the Vichy labor camps were permitted to volunteer for active duty.

The Jewish volunteers were told they would have to serve as Algerians rather than as French citizens. Despite this, Algerian Jews naively volunteered for active duty en masse, thinking they were fighting for a good cause. But rather than fight as combatants, they were used as "Pioneers" to construct airfields, among other assignments, and many were killed by aerial bombing.

Lt. Klotz went to the Bedeau camp to recruit volunteers for the armored units. The entire 205th Company left Bedeau singing the Republican anthem (*Chant du Depart*) to infuriate the camp officials. Those who remained at Bedeau were sent to join "Pioneer" units in the Magenta camp. Once these hundreds of volunteers arrived, they realized that the living conditions at Magenta were far worse than those at Bedeau. The food, hygiene, and political climate at Magenta were deplorable. As Jews, the volunteers did not have any rights, and they

soon understood that their liberation was not on the agenda: they were literally trapped. The volunteers agreed that Magenta was nothing but a con (*attrape-nigaud*).

Jacques Soustelle, who represented Free France in Algeria in 1943 and 1944, commented, “More serious is the problem of the camps. They are found in two forms. The ones, Bedeau, Magenta, Oued Djer, are theoretically military camps, in fact actual concentration camps where the mobilized Jews are subjected to excavation work . . . and treated like convicts.”[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Magenta camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Norbert Belange, *Quand Vichy internait ses soldats juifs d'Algérie: Bedeau, sud oranais 1941–1943* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); and Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950).

A primary source that documents the Magenta camp is the memoir of Jacques Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout*, 2: *D'Alger à Paris souvenirs et documents sur la France libre, 1942–1944; Souvenirs ets documents sur la France Libre, 1942–1944*, 2 vols. (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1950).

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NOTE

1. Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout*, 2: 214.

MARRAKECH

Marrakech is in west-central Morocco, 286 kilometers (178 miles) southwest of Rabat and 138 kilometers (almost 86 miles) southeast of Safi. One of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940 was located in Marrakech. It has also been described as the local disciplinary camp of the 2nd Regiment of Moroccan Sharpshooters (*Regiment de tirailleurs marocains*, 2nd RTM). It is unclear from the little documentation available whether the labor camp and the disciplinary camp were one and the same. Moroccan soldiers probably guarded the disciplinary camp at Marrakech.

After the Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, the camp at Marrakech remained in use. In 1943, when the Algerian camp at Bedeau closed, 750 young Algerian Jews were transferred from it to the Marrakech labor camp. As of May 26, 1943, German nationals, antifascists and political suspects Willy Hark and Richard Orthman were incarcerated in the disciplinary camp of the 2nd RTM before being transferred to and interned with the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 7, at the Tamanar (Tanoundja) camp.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Marrakech camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc: Témoignages du Passé Judéo-Marocain* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2012).

Primary source material can be found in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296.

Cristina Bejan

NOTE

1. USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), “Division de Marrakech Décision,” folder AFSC Casablanca H, subfolder “Orthman, Richard,” May 26, 1943, and subfolder “Hark, Willy,” May 26, 1943.

MECHERIA

Located in the province of Naâma along the border with Morocco, Mecheria (or Méchéria) housed a *zouave* (light infantry) regiment of the French Colonial Army in Algeria in the early 1900s and was an important military station for the French Army at the Moroccan border. Mecheria is more than 467 kilometers (290 miles) southwest of Algiers and 241 kilometers (150 miles) south of Oran. The Mecheria camp was set up near the eponymous village on the road to Colomb-Béchar in the southern part of the military zone of Ain Sefra at the foot of the Ountal Mountain. It was designed to hold former members of the Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE).

The camp consisted of brick buildings surrounded by a high wall and a deep canal with four guard posts. Although it was in a military zone, both civilians and military men, led by the head of the Algerian *tirailleurs* (sharpshooters), administered Mecheria. The camp received many European internees between 1940 and 1943. Most were Norwegian, Danish, Belgian, and British sailors. The 19 Belgian sailors were members of the crew of the merchant marine vessel, SS *Carlier*,[1] who were transferred from the Oued Zem camp in Morocco on September 10, 1942.[2] French and North African civilians were also held at Mecheria, but were classified as prisoners as part of the camp's confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS). Mohamed Aouad, Abdelkader Kadari, and Dahmane were important Algerian nationalists held in the camp. Kadari died in the camp of typhus.

The presence of many European internees at Mecheria prompted a number of governments to send representatives, religious leaders, and delegates from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit the camp prior to Operation Torch, November 8, 1942. In May 1942, as noted by historian Jacob Oliel, the Chief Chaplain of Protestant Refugees and Camp Internees in France (*Aumônier des protestants étrangers refugiés et internés en France*), Pierre Charles Toureille, received permission to visit the Mecheria camp. On August 22, 1942, ICRC representative Dr. Wyss-Dunant visited.[3] On October 15, 1942, a Danish delegation asked the French authorities in Algeria to release its nationals held at Mecheria.

The camp population increased dramatically between April 1, 1941, and November 22, 1942. On April 1, 1941, there

were 28 French and 57 indigenous prisoners; the population increased to 133 French and 359 indigenous prisoners, and 61 foreign internees (all Polish nationals) by January 7, 1942. On May 1, 1942, there were 117 French and 225 indigenous prisoners and 103 foreign internees.

A section of the French Saharan Army stationed at Ain Sefra ensured camp security, augmented by members of the Algerian tirailleurs. The detainees who sought work within the camp were paid for their labor. The sailors were allowed freedom of movement between the camp and the village, were not forced to work, and were not subjected to harsh treatment as were the French and indigenous prisoners.[4] The sailors stayed at the Mecheria camp between September 10 and November 22, 1942, before being transferred to Casablanca.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Mecheria camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Mecheria camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. Annexe 10, "Liste des Belges, internés au Centre de Séjour Surveillé de Mecheria," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371193.
2. "Mecheria," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371128.
3. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), box 1, folder 15.
4. "Mecheria," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371130.

MEDIOUNA

Mediouna is 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) southeast of Casablanca on the road to Marrakech. Mediouna was a large French Army camp, in which one section (*nouala*) was converted into an internment camp surrounded by barbed wire to accommodate up to 250 internees in October 1940.[1] Under French military administration the camp had six internees, three from Belgium and three from Britain. The Belgians were held after attempting to escape by boat at Fedala (near Casablanca) and to return to Allied territory. Kept under armed guard, the internees were not permitted to leave the camp or to work. They slept on straw mats and were given two blankets apiece. On January 3, 1941, they were transferred to the Agdz camp. Later the camp was used for laborers of GTE 14 due to its proximity to Casablanca. According to a report based on a camp visit by a Red Cross representative in June 1943, there were 65 internees, all Italians, in the camp.

Former internee Paul Vekemans submitted a detailed account of the Mediouna camp to the Belgian authorities, which formed the basis of a report on the camp to the International Tracing Service.[2]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Mediouna camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Mediouna camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. Annexe 33, Liste No. 2, "Liste des Belges passes par Mediuna," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371250.
2. "Mediuna," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82371118–82371119.

MEDIOUNA/GTE-14539

Mediouna/GTE-14539 was a Vichy transit camp for forced foreign laborers in Morocco. "GTE" stood for group of laborers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*). The camp was located on the route to Mediouna, a town located 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) southeast of Casablanca. Its capacity was 140 men. However, on April 22, 1943, when Camille Vautier of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp, it held 246 laborers: 128 Italians, 88 Spaniards, 16 Legionnaires, and 14 volunteers engaged in the Foreign Legion for the duration of the war (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG).[1]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the GTE-14539 camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Cristina Bejan

NOTE

1. As summarized in Oliel, *Camps de Vichy*, p. 115.

MENABBA

The Menabba (or Menabha) forced labor camp was 718 kilometers (446 miles) southwest of Algiers. The group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 3, was held at Menabba, under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) in Rabat. On August 1, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp

and recorded that it held 78 men, with 4 detached to Tanzaza and 38 to the Mengoub camp. The population of the Menabba and Mengoub camps together included 115 Spaniards, 1 Czech, 1 Croat, 2 Poles, and 1 Belgian. The capacity of Menabba was 100 men.[1]

The camp initially consisted only of *marabout* (large) tents. After March 1942, the construction of cement barracks began. The barracks were two stories with chimneys and were divided into rooms that each held up to three people. The wooden beds had springs and mattresses. The prisoners were issued sleeping bags and a quilt. Prisoners were fed 600 grams (1.3 pounds) of bread daily, a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine a day, and meat five days a week. The camp had a well-managed canteen that sold various small articles.

Prisoners were provided a cloth work suit and shoes for the winter, a cape for the rainy season, and two shirts, shorts, and sandals for the summer. Showers were under construction during Wyss-Dunant's visit. Water was available at the Menabba oasis. There was no record of any serious illness. A doctor visited the camp once a week, and emergency cases were transferred to Bou Arfa.

The prisoners were paid according to their jobs: masons received 26.25 francs and laborers 11.26 francs a day in addition to room and board. They were allowed to go to Bou Arfa on Saturdays or to Colomb-Béchar to attend religious services. In terms of entertainment they had access to a guitar, a ball, and card games. Mail was delivered every two days. Overall Wyss-Dunant observed that the morale of the forced laborers was excellent and that there were no reports of disciplinary action against the internees. The sole complaint was made by non-specialist laborers who worked inside the camp, who felt that their daily payment of 5.25 francs was unfairly low.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Menabba camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Menabba camp can be found in AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa).

Aomar Boum

NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 1, 1942, box 1, folder 15.

MENGOUB

Mengoub is located in Morocco near the Algerian border, 512 kilometers (318 miles) southeast of Casablanca, 460 kilometers (286 miles) southeast of Rabat, and 48 kilometers (30 miles) southwest of Bou Arfa. Mengoub is in a mountainous area at an altitude of 1,010 meters (3,313 feet). The camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Petain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan railroad, also known as the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN or *Mer-Niger*). The railroad was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. The Germans wanted to transport Senegalese troops through Vichy-controlled territory rather than by hazardous sea routes. The detainees at Mengoub were some of the many prisoners in North African camps who were forced to sign contracts to work on the railroad. Mengoub was located on the railroad line at Kilometric Point (*Point Kilométrique*, PK) 384.

The camp was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) of Rabat. The group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 3, was held at Mengoub. The camp had a capacity of 190 men and was full in the spring of 1942, when the majority of internees were transferred to the nearby Menabba camp. By the time that Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp on August 1, 1942, only 38 men, all Spaniards, were interned there.Among those who were left seven were detached to the station and three to the soup kitchen.[1]

Wyss-Dunant surveyed Mengoub's accommodations and living conditions. Each barrack had an attic, a fireplace for heating in winter, and small rooms for two or three men. The beds were wooden frames with wire springs. Each detainee was given a mattress, one blanket with a comforter, and a sleeping bag. Each man received 600 grams (1.3 pounds) of bread per day, meat five days a week, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine per day. During the winter the detainees were issued a cloth work suit and shoes, whereas during the summer they each had two shirts, shorts, and sandals. Each inmate was given a rain cape for inclement weather. There was an abundant supply of water at Mengoub, which was unusual for camps in this area. The forced laborers were able to bathe and do laundry as desired.[2]

Detainees who fell acutely ill were taken to the infirmary at Bou Arfa. The MN company doctor came to Mengoub once a week. At other times, a refugee doctor and a male nurse looked after the ill, and medicine was provided by the MN Company. When Wyss-Dunant visited, there were no sick people in the camp. The forced laborers' salary varied. Those who worked as masons earned 12 francs per day. Unskilled forced laborers made 7.25 francs. Doing extra work could earn the laborers 3 or 4 additional francs. The working hours were set to accommodate the oppressive heat common in the middle of the day. The first work shift was from 6 A.M. to noon, and the second lasted from 4 P.M. to 7 P.M.[3]

The detainees at Mengoub had more freedom than those in other camps. They were allowed to play sports and enjoy football. On Sundays five people were permitted to take a day's excursion to Bou Arfa or Colomb-Béchar. They were also allowed to read and had access to several Spanish books and newspapers. Every two days they received mail. Wyss-Dunant could not find any disciplinary measures to mention, but did record that general morale of the camp population was excellent.[4]

The Allies landed on the Moroccan and Algerian coasts in Operation Torch, November 8, 1942, after which the forced laborers were progressively returned to civilian life. In a statement titled "The Problem of Concentration Camps in Morocco," Leslie C. Heath, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) delegate to North Africa, proposed a specific plan for Spanish refugees. On November 24, 1942, he wrote, "Arrangements should be made as soon as possible for most of the Spanish to emigrate to Mexico."[5]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Mengoub include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975); Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950); Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Doris Bensimon, *Les Juifs d'Algérie: Mémoires et identités plurielles* (Paris: Éditions Stavit, 1998); Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); Christine Levisse-Touzé, *L'Afrique du Nord dans la guerre, 1939–1945* (Paris: A. Michel, 1998); and André Labry, *Les Chemins de fer du maroc: Histoire et évolution* (Rabat: Office National des Chemins de Fer, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Mengoub can be found in USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); USHMMA RG-43.070M (selected records from collection LIV, Morocco and Tunisia 1918–1947); and RG-43.144M (Afrique du Nord: Congrès Juife Mondial—Maroc pays étrangers, reel 1). Also consider USHMMA RG-43.062 M (selected records from France's North African colonies 1848–1962, reels 6, 7, 8, and 10).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 1, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, box 1 of 14, folder 33 of 36.

MÉRIDJA

A former outpost of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE), the Méridja camp was located 69 kilometers (43 miles) west of the Algerian settlement of Colomb-Béchar and 799 kilometers (497 miles) southwest of Algiers. Méridja (or El-Méridj) is close to the Moroccan border, west of the Abadla camp. As a penal camp, the prisoners were subjected to cruel and humiliating treatment. Capitaine Fabre and Sergent Burgher stood out as particularly harsh members of the camp staff.

In January 1941, some young Jewish forced laborers from the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED) refused to participate in forced labor along the Méditerranean-Niger (*Mer-Niger*) railroad line around Colomb-Béchar. As a result, they were transferred to the Méridja camp. Also at the camp were 47 Spanish prisoners who revolted in June 1941 against harsh treatment by the guards. The guards shot at them, injuring two internees. When six internees attempted to escape the Méridja camp, the guards collectively punished the prisoners by depriving them of water for days despite the summer heat. After some months, the French authorities decided to relocate the internees to the subcamp of Bou Arfa in Morocco at Aïn el-Ourak. Some 18 internees died of malaria and malnourishment before the group reached Aïn el-Ourak.

The harsh treatment wielded by the guards at Méridja was well known to prisoners and was also known to members of the French community in Algeria.[1]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Méridja camp are Jacob Oliel, *Les Juifs de Colomb-Béchar et des Villages de la Saoura 1903–1962* (Orléans: self-published, 2003); Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Méridja camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, CAHJP, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M; and CAOM, available at USHMMA as RG-43.062M. A memoir that mentions the Méridja camp is Renée Pierre-Gosset, *Le coup d'Alger* (Montreal: Le Revue Moderne, 1944).

Aomar Boum

NOTE

1. Pierre-Gosset, *Le coup d'Alger*, pp. 45–46.

MISSOUR

Missour (also, Misur) was established between 1940 and November 1942 as a surveillance and detention camp not far from the settlement of Missour on a plain overlooking the Moulouya River. Missour is 144 kilometers (90 miles) southeast of Fes in Morocco. The camp consisted of six buildings encircled by a wall. Approximately 200 detainees were imprisoned in the camp. In its harsh living conditions, Missour was similar to the Algerian camps of Djelfa and Djenien Bou Rezg. The Vichy authorities classified Missour as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), CSS No. 3.[1]

Between 1940 and 1942, the majority of the internees were communists, largely Spanish Republicans. In 1942, a typhus epidemic struck the camp, killing some internees and afflicting many others. Édouard Conod, a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), visited the camp on April 1, 1943, and reported that there were more than 70 prisoners of different nationalities. He noted that the prisoners slept on floor mats. The prisoners were free to leave the camp at night and on Sundays. They spent most of their days in enforced idleness, because they were not engaged in forced labor and did not have access to books or entertainment.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the camp at Missour is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Missour camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTE

1. "Missour," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371123.

MONOD

Located in an arid area 28 kilometers (more than 17 miles) east of Rabat, Morocco, the Monod camp was situated in a woodland. Also called Oued Monod (today: Sidi Allal el Bahraoui), it was named in honor of Lieutenant Maurice Monod, who was killed in the area between Mahdiya and Rabat on May 24, 1911. The camp for foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 10, consisted of tents and barracks. It was commanded by a French officer, and the Rabat colonial police was responsible for security. In addition to its original prisoners, approximately 300 men were transferred to Monod from the Oued Akreuch camp when it closed on May 27, 1941. These prisoners were of various nationalities, including four Belgians.[1] The Oued Akreuch guards were also in charge of Monod. According to historian Jacob Oliel, Monod held 75 prisoners on December 12, 1941. The prisoners worked on roads and felled trees, and were allowed to leave the camp for health and administrative reasons. According to former prisoner Gaston Vanderstocken, Monod was "similar but less comfortable" than the Oued Akreuch camp.[2]

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the camp of Monod is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Monod camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. Annexe 33, Liste 12, "Liste des Belges passes par Monod," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371264; "Notice sur Monod," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371152.
2. "Monod," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371144.

OUED AKREUCH

The camp at Oued Akreuch (today: Akrach or Oued Akrach) was 9.8 kilometers (6 miles) southeast of Rabat on the bank of the Akreuch River. Oued Akreuch served as an internment camp for a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 10, and was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production (*Direction de la Production Industrielle*) in Rabat. Its capacity was between 200 and 300. The prisoners were foreigners of various nationalities, including four Belgians.[1] On July 22, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp and found that there were approximately 100 prisoners in the camp, in addition to 120 internees assigned to external projects.[2]

The camp consisted of 15 barracks made of stone and cement. Prisoners slept on the floor on branches and straw under two blankets. Each inmate received 650 grams (1.4 pounds) of bread per day. For breakfast, the prisoners were given coffee, bread, and eggs; for lunch, soup, steak, fried potatoes, and dessert; and for dinner, soup, meat salad, beans, bread, and a half-liter (more than a pint) of wine. The prisoners were issued a shirt, pants, jacket, and a pair of shoes. Although makeshift showers had been installed, the prisoners bathed in the river. Lavatories were in the open. There was one functioning washing machine in the camp.

Three refugee doctors and a refugee male nurse provided medical care, although there was a lack of medical instruments and medication. Serious cases of illness were referred to Rabat. There was no library in the camp, but the prisoners had access to newspapers and magazines. Mail was delivered daily. The workers were allowed to move around the camp freely.

The detainees worked on roads from 5 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. In the afternoon, they worked within the camp. They were paid 1.25 francs per day in addition to a possible bonus of 4 to 5 francs. Unskilled or unfit forced laborers were paid 1.25 francs a day. Despite prisoner complaints about the lack of medicine, fleas, poor bedding, and inadequate clothing, no one was sent to a disciplinary camp.

The Oued Akreuch camp was closed on May 27, 1941, when the prisoners were transferred to the Monod camp.[3]

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Oued Akreuch camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Oued Akreuch camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA; and AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa).

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. "Oued-Akreuch," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371140.

2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC collection), box 1, folder 15.

3. "Liste des Belges passes par Oued-Akreuch," Liste No. 11, Annexe No. 33, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371264.

OUED-DJERCH

Oued-Djerch (Oued-Djer, le Pont de l'Oued Djer) is located in the Algiers Département in northern Algeria about 68 kilometers (42 miles) southwest of Algiers, 31 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Médéa, and 34 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Cherchel. The Oued-Djerch disciplinary camp was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Oued-Djerch held Jewish forced laborers who faced the same inhumane conditions that internees faced at the notorious Magenta camp. Punishment by "*tombeau*" (the tomb) was common at Oued-Djerch. The internees were forced to lie in a ditch for an extended period and not move while being tormented by armed guards. According to Jacques Soustelle, governor general of Algeria from 1955 to 1956, Oued-Djerch was theoretically a military camp, but actually was a concentration camp where Jews were forced to work on excavations and fortifications. At Oued-Djerch they were leased to public works contractors and treated like convicts.[1]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. After 1942 the detainees at Oued-Djerch were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Oued-Djerch camp include Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Henri Msellat, *Les Juifs d'Algérie sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999); and Michel Ansky, *Les Juifs d'Algérie, du décret Crémieux à la Libération* (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1950).

Primary source material is available in Jacques Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout*, 2: *D'Alger à Paris souvenirs et documents sur la France libre, 1942–1944; Souvenirs et documents sur la France Libre, 1942–1944*, 2 vols. (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1950).

Cristina Bejan

NOTE

1. Soustelle, *Envers et contre tout*, 2: 214.

OUED ZEM AND MOULAY BOUAZZA

There were two camps near Oued Zem, which is located roughly 118 kilometers (73 miles) southeast of Casablanca. The first, known as the Oued Zem camp, was under the authority of the Directorate of Political Affairs (*Direction des Affaires Politiques*). The second, called Moulay Bouazza, was under the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Industrial Production and Labor (*Direction de la Production Industrielle et du Travail*) in Rabat and was associated with the Administration of Forests and Waterways (*Administration des Forêts et Voies navigables*). Dr. Wyss-Dunant from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited both camps between July and August 1942. Neither camp ever held Jews (North African or foreign) or North African nationalists. Both camps closed after the Allied landing, Operation Torch, on November 8, 1942.

The Oued Zem camp was originally designed as a military camp in 1940 before its transformation into an internment camp in October 1940 when European sailors were transferred there from the Sidi El Ayachi camp. The camp went from housing 40 political detainees to more than 200 political and civilian prisoners. They included Norwegian sailors (110); Belgian sailors (22); British (22); prisoners from Malta, Gibraltar, and Tangiers (51); and other nationalities (32). During his visit to the camp, Dr. Wyss-Dunant reported that there were 215 men in the camp and 188 in the hospital.

Built in a dry and hot zone, the Oued Zem camp was located almost 122 kilometers (76 miles) southeast of Casablanca. Dr. Wyss-Dunant noted that it was "composed of six semi-barracks of a military type, with tin roofing, without insulation. The floor is concrete. Each barrack houses 30 to 40 men, who sleep on iron beds with straw mattresses and one blanket. The cots are not too close to one another. The officers are housed elsewhere. There is no heating. In summer the heat is very great because of the tin roofing."[1] Wyss-Dunant provided a detailed description of the menu between June 16 and 22, 1942. In the mornings, the prisoners were given dates, tomato salad, cabbage goulache, potatoes with sauce, prunes, beetroot salad, carrot salad, two hard-boiled eggs, jam, and pork roast. In the afternoons, they were served noodle soup, English boiled potatoes, dates, vegetable soup, split-pea puree, prunes, chickpeas with sauce, green beans, figs, and puree of dried beans. Although water was scarce, the detainees were allowed to shower once a week. Mail and books were allowed into the camp. Prisoners with serious health conditions were sent to the hospital in Casablanca. An infirmary was in the camp, but it provided minimal health care. Clothes and shoes were scarce, especially in the harsh and cold winter. Wyss-Dunant noted how Norwegians complained of the heat, shortage of water, and the lack of books and games.

The nearby Aït Ammar iron mines made this site a good location for a foreign workers camp, in which forced laborers were deployed by the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, MN), which was in charge of maintaining the railway link between Morocco, Algeria, and the coal mines in West Africa. The French Army was in charge of the camp. The prisoners were paid a small and inadequate salary for their labor. For instance, according to Wyss-Dunant, Belgian officers were paid 1,350 francs per month, Norwegian officers got 1,200 francs, and Greek workers received a lump sum of 2,400 francs. Reasons were not given for this difference in pay. Wyss-Dunant noted that the pay was increased.[2] Despite these conditions, Norwegian

workers refused to go back to their home country when given the opportunity to be released on condition that they leave for Norway.

Moulay Bouazza was located at a hot place in a hilly area about 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Oued Zem itself and 142 kilometers (88 miles) southeast of Casablanca. The only way to get to the camp was through a difficult trail. The camp housed 56 prisoners: 10 of these were in the hospital, 15 were sick in the camp, and 1 died. There were Poles (15); Italians (4); Russians (5); French (2); Belgians (8); Spaniards (5); Czechs (3); Germans (4); Swiss (2); British (2; one was released); Yugoslavs (3); and one Dutch, one Slav, and one Luxembourger.

The camp accommodations consisted of tents on muddy and wet ground. The prisoners slept on straw mats and were provided two blankets and acetylene lamps. There was a canteen in a tent, and prisoners had access to beer and cigarettes. As in Oued Zem, the foreign workers lacked shoes and clothes. During his visit to the camp Dr. Wyss-Dunant reported seeing five men barefoot and unable to walk to the coal mines about 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) from the camp. Unlike Oued Zem, workers had a hard time getting access to mail. Their pay was also lower. Dr. Wyss-Dunant noted that camp prisoners were given a fixed amount of 1.25 francs per day in addition to a reward for the assigned work. Hard work doubled the payment, but few succeeded in obtaining this pay because the assigned tasks were usually unbearable.[3]

Despite the poor hygiene and inadequate supply of drugs and supplies, the administrators of the camp were able to maintain discipline among the prisoners without difficulty: the foreign workers seemed to accept their situation, as expressed in letters they exchanged with the humanitarian activist, Hélène Cazès-Benathar, over a long period of their internment.[4] In interviews with some prisoners, however, Wyss-Dunant described their morale as "very low due to the isolation, the heat and in the case for those who asked for repatriation, lack of responses to their letters. All are weakened by dysentery."[5]

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Oued Zem camp are Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War*, trans. Catherine Tihanyi Zentelis (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989); André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); and Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources on the Oued Zem camp can be found in CDJC, collection CGQJ (414–50), regarding labor camps and transit camps; the private collection of Hélène Cazès-Benathar held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M). Two contemporaneous reports on the Aït Ammar mines are P. M., "Les chemins de fer du maroc," *Ag* 41: 231 (1932): 327–328; and Jean Célérier, "L'activité minière au maroc in 1937," *Ag* 47: 269 (1938): 540–541.

Aomar Boum and Eliezer Schilt

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 14, 1942, box 1, file 15, pp.4–5.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. USHMMA, RG-68.115M (CAHJP).
5. USHMMA, RG-67.008M, August 14, 1942, box 1, file 15, pp. 4–5.

OUED-ZENATI-BONE

The camp of Oued-Zenati-Bone (Oued Zeni, Oued-Zenati) is more than 49 kilometers (nearly 31 miles) east of Constantine in northeastern Algeria, located near the town of Oued-Zenati. Oued-Zenati-Bone was one of the Vichy labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

Archival documents demonstrate that there were five sites where demobilized forced laborers (*travailleurs démobilisés*) were stationed in the Constantine Département, including Constantine, Oued-Zenati-Bone, and Sétif-Satne-Saint-Arnaud.[1] At one point Oued-Zenati-Bone held 250 internees.[2]

The group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 22, was stationed at the camp. As of August 31, 1942, Oued-Zenati-Bone had 220 indigenous forced laborers and 4 French forced laborers. The camp staff consisted of a commander, an assistant, and two heads of staff—one French and one indigenous. The camp also had one French and one indigenous auxiliary official. The French Army employed GTE No. 22.[3]

The Allies landed on the Moroccan and Algerian coasts in Operation Torch, November 8, 1942. Afterward the labor camps were slowly liberated, and the internees returned to civilian life.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Oued-Zenati-Bone camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the detention sites at Constantine, including Oued-Zenati-Bone, can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA as RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8.

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NOTES

1. "Lieux de stationnement du Groupement et des différente Groupes composant le Groupement," October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 8, n.p.; and "Encadrement," October 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
2. "Tableau Annexe I Organisation-Stationnement et Éffectifs des Unités de Travailleurs Démobilisés," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 6, p. 4.
3. "Lieux de stationnement du Groupement et des different Groupes compesant le Groupement," August 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, pp. 1–2.

OULMÈS/EL KARIT

El Karit is a tin mine just south of Oulmès in north-central Morocco. Oulmès is more than 147 kilometers (91 miles) southeast of Casablanca and almost 274 kilometers (170 miles) northeast of Marrakech. The camp at El Karit (El Karib, El Kartit, El Karrit) can also be found listed as El Karit par Oulmès. El Karit was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940.

In June 1940, the French Foreign Legion (*Légion Étrangère*, LE) was disbanded, and its "volunteers engaged for the duration of the war" (*Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre*, EVDG) were dispatched to camps in North Africa such as El Karit. The group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 6, was stationed at El Karit to do forced labor.[1] A census in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection counted a total of five detainees: three Jews (two German and one Austrian) and two Protestants (one German and one Austrian).[2]

One Jewish internee was a 48-year-old farmer, Maurice (Moritz) Feiner from Austria, who held the status of an EVDG.[3] He also worked as a driver.[4] He was interned at El Karit as late as March 1943.[5] Two other engaged volunteers at El Karit in 1943 were 42-year-old Protestant mechanic Karl Zakratsek from Austria and 48-year-old Jewish accountant Alfred Kohn (or Kuhn) from Germany.[6] Kohn was transferred from El Karit to GTE No. 14 that was stationed at Bou Azzer (Bou Azer) in March 1943.[7]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch, on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at El Karit were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943, as the cases described earlier demonstrate.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the El Karit camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material documenting the camp at El Karit is available in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296; and the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform and digital form at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

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NOTES

1. Emplacement des Groupes de Travailleurs de la Production Industrielle et du Travail, n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M (CAHJP), n.p.
2. Degroupement des Internés par Nationalité et Confession, n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, pp. 254–255.
3. "Agriculteurs," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 305.
4. "Chauffeurs," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 307.
5. "Feiner, Maurice," March 20, 1944. USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 2, folder AFSC Casablanca Interview forms F.
6. "Mécaniciens," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 318; and "Secrétaire et Secrétaires Comptables," n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, p. 320.
7. "Monsieur Leslie O. Heath," March 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.

QUARGLA

Quargla (Ouargla, Wargla) was in the Sahara in central Algeria, 690 kilometers (429 miles) southeast of Oran, 574 kilometers (357 miles) southeast of Algiers, and 325 kilometers (202 miles) southwest of Biskra. It was located in the Oasis Territory of Quargla. The Quargla camp existed before the Franco-German Armistice as a station for soldiers of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE) and a military post for the French infantry. German Jewish Legionnaire Paul Hollander and German Jewish infantryman Herman Rothschild, the latter serving with the French Army, were posted to Quargla.

Before the Armistice, Hollander, who was later an internee at the Kenadsa camp, was sent to the Quargla camp with a group of members of the LE from its North African headquarters at Sidi-bel-Abbès after four months of basic training. Hollander described Quargla as "according to many people: one of the worst places on earth." The contaminated water gave the Legionnaires "Quargla stomach." The sanitary conditions were very primitive, and as such there were lice and flies everywhere. The prisoners had to sleep in a ditch, which was equipped with some railway sleeper beds.[1] There was a military hospital in Quargla.

A "loony" colonel was in charge of the camp, and he "played tough." He was continuously fighting with the medical officer. The Legionnaires had to wake up at 5 A.M. and work or train until 11 A.M. when they marched back to camp to eat. They would work again from 4 P.M. until 6 or 8 P.M. The doctor did not start treating patients until 8 A.M., so the sick Legionnaires, who still had to wake up at 5 A.M., were given light labor to do until 8 A.M. The colonel was replaced toward the end of Hollander's time at Quargla. By the time the Legionnaires returned to Sidi-bel-Abbès, France had already fallen to Germany.[2]

Herman Rothschild had a different impression of Quargla and described his 18 months stationed there before the Armistice as "quite nice."[3] Alfred Larsen, a Dane who enlisted in the Foreign Legion in 1939, was also interned at Quargla in the spring of 1940. The town of Quargla was also a center of forced residence for local arrested suspects, such as Albert Amselek and Joseph Bergel, who were involved in the Douieb Affair, the roundup of 14 Jewish businessmen from Algeria on June 27, 1941.

After the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940, Quargla became one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa. An autonomous group of demobilized foreign

workers (*Groupe Autonome des Travailleurs Etrangers Démobilisés*, GTEA) was sent to Quargla,[4] which was classified as a camp of supervised stay (*camp de séjour*). As of April 1, 1941, the Quargla camp had 59 workers.[5] The deputy chief was Commandant Maillard.[6] At one point the forced laborers of the one company stationed at Ben-Chicao might have been transferred to Quargla.[7]

In 1941 the workers at Quargla were employed by three military services: the Artillery Engineering and Electric Company, the Artillery Engineering Subsistence Service, and the Artillery Engineering Radio Service. The majority of camp supervisors were French. The workers themselves were mostly foreign, and there were a small number of Jews.[8] By 1943 the Jews' employment was listed as simply being in the service of the Artillery Engineering Corps (*Génie Artillerie*).[9]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942. Commandant Maillard communicated to the head of the Vichy French army squadrons and military commander of the Quargla Territory, Fouchet, that the Spaniards interned at Quargla were the cause of disorder and unrest following the Allied landing. This resulted in heavy surveillance by the French authorities. Most of these Spaniards requested relocation to Mexico.[10]

After 1942 the detainees at Quargla were returned to civilian life, but the camp was still in use well into 1943.[11] Quargla is listed as a North African detention site by the German Federal Finance Ministry (*Bundesfinanzministerium*) for its survivors' pension program. The Conference for Jewish Material Claims against Germany attained recognition for Quargla to become an approved camp on the list.[12]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing Quargla include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); and Jacques Cantier and Eric Jennings, *Empire colonial sous Vichy* (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2004).

Primary source material for Quargla can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reels 6 and 8; and the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296. The personal papers of Paul Hollander, 1939–1944, are held at WL (Doc. collection 963; Acc. No. 52278). VHA holds interviews on the camp by Paul Hollander (#20060; October 3, 1996) and Herman Rothschild (#44110; April 23, 1998).

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NOTES

1. VHA # 20060, Paul Hollander testimony, October 3, 1996.
2. Ibid.
3. VHA # 44110, Herman Rothschild testimony, April 23, 1998.
4. Gouvernement Général de l'Algerie, GTED, August 31, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
5. Groupements des travailleurs étrangers, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 5.
6. Gt. Gnl. de l'Algérie, GTEA, Quargla, Éxécution des prescripts de la N. de S. No. 7566, November 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
7. "Note de Service," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
8. Gt. Gnl. de l'Algérie, GTEA, Quargla, Éxécution des prescripts de la N. de S. No. 7566, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.; Gt. Gnl. de l'Algerie, GTEA surveillance suspects (travailleurs), June 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.; and Gt. Gnl. de l'Algerie, GTEA Prescriptions de la N. de S. No. 7566, November 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
9. Gt. Gnl. de l'Algerie, GTEA Quargla, March 31, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.; and Gt. Gnl. de l'Algerie, GTED, April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
10. Le Chef d'Escadrons Fouchet Commandant Militaire du Territoire des Oasis, April 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.062M, reel 8, n.p.
11. Ibid.
12. See http://www.bundesfinanzministerium.de/Content/DE/Standardartikel/Themen/Oeffentliche_Finanzen/Vermoegensrecht_und_Entschaedigungen/Kriegsfolgen_Wiedergutmachung/Haftstaetten_Liste_engl.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=3.

RAM RAM

Ram Ram (today: Camp du Ramram) is located just over 10 kilometers (more than 6 miles) northwest of Marrakech and 206 kilometers (128 miles) southwest of Casablanca. The scant documentation for the existence of a confinement center at Ram Ram in Vichy Morocco is a brief notice submitted by the Belgians to the International Tracing Service.

The Vichy military police arrested Belgian citizen Auguste Brasseur on June 10, 1940, in Marrakech. Brasseur was immediately dispatched to Ram Ram, which was located in the middle of the desert. The Belgian report classified this site as a confinement center (*Centre de Séjour Surveillé*, CSS), given that the prisoners remained under strict surveillance and were only permitted to leave the camp once per month with authorization.[1]

Better documented is the repurposing of Ram Ram as a prisoner of war (POW) camp for Axis prisoners after the liberation of Morocco. German sources report that the site held 3,500 German POWs. It seems likely that the Free French Army built out the CSS, the remnants of which are still visible on satellite maps, to create a larger camp.

SOURCES Although there is no scholarly study on the Vichy camp at Ram Ram, some information on the subsequent POW camp can be found in Kurt W. Böhme, ed., *Die Deutschen Kriegsgefangen in französischer Hand*, vol. 13 of Erich W. Maschke, ed., *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, 15 vols. (Bielefeld: Ernst und Werner Gieseking, 1962–1982).

A primary source documenting the Ram Ram camp under the Vichy authorities can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, which is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. "Notice sur Ram Ram," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 8237112.

RELIZANE

Relizane (Rezaline) is located in northwest Algeria, 251 kilometers (156 miles) southwest of Algiers, 109 kilometers (67 miles) due east of Oran, and 256 kilometers (159 miles) north-northeast of Mecheria. Established in April 1941, Relizane was one of the Vichy forced labor camps in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. At one point the group of demobilized foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés*, GTED) at Relizane and Nemours had 543 laborers.[1]

Antoine Colombani served in World War II as a noncommissioned officer (NCO) and aviation mechanic based at the Meknès air base. After the Vichy regime took over, he was transferred to the Relizane camp because of his antifascist behavior. Colombani wrote,

> The commandant sent unskilled officers to Relizane and their responsibility was to comply with the dogmas of the Vichy regime. Under the brutal sun in the valley of the Chilef River, and in the hot barracks, we were charged with the instruction of thousands of engaged volunteers . . . . The officers also had to remember the commands of the camp doctor, who did not know anything about illness or injuries, even when all these young men (were panicked when) their feet were bleeding after twenty-eight kilometer [17.4 mile] marches.[2]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Relizane were progressively returned to civilian life; however, the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Relizane camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); Henri Msellati, *Les Juifs d'Algerie sous le regime de Vichy* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999); Norbert Belange, *Quand Vichy internait ses soldats juifs d'Algérie: Bedeau, sud oranais, 1941–1943* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2006); Robert Attal, *Regards sur les Juifs d'Algérie* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996); Andrée Bachoud and Bernard Sicot, *Sables d'exil* (Perpignan: Mare Nostrum: 2009); and Michel Abitbol, *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord sous Vichy* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1983)

Primary source material documenting the camp at Relizane can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reel 6. A published testimony is Antoine Colombani, *Viêtnam 1948–1950: La solution oubliée* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997).

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NOTES

1. "Tableau Annexe I Organisation-Stationnement et Éffectifs des Unités de Travailleurs Démobilisés," n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 6, p. 4.
2. Colombani, *Viêtnam 1948–1950*, pp. 19–20.

SEBIKOTANE

Sebikotane (or Sebikoutane) is located 34 kilometers (just over 20 miles) east of Dakar. From July 30 to December 12, 1941, it was the site of a small French-run internment camp for Belgian and British merchant sailors. The internees were held in a building on the grounds of the William Ponty School for well-to-do Senegalese. The camp consisted of four classrooms converted into dormitories for the officers, cadets, and sailors.[1]

Originating from the Belgian Congo, the Belgian freighter SS *Carlier* docked at the port of Dakar to take on coal on June 10, 1940. It was forced to stay in port after the signing of the Franco-German Armistice on June 22. On August 4, 1940, the captain attempted to escape to an Allied port, but after being bombed and badly damaged, the *Carlier* was unable to flee enemy waters. The French authorities proposed to the sailors that they either steer the ship to a German-occupied port or work for the French. On July 30, 1941, the commander of the Dakar maritime police, assisted by 30 armed sailors, boarded the vessel, arrested the captain and the officers, and interned them at Sebikotane.

The French police controlled the camp, which held 24 sailors. A French lieutenant and sergeant ensured discipline. All the prisoners were from Belgium, except for two, who were British. The sailors were considered civilian internees and were guarded by up to 35 Senegalese soldiers in the French Army. The internees were not allowed to leave the camp to visit Dakar. When the camp closed in December 1941, they were relocated to the Sidi El Ayachi camp in Morocco. A Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service in 1951 listed the names of the 22 Belgian sailors held at Sebikotane and dispatched to Sidi El Ayachi.[2]

SOURCES Primary sources on the Sebikotane camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. "Camp de SEBIKOUTANE," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82371114–82371117.

2. "Liste des Belges passes par Sebikotane," Annexe No. 33, Liste No. 1, Rapport définitif No. 52, December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. Nos. 82371248–82371249.

SETTAT

Located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the city of Settat, the camp of Settat (also known as Fqih ben Salh) was built on a woody slope. The camp was almost 66 kilometers (approximately 41 miles) south of Casablanca and housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 12. The camp consisted of four stone barracks covered with foliage and adobe, each of which housed 30 men. The beds were made out of branches, and the prisoners were given two blankets per person. The camp was cool in the summer, but during the winter rainy season, the leaking roofs made it hard for the forced laborers to sleep. In 1942, the Settat camp was under the direction of J. de Charant.

Settat was a very crowded camp. Its capacity was 120 men, but it actually held 255 men at its peak. According to a report by Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), who visited the camp on July 16, 1942, the camp included prisoners from many countries: Austrians (6), Belgians (39), Czechs (7), Dutch (7), French (5), Germans (28), Greek (1), Italians (34), Poles (42), Russians (14), Swiss (6), and Yugoslavs (10), as well as others.[1] Ten prisoners were Jews.

Initially, the camp housed 200 political prisoners who worked in the forest industry. At the end of 1942, Settat had approximately 100 workers, 31 of whom were volunteers engaged in the Foreign Legion for the duration of the war (*Engagés Volontaires pour la Durée de la Guerre*, EVDG).

A canteen provided beer and necessary goods. Prisoners were given clothes, shoes, and hats during the summer and winter, but not socks or raincoats. Once a week, the internees were forced to shower at the local infirmary in Settat. On Sundays, they were also allowed to go to the swimming pool in Settat. Drinking water was accessible from a nearby well. In general, the prisoners were allowed to go to town from 6:00 P.M. to bedtime without any restrictions.

There was no infirmary in the camp. The prisoners had little access to medications or surgical dressings. Many were sickened with malaria and were unable to continue working. The prisoners also suffered from flea infections.

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Settat camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Settat camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); and AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa).

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NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), July 16, 1942, box 1, folder 15, pp. 20–21.

SIDI EL AYACHI

Sidi El Ayachi is located near Azemmour about 76 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Casablanca, on the right bank of the mouth of Oum Rabia River between Casablanca and El Jadida (Mazagan). Also known as Kaid El Ayachi or Azemmour, the camp was first used as a reception center for members of the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE) living in Morocco before 1940. On October 22, 1941, it was repurposed as an internment camp, first for sailors from allied and other nations, then in mid-1942 for individuals and families, including women and children. The good weather conditions and ocean breeze made life inside this camp better than in other camps in North Africa.

The camp consisted of about 20 masonry buildings with wired windows and concrete floors; the masonry was covered with sheet metal.[1] Each building was divided into rooms that housed no more than 20 internees each. A tall wall encircled the camp. The main gate was guarded by Moroccan soldiers, and the camp administrators were members of the local police force of Casablanca. Capitaine Conte de Menorval, a French officer, was in charge of discipline inside the camp.

The internees were allowed to move freely and were grouped by families. They had access to individual beds with linens and blankets. On August 17, 1942, Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp and reported that there were 236 adults and 5 infants interned in Sidi El Ayachi.[2] In addition, 29 of the internees were on leave, 9 were in the local hospital, and 9 were transients. The total population was thus 288, 86 of whom were Spanish. Of the 288 internees, 138 were male, 99 were female, and there were 51 children. Wyss-Dunant described the living conditions in the camps as "comfortable." Jewish inmates had the opportunity to attend the synagogue at Azemmour. The majority of foreign refugees had been living in Casablanca.

On July 23, 1942, General Charles Noguès, the French resident-general in Morocco, visited the camp and expressed his satisfaction with its management. Later the French authorities claimed that the British and Americans tried to remove some internees from the camp. This claim triggered the transfer of Norwegian and Belgian sailors to the Oued Zem camp. On April 6, 1943, Édouard Conod, a representative of the ICRC, reported that the camp held 217 internees. However, there were only 122 present at the time, a group that included 69 people from Spain. He returned on April 13, 1943, and confirmed the number.[3] On July 3, 1943, another ICRC representative, Camille Vautier, visited the camp and reported that there were 53 men, 42 women, and 7 children in the camp.[4]

The conditions were relatively good in the camp. About 625 grams (1.4 pounds) of bread and 65 grams (2.3 ounces) of meat were served per internee per day. Various articles were available for sale, and clothes and sandals were distributed. The sanitary conditions were excellent, and the camp had one male nurse and three doctors who were also prisoners. The internees did their own laundry and had access to eight showers with

CENTRE DE SIDI-EL-AYACHI AZEMMOUR

Permission de TROIS JOURS

Il est permis au Monsieur LANDESBERG

d'aller à CASABLANCA

Il devra rentrer le 26 JANVIER 1943, à .... heures ....

A EL-AYACHI, le 22 Janvier 1943

AVIS TRÈS IMPORTANT. — Pendant le trajet en chemin de fer, ne jetez aucun objet par la portière, vous vous exposeriez à une grave condamnation.

Imp. Rapide — Casa-Fez

Permit issued to Hans Landesberg in the Sidi El Ayachi concentration camp, allowing him to go to Casablanca for three days, January 26, 1943. USHMM WS #65538, COURTESY OF HANS LANDESBERG.

drains and a sewer system. They were allowed to go outside the camp and visit the neighboring community of Azemmour. Many Jewish internees were in close contact with Azemmour's Moroccan Jewish community, which helped feed many of the internees. Overall, Sidi El Ayachi was one of the few camps where the conditions of life were relatively comfortable.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at the Sidi El Ayachi are Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach in Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); Christine Levisse-Touzé, "Les camps d'internement en Afrique du Nord pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," in 'Abd-al-Ğalīl at-Tamīmī and Charles-Robert Ageron, eds., *Mélanges Charles-Robert Ageron, 2* (Zaghouan, Tunisia: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 1996), 2: 601–608; and Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1975).

Primary sources on the Sidi El Ayachi camp can be found in the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M); AFSC (available at USHMMA as RG-67.008M, records relating to humanitarian work in North Africa); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Aomar Boum

NOTES

1. "Enquêtes sur les prisons et les camps d'internement," Rapport définitif No. 52, Annexe No. 14, December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371199.
2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 17, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
3. Ibid.
4. "Enquêtes sur les prisons et les camps d'internement," Rapport définitif No. 52, Annexe No. 14, December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371199.

SKRIRAT

Skrirat (Skhirat or Skhrirat) is located in present-day Morocco, strategically situated 61 kilometers (almost 38 miles) northeast of Casablanca and more than 26 kilometers (over 16 miles) southwest of Rabat. Skrirat was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It was classified as a group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE) camp.

The camp was located in an ancient citadel (*kasbah*) very close to the Atlantic Ocean. The barracks were simple and covered with sheet metal. Each one housed 100 detainees, who were each assigned a single bed, a mattress, and two blankets. The conditions in the camp were poor. There was a shortage of fresh drinking water, and many internees suffered from stomach ulcers, typhus, malaria, asthma, and/or tuberculosis. Sick detainees were not quarantined, and therefore disease spread throughout the camp. Many detainees were taken to neighboring hospitals in Rabat and Casablanca. Others did not survive the bad hygienic conditions.

The Allies landed on the Moroccan and Algerian coasts in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees progressively returned to civilian life; however, some remained in the camp. During this period a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Camille Vautier, visited the camp on several occasions.[1] In April 1943, he counted 238 internees (236 Italians and 2 Germans). On June 29, 1943, the number decreased to 148 detainees (146 Italians, 1 German, 1 French Foreign Legionnaire); and on September 3, 1943, the camp had 97 inmates (95 Italians, 1 German, and 1 French).

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Skrirat camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Skrirat camp can be found in *RICR* 25 (1943): 784–785; and www.claimscon.co.il/new/files/wordocs/N_Africa.pdf.

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NOTE

1. *RICR* 25 (1943): 784–785.

TALZAZA MENABBA

In 1941, the Vichy authorities established a forced labor subcamp of Colomb-Béchar at Talzaza Menabba (Menabha), Algeria, for the purpose of quarrying stone for the construction of the railway for the Mediterranean Niger Company (*Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger*, Mer-Niger).[1] Located very close to the Moroccan border, Talzaza is 35 kilometers (22 miles) north of Béchar and 727 kilometers (452 miles) southwest of Algiers. The camp consisted of the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 3, and had the capacity to hold 100 men. However, according to historian Jacob Oliel, when Dr. Wyss-Dunant of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the camp in August 1942, there were 120 prisoners, including in Menabba and Mengoup. At the time of Wyss-Dunant's visit, all but five of the prisoners were Spanish. Initially consisting of a group of tents, Talzaza became a barracks camp in 1942. The majority of forced laborers worked at Menabba. As a subcamp of Colomb-Béchar, Talzaza reported to Colonel Liebray, the military commandant of the Ain Sefra Territory, and was under the overall command of Commandant Viciot of Colomb-Béchar.[2]

According to documentation submitted by the kingdom of Belgium to the International Tracing Service (ITS), a Belgian citizen was confined in Talzaza Menabba. Albert Rosenberg, who passed through a number of Vichy-run camps in Morocco and Algeria, was held at Talzaza from October to December 1941. Before October 1941, he was held at Bou Arfa. On December 15, 1941, he was dispatched to the Colomb-Béchar camp.[3]

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Talzaza Menabba camp is Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Talzaza Menabba camp can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. "Notice sur Talzaza Menaba," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371156.
2. USHMMA, RG-67.008M (AFSC), August 1, 1942, box 1, folder 15.
3. Annexe 33, Liste 15, "Liste des Belges passés par Talzaza Menaba," Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), December 27, 1951, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371269.

TAMANAR (TANOUNDJA)

Tamanar (Temanar, Tamana) is located in southwestern Morocco, 344 kilometers (214 miles) southwest of Casablanca and 553 kilometers (almost 344 miles) southwest of Fes. The camp was situated more than 1,000 meters (3,281 feet) above sea level and was approximately 25 kilometers (16 miles) from the town of Tamanar, halfway between Agadir and Mogador (today: Essaouira). In the sources, it was also called Tanoundja Tamanar, Tamanar par Mogador, or Tamanar (Mogador). Tamanar was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. It housed the group of foreign workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers*, GTE), GTE No. 7.[1]

The camp consisted of small barracks that each held 8 to 10 men. Every internee was allocated a rudimentary bed with a single mattress and two blankets. As of April 30, 1943, when Camille Vautier of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited the Tamanar camp, it had 219 internees, of whom 211 were Italians, 7 were former Legionnaires, and one was of an unknown origin.

A notable person at Tamanar was the German refugee, Alfred Haase, who served as GTE's medical officer from January to June 1943.[2] GTE No. 7 internees Willy Hark and Richard Orthman requested transfer to the British Pioneer Corps in the summer of 1943; that is, more than six months after Operation Torch and the Allied landings in Morocco and Algeria. Hark and Orthmann were originally from Germany and were veterans of the International Brigade (Interbrigade)

in Spain.[3] They were known antifascists when they arrived in Casablanca in 1940,[4] and the French authorities wanted to keep them under surveillance.[5] Italian national Jean La Rocca was also interned with GTE No. 7 at Tamanar starting in February 1943. La Rocca suffered from malaria and incurred a skull fracture.[6]

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Tamanar were progressively returned to civilian life. As evidenced by the cases of Haase, Hark, Orthmann, and La Rocca, however, the camp was still in use well into 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tamanar camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006).

Primary source material documenting the Tamanar camp can be found in the AFSC Refugee Assistance Case files, available in hard copy at USHMMA as Acc. No. 2002.296 and the Hélène Cazès-Benathar collection, which is held at CAHJP (available in microform at USHMMA as RG-68.115M).

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NOTES

1. Emplacement des Groupes de Travailleurs de la Production Industrielle et du Travail, n.d., USHMMA, RG-68.115M, n.p.
2. "Haase, Alfred," n.d., USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296 (AFSC), Casablanca Series, box 3 (G–K), folder AFSC Casablanca Subject File H, subfolder "Haag, Paul."
3. HQABS Civil Affairs APO 759, June 9, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 3 (G–K), folder AFSC Casablanca H, subfolder "Hark, Willy."
4. Base Headquarters Civil Affairs Office Delegation, October 15, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 3 (G–K), folder AFSC Casablanca H, subfolder "Hark, Willy."
5. Confidential, CIC Section Fifth (United States) Army, APO No. 464, May 23, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 5 (M–Q), folder AFSC Casablanca H, subfolder "Hark, Willy."
6. Bureau des Groupements des Travailleurs Étrangers, June 17, 1943, USHMMA, Acc. No. 2002.296, Casablanca Series, box 3 (G–K), folder L.

TELERGMA

Telergma (Telerghma) is located in the Mila province in northeastern Algeria, 36 kilometers (more than 22 miles) southwest of Constantine and approximately 152 kilometers (over 94 miles) northeast of Biskra. Telergma was one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940. The Telergma camp, which was created in 1941, was initially located in barracks from the nearby town of Constantine. It housed a group of Jewish workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Israélites*, GTI) that was supervised by French Army officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs). This contingent was also described as a group of civil workers (*Groupe des Travailleurs Civils*, GTC), GTC No. 22.[1]

As of October 31, 1941, GTI No. 22 had one indigenous and two French supervisors. In addition, there was one French superintendent and one indigenous superintendent. The 242 indigenous and three French forced laborers were deployed by the French Army.[2] As of February 1, 1942, 6 Vichy officers and NCOs supervised 261 GTI laborers. After March 1942 the work became particular brutal: the internees were required to chop wood and haul big bags of stones on their backs under the blistering sun. George Barkatz was detained in the Telergma camp for two years for being an "indigenous Jew."

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Telergma were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Telergma camp include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); and *L'Arche*, 461–464 (1996).

A primary source documenting the camp at Telergma can be found in CAOM, available at USHMMA under RG-43.062M, reel 8.

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NOTES

1. Gouvernement Général de l'Algérie, Groupement de Travailleurs Demobilises du Departement de Constantine, December 2, 1941, USHMMA, RG-43.062M (CAOM), reel 8, pp. 1–2.
2. Ibid.

TENDRARA

Tendrara (Tendarra, Tandara) is a town located in eastern Morocco, almost 522 kilometers (324 miles) east of Casablanca and 161 kilometers (almost 100 miles) north of Béchar, Algeria. The Tendrara camp, one of the Vichy forced labor camps established in North Africa after the Franco-German Armistice in June 1940, was located nearly 10 kilometers (6 miles) east of the town.

On March 22, 1941, Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain authorized the construction of the Trans-Saharan Railroad, also known as the Mediterranean-Nigerian (*Mer-Niger*) railway project. The railroad was intended to connect ports in Morocco and Algeria with the port at Dakar, Senegal. Tendrara was along the stretch of the railway line from Oran, Algeria, south along the Moroccan-Algerian border, in which forced laborers built the railroad under extreme and inhumane conditions. According to author Robert Satloff, the prisoners included Polish, German, Austrian, and Romanian Jews, Spaniards, and others. Overseeing the camp were French soldiers, local Arab guards, and the paramilitary staff of the Railroads of Eastern Morocco (*Chemin de Fer du Maroc Oriental*, CMO) and of the Mer-Niger Company.

The internees lived in tents. All of the camp buildings, except for one intended for the camp administration and the railway officials, faced the west side of the railway. The station house was at the center, and behind it were several buildings divided into small cubicles that were most likely used as kitchens. At the back of the camp were basic stone structures that were also divided into cubicles. A large house was located 183 meters (600 feet) south of the station. The buildings were well laid out for use by soldiers or railway representatives. The more sophisticated quarters closer to the tracks were most likely for the Europeans, whereas the simpler buildings located toward the back of the camp were meant for the Arab guards.

The Allies landed on the coasts of Algeria and Morocco in Operation Torch on November 8, 1942, after which the detainees at Tendrara were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing Tendrara include Jacob Oliel, *Les camps de Vichy: Maghreb-Sahara 1939–1945* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Robert Satloff, *Among the Righteous: Lost Stories of the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands* (New York: Public Affairs, 2006); André Moine, *La Déportation et la résistance en Afrique du Nord (1939–1944)*, preface by Léon Feix (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972); David Bensoussan, *Il était une fois le Maroc: Témoignages du Passé Judéo-Marocain* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2012); and Martin Gilbert, *The Macmillan Atlas of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1982). For footage of what remains of the site, see www.jewishmorocco.org/en?page_id=435.

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TOMBOUCTOU

Between October 1941 and at least August 1942, the French Army operated an internment camp for captured seamen of the Royal Merchant Navy at Tombouctou (Timbuktu or Timbuctoo). Today a major city in Mali, Tombouctou was part of the French Sudan (*Sudan Français*) in French West Africa (*Afrique occidentale française*, AOF) during World War II. It is located 706 kilometers (439 miles) northeast of Bamako and 1,562 kilometers (971 miles) northeast of Dakar, Senegal. The Tombouctou camp held more than 50 internees in a two-building, walled compound, guarded by French noncommissioned officers (NCOs) and indigenous troops. The commandant, originally from the French Caribbean, was named Moreau.[1]

Armed French sloops patrolling the waters off West Africa intercepted several British merchant vessels and captured their crews, among them the SS *Criton* and the SS *Allende*. After an initial internment at Conakry (1,412 kilometers [874 miles] southwest of Tombouctou), the crews were dispatched on an arduous journey by rail, bus, and barge along the Niger River to Tombouctou. The lengthy trip adversely affected the health of many of the prisoners. A few additional merchant seamen were dispatched to Tombouctou from the Dakar hospital and the Sebikotane camp, just east of Dakar. Another internee, too sick for repatriation, from the already exchanged crew of the SS *Jhelum* was also sent there.[2] Before their transfer to the prisoner of war (POW) camp at Koulikoro (655 kilometers or 407 miles southwest of Tombouctou), the camp also held an officer from the Royal Naval Reserves (RNR) and a pilot officer from the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF). The RNR officer was attached to the SS *Criton*, whereas the RCAF officer crashed over AOF territory while ferrying a Hawker Hurricane fighter plane from Freetown, Sierra Leone, to Cairo, Egypt.[3] Captain G. T. Dobeson of the *Criton* was the senior internee. After the arrival of the *Allende's* crew in April 1942, he and Captain Williamson of the *Allende* jointly represented the internees before Moreau.

The conditions at Tombouctou were horrible. The internees subsisted on a diet of couscous, thin gravy, rice, and peanuts, with few vegetables and little meat. Although the camp had a physician, medicine was nonexistent. Basic amenities, such as toothpaste, toothbrushes, and razors, were lacking. The internees wore their merchant marine uniforms until they were threadbare. As recalled by Bernard Peter de Neumann, "Our uniforms wore out, so we took sheets off our beds and made rough skirts."[4]

As Protecting Power, the U.S. consulate in Dakar relayed aid parcels from the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) to the camp. The internees did not receive any of those parcels, however, until they were subsequently transferred to the Kankan internment camp. U.S. Consul General Fayette J. Flexer served as a conduit between the governor general of French West Africa, Pierre Boisson, and the British West African Governors' Conference, through the offices of the U.S. consulate in Lagos, Nigeria. Although Flexer never inspected Tombouctou, he took an interest in the fate of the internees and transmitted proposals that secured the eventual exchange, in July and December 1942, of the crews of the *Allende* and *Criton*, respectively. The *Allende* crew reached British West African territory in July 1942. The *Criton* crew was transferred in August 1942 to the Kankan internment camp (984 kilometers or 611 miles southwest of Tombouctou in Guinea) before their release in December 1942.[5]

As civilians, interned merchant seamen were not entitled to POW status under the Geneva Convention of 1929, and the conditions at this camp were substantially worse than at other internment camps in the AOF and French North Africa, even those holding Britons. Witnesses recalled that the French NCOs enjoyed substantial meals in their view and that the commandant fashioned an elaborate but fictitious menu for the benefit of the Protecting Power and London that bore little relation to the rations actually distributed. The internees attributed the poor conditions to the commandant's anglophobia.

Two internees, both from the crew of the SS *Allende*, died in the Tombouctou camp and were buried (presumably) in a nearby cemetery. Able Seaman John Turnbull Graham, aged 23, died of heatstroke on May 2, 1942. Chief Engineer William Soutter, aged 60, was unable to digest solid food, even rice, and died of starvation on May 28, 1942. Other internees suffered from serious physical ailments, including chronic dysentery.[6]

It is not clear if the transfer of the *Criton's* crew in August 1942 resulted in the Tombouctou internment camp's clo-

sure. As late as November 23, 1942—that is, two weeks after Operation Torch—the U.S. consulate in Dakar reported, probably based on dated intelligence, that two Britons and two Poles were held in "administrative internment" in the camp.[7]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tombouctou internment camp are David Miller, *Mercy Ships* (London: Continuum, 2008); and Wayne Ralph, *Aces, Warriors & Wingmen: Firsthand Accounts of Canada's Fighter Pilots in the Second World War* (Missisauga, Ontario: John Wiley & Sons, Canada, 2005). An unpublished but detailed account of the camp is Bernard de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots: The Story of the SS CRITON" (unpub. MSS, 2004). The account is based in part on documentation about his father's internment. Information on the two burials at the Tombouctou camp can be found at the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, "Timbuktu (Tombouctou) Cemetery," www.cwgc.org.

Primary sources documenting the Tombouctou internment camp can be found in TNA, collections ADM 116, ADM 199, FO 317/31938, FO 371/32035 and 32036, and FO 916; NARA, RG-84 (Textual records from the Department of State U.S. Consulate, Dakar, Senegal, 1869–1960); and ITS, 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA. Contemporaneous newspaper accounts are in *DE*(L) and *AP&J*. Testimonies by internees can be found at IWM: 14823, sound recording of an oral history interview with D. M. R. Maxwell, n.d.; and Doc. 11851, the private papers of W. Williams, 2002. A published testimony can be found at www.bbc.co.uk/history.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Report of Captain Williamson, SS *Allende*, July 1942, TNA, ADM 199/2140 Enc 54, excerpted in de Neumann, "Sand in their Seaboots," p. 155.

2. For the internees dispatched from Dakar, "On U-Boat and at Timbuctoo Camp," *AP&J*, January 2, 1943; and Annexe No. 2, Procès-Verbal d'Interrogatoire, Charles Staes, July 7, 1950, Rapport définitif No. 52 (Camps d'Afrique du Nord), ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 19b, Doc. No. 82371177; on the *Jhelum* crew member, Flexer to U.S. Department of State and American Embassy, London, July 23, 1942, re: British Interests, with attached medical report on internee H .F. L., NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 704.

3. Testimony of Allen Robert McFadden, June 3, 1974, available at www.bbc.co.uk/history/ww2peopleswar/stories/90/a8043590.shtml.

4. As quoted in "The Man from Timbuctoo," *DE*(L), February 10, 1943.

5. Flexer, Telegram No. 291 to U.S. Secretary of State, July 30, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1 (1940–1948), folder 711.4 (Air Corps, USA); on the *Allende* and *Criton* exchanges, U.S. Consulate, Dakar, Memorandum, ca. April 11, 1942, with a name list of *Criton* internees; Memorandum, May 28, 1942; and Memorandum for files, stamped July 7, 1942, available in NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 704 (British).

6. Flexer to U.S. Department of State and American Embassy, London, July 23, 1942, re: British Interests, with attached medical report on internee H. F. L., NARA, RG-84, box 1, folder 704.

7. U.S. Consulate, Dakar, to U.S. State Department, Telegram No. 481, November 23, 1942, NARA, RG-84, box 1 (1940–1948), folder 700 (Relations of States General, 1942–1943).

HUNGARY

Portrait of a Jewish couple on a war-damaged street in Budapest. In the words of Soviet photographer Yevgeny Khaldei, "I saw them walking down the street. I was in a black leather coat, and at first they were afraid—they thought I was from the SS. I walked over and tore off their stars, first the woman's and then the man's. She got even more frightened. She said, 'No, no, you can't do that, we have to wear them!' I told them that the Russians were here, I told them, 'Shalom.' Then she cried." January 1945.

USHMM WS #27208, COURTESY OF MAGYAR NEMZETI MUZEUM TORTENETI FENYKEPTAR. [SOURCE: NAKHIMOVSKY, ALEXANDER AND ALICE (ED.). *WITNESS TO HISTORY: THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF YEVGENY KHALDEI.* NEW YORK, APERTURE, 1997, P. 10].

HUNGARY

As a successor to the defeated Central Powers, Hungary lost approximately 66 percent of its pre-World War I territory. Under the Treaty of Trianon, signed in June 1920, the Allied Powers awarded Hungarian-ruled territories to Austria, Italy, and Romania and to the newly created states of Czechoslovakia and the Serb, Croat, and Slovene State (Yugoslavia). Based partly on the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination, along with secret treaties that encouraged Italy and Romania to enter World War I, the territorial changes included the awarding of Northern Transylvania and the eastern Banat to Romania, Slovakia and Carpatho-Ruthenia (Transcarpathia) to Czechoslovakia, Croatia-Slavonia and Vojvodina to what became Yugoslavia, Fiume to Italy, and Burgenland to Austria. Most of these territories had substantial Hungarian minorities. In addition, the Allied Powers limited Hungary's army to 35,000 troops and forbade it to have an air force. As a now landlocked country, Hungary was not permitted a navy. Domestically and internationally, the Treaty of Trianon placed Hungary firmly in the revisionist camp during the interwar period.

The deposal of the short-lived Bolshevik regime of Béla Kun (March–August 1919) drove Hungarian politics to the right, under the regency of Miklós Horthy (1920–1944). Horthy's ultra-rightist Christian-nationalist regime circumscribed what democratic freedoms the nation had gained in the fall of 1918, and Hungary became the first country after World War I to impose a *numerus clausus*, restricting the number of Jews permitted to matriculate in higher education to just 20 percent.

With the assistance of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Horthy's regime regained lost territories in the First and Second Vienna Awards. The First Vienna Award (1938) granted southern Slovakia to Hungary. During the territorial dismemberment of rump Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Hungary occupied Carpatho-Ruthenia, giving the country a common border with Poland. The Second Vienna Award (1940) granted Northern Transylvania to Hungary. In November 1940, Hungary joined the Axis and subsequently participated in the invasion of Yugoslavia (April 1941). During the invasion, it occupied Bačka (part of the Banat, including Vojvodina) and Baranya.

Although the Horthy regime was not fascist per se and permitted some open political opposition, fascist parties and radical nationalists continued to press for more extreme antisemitic measures. The First Anti-Jewish Law (1938) limited the number of Jews in the professions and as employees to just 20 percent of a given occupation. The Second Anti-Jewish Law (1939) defined Jews in "racial" terms and reduced the number permitted to participate in such white-collar jobs to just 6 percent.

Hungarian Regent, Admiral Miklós Horthy, November 1938.
USHMM WS #77627, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

INTERNMENT CAMPS

After World War I the Bolshevik regime established the first network of internment camps in Hungary. The counterrevolutionary regime of Horthy expanded the network. Motivated largely by ultra-rightist Christian-nationalist ideals, the Horthy regime pursued a revisionist and fiercely anticommunist policy. To protect the regime, the counterrevolutionaries arrested and incarcerated a large number of individuals identified as actual or potential subversives. Most of the internees were communists suspected to have been associated with the Bolshevik dictatorship. Many among the internees were Jews or of Jewish origin.

Later, the internment camp system was expanded to include other "subversives" deemed dangerous to the conservative-aristocratic regime, including some socialists and even rightist extremists. During the interwar period, the regime also interned a large number of asocial elements, including vagrants, prostitutes, and embezzlers. After the adoption of the First Anti-Jewish Law in May 1938, the Hungarian authorities interned a relatively large number of Jews who were accused of price gouging and black marketeering.

The internment camp system was expanded after Hungary entered the war against the Soviet Union on June 27, 1941. This expansion was coupled with the drive against so-called alien Jews. During the summer of 1941, the Hungarian authorities rounded up approximately 18,000 Jews, among them many native born, who could not instantly prove their Hungarian citizenship. Together with an additional 5,000 Jews, they were deported to German-occupied Ukraine in the vicinity of Kamenets-Podolsk, where almost all of them were murdered in late August. Before being deported, many of these Jews were first concentrated in Hungary's major internment camps, including Kistarcsa, Topolya, and Sárvár. In addition to the "alien" Jews, these camps, like those of Garany, Nagykanizsa, Ricse, and Csörgő, included a large number of "subversive elements"—detainees convicted of political crimes. Among them were a considerable number of Jews who had been involved in underground procommunist activities. In the context of the Nazi era, these "subversives" identified the Soviet Union as an enemy of the Third Reich and, by definition, a protector of Jews.

Almost immediately after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the internment camps were filled with both rich and prominent Jews who had been held as hostages and other Jews who had been arrested in so-called individual operations (*Einzelaktionen*) by both the German and the Hungarian authorities. To accommodate the large number of hostages and victims of individual operations, the Nazis set up a number of makeshift internment camps in various parts of Budapest. One of these temporary internment camps was set up within the facilities of the National Rabbinical Institute (*Országos Rabbiképző Intézet*) at Rökk-Szilárd Street. The relief and welfare organizations of Hungarian Jewry, including the Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI), did their best to provide legal and material assistance for the internees. Most of the Jewish internees from the temporary camps were soon transferred to the larger, already existing camps, including those at Kistarcsa, Sárvár, and Topolya. They were among the first to be deported to Auschwitz in late April 1944. The others were eventually included in the ghettoization-deportation program that was carried out in the summer.

THE LABOR SERVICE SYSTEM

In its structure, organization, and administration, the labor service system (*munkaszolgálat*) that operated in Hungary during World War II was unique. In contrast to the other countries in German-dominated Europe in which various forms of forced and slave labor systems were usually organized under the jurisdiction of their Interior Ministry or subordinated local governmental units, the Hungarian labor service system was exclusively military related. Although the laws relating to the scope and character of the system were issued by the Council of Ministers, the decrees and administrative measures relating to the system's implementation emanated from the Defense Ministry. It was this ministry that exercised jurisdiction over the system from its establishment on July 1, 1939, through the surrender of Hungary—Nazi Germany's last satellite—on May 7, 1945.

The forced labor service system was established under the provisions of Law No. II: 1939, which regulated all facets of Hungary's national defense system.[1] The legal basis for the forced labor service system was provided by Article 230. According to the first paragraph, all Hungarian men of military age who were classified as permanently unsuitable for military service could be compelled to engage in "public labor service" (*közérdekű munkaszolgálat*) in special labor camps for a period not exceeding three months at a time.[2] The original intent and scope of the labor service system were left unspecified. The details for the implementation of Article 230 were left to be worked out by the Defense Ministry, which was staffed by a large number of Germanophile officers. In pursuing this task, the ministry was guided by the provisions of the Second Anti-Jewish Law (Law No. IV: 1939), which provided, among other things, a detailed and complicated definition of who was Jewish on explicitly "racial" grounds. In this context, the Jews were by definition identified as "unsuitable" to bear arms.

The general principles underlying the objectives of the labor service system and the provisions relating to its organization, structure, and administration were spelled out in Decree No. 5070 / 1939.M.E. issued by the Council of Ministers on May 12, 1939. Under the decree, the Defense Minister was given not only the power (which he exercised through the army corps commanders) to determine the number, character, and internal organization of the labor camps but also jurisdiction over matters of command, discipline, and training. The minister exercised supreme command over the labor service camps through the National Superintendent of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*A Közérdekű Munkaszolgálat Országos Felügyelője*, KMOF), a general appointed on his recommendation by the head of state.

The labor service system, originally designed for Jewish males of military age, went into effect on July 1, 1939. Its administrative and organizational structure was similar to that in effect in the armed forces. On being called up, prospective labor servicemen (*munkaszolgalatosok*) first had to report to their local recruitment centers. After undergoing the usual physical exam and classification, they were then ordered to report to specific labor service battalions (*közérdekű munkaszolgálatos zászlóaljak*) that operated under the jurisdiction of the army corps commands (*hadtest parancsnokságok*) into which the country was divided after 1941.

At their battalion headquarters, the labor servicemen were grouped into companies (*századok*), which usually consisted of 200 to 250 men. Each company was under the command of an officer, usually at the rank of lieutenant (*Hadnagy*) or first lieutenant (*Főhadnagy*), and was guarded by 8 to 10 lower ranked

Army Corps No. and Headquarters		Labor Service Battalion No. and Headquarters	
I.	Budapest	I.	Budapest
II.	Székesfehérvár	II.	Komárom
III.	Szombathely	III.	Pápa (later Kőszeg)
IV.	Pécs	IV.	Mohács
V.	Szeged	V.	Hódmezővásárhely
VI.	Debrecen	VI.	Hajdúböszörmény (later Püspökladány)
VII.	Miskolc	VII.	Pétervásár
VIII.	Kassa	VIII.	Kassa
IX.	Kolozsvár	IX.	Esztergom
		X.	Nagybánya
		XI.	Rimaszombat
		XII.	Tasnád

noncommissioned officers (NCOs). The welfare of the labor servicemen largely depended on the attitude of their officers and guards.

Although during its first phase the labor service system was relatively benign, it was always clearly discriminatory. The Jews of military age, already deprived of many of their civil and economic rights by the several major anti-Jewish laws, were now stigmatized as unreliable. Instead of rifles, the Jews were given shovels and pickaxes as their "standard weapon." Before Hungary's entry into World War II, the Jewish recruits were usually deployed as forced laborers on projects designed by, and of special interest to, the military. By November 1940, 52,000 Jewish males were serving in 260 labor service companies deployed in various parts of Hungary.

The labor service system underwent a major change for the worse in 1941. This change was spearheaded by the Germanophile officers in the Defense Ministry, especially the General Staff. On April 16, the Council of Ministers adopted Decree No. 2870 / 1941.M.E. As implemented by the Defense Ministry (Order No. 27 300.eln.8.-1941 of August 19, 1941), the decree radically revamped the labor service system.[3] It stipulated the establishment of a new "auxiliary service system" (*kisegitő szolgálat*), in which Jewish males were, among other things, required to serve for at least two years. Shortly thereafter, the relatively few Jewish officers still on active duty were deprived of their rank, and their "officer's discharge certificates" (*emléklapok*) were replaced by new ones that not only omitted their rank but were also stamped, in clear emulation of the Nazi practice, with the letters "Zs" (*Zsidó*; Jew). The same discriminatory practice was used in marking the identification documents issued to all Jewish labor servicemen.

During the course of the war, the Hungarian authorities also organized forced labor service companies for non-Jewish, "untrustworthy" groups and individuals. In addition to members of ethnic and national minorities, these companies also included an indeterminate number of communists, criminals, and other individuals deemed threats to national security. The first "mixed" labor service company, consisting of Serbs and unreliable Hungarians, was organized in Marcali in 1941. During World War II, Hungary had 26 such mixed labor service companies. Furthermore, in 1942, the Defense Ministry organized 73 labor service companies with recruits mobilized from among the country's "unreliable" ethnic and national minorities. Most of them consisted of Romanian recruits from Northern Transylvania. In 1944, the Hungarians also set up one Serbian, another mixed, and two Ruthenian labor service companies. A few labor service companies were composed of Jehovah's Witnesses, the members of which were the target of the established Christian churches.

The non-Jewish labor service companies were deployed almost exclusively within Hungary. These companies, especially those consisting of Serbs who were looked on as potential pro-Tito Partisans, were never deployed abroad, let alone along the frontlines.

The condition of the Jewish labor servicemen changed from bad to worse during the course of the war. This was evident not only in the more aggressive antisemitic attitude of many of the non-Jewish officers and guards commanding them but also in their increasingly blatant discriminatory treatment of the Jewish servicemen. Beginning in March 1942, the labor servicemen were gradually deprived of uniforms and compelled to wear discriminatory armbands (yellow for Jews, white for converts), which identified them as open targets for abuse by both Hungarian and German antisemites. By early 1942, practically all of the servicemen performed forced labor in their civilian clothes and footwear and wearing an insignia-free military cap. In many companies, the labor servicemen soon found themselves with inadequate clothing not only because of the wear and tear associated with their heavy work but also because after the workday ended they were often made to crawl and do somersaults by amusement-seeking sadistic officers and guards. Frequently, these same people would deprive the labor servicemen of their officially allotted food rations, which were already low in relation to the hard labor exacted from them. This occurred especially often along the frontlines in the Ukraine and in and around the copper mines of Bor, Serbia.

The number of labor servicemen assigned to frontline duty in Ukraine increased dramatically following the deployment of the Second Hungarian Army on April 11, 1942. The army, consisting of around 250,000 men, was accompanied by approximately 50,000 Jewish labor servicemen grouped in field companies of various types. Most of these servicemen were issued emergency summonses and called to report for service on an individual basis, rather than by age group. By using this practice, the Hungarian authorities clearly aimed not only to satisfy the forced labor requirements of the military but also to contribute to the "solution" of the Jewish question. Acting in accord with a secret decree of the Defense Ministry (April 22, 1942), the recruitment centers saw to it that 10 to 15 percent of the field labor service companies were composed of Jews "well known for their wealth and reputation" even if they were older than age 42—the limit specified by law for frontline service. The recruitment centers called up the Jews using lists received from the Defense Ministry, which had of-

ten prepared them on the basis of "complaints" (denunciations) received from various "patriotic" individuals and groups. Among the Jews called up on this basis were those who had played a prominent role in the Jewish community and in Hungarian society, including the wealthy, well-known professionals, leading industrialists and businessmen, and recognized community leaders. Many of these Jews had been denounced by greedy and morally bankrupt non-Jews eager to take over their businesses or professional practices.

In Ukraine, the Jewish forced labor servicemen were used as slave laborers, usually under the most horrible conditions, on a variety of projects specified by the Hungarian and German military authorities. Among their tasks were the construction, clearance, and maintenance of roads and railroads; the loading and unloading of munitions, provisions, and other materials; the building of bunkers and gun emplacements; and the digging of trenches and tank traps. These activities were especially demanding in winter, when the soil was frozen and the shovels and pickaxes wielded by the emaciated and inadequately dressed forced laborers could hardly penetrate it. When working in the battlefield areas, most labor servicemen were subjected to the most humiliating treatment by their viciously antisemitic company commanders and guards. Some battalion commanders reportedly instructed these company commanders and guards not to bring the Jews back home alive, because they were enemies of the state. Acting in this spirit, many of the company commanders and guards often abused the labor servicemen. They viciously maltreated them, subjected them to unspeakable cruelties, withheld or stole their already low rations, and often and for long periods of time made them live outdoors. The emaciated and disease-ridden Jews were also frequently subjected to corporal abuse by members of the German and Hungarian units for or under which they worked.

The lot of the labor servicemen in Ukraine became even worse after Soviet forces crushed the Hungarian Army at Voronezh in January 1943. During the retreat that followed, many of the Hungarian company commanders deserted their posts in panic; they left the Jewish labor servicemen either under the control of a handful of subordinates or to their own fate. The straggling labor servicemen, bundled in their lice-infested rags and blankets, were subjected to unbelievable humiliation and abuse during the long and tortuous retreat. Many of them were shot at random by the withdrawing German and Hungarian soldiers. Emaciated—with logistics in disarray, they were deprived even of their meager food rations—and numbed by the bitter cold, many of the ill-dressed and lice-ridden forced laborers lost their resistance and succumbed to typhus and other debilitating diseases. In the absence of any medical care many of them died by the wayside. Particularly cruel was the fate that befell many hundreds of typhus-infected labor servicemen who were crowded together in a makeshift quarantine "hospital" at Doroshich, a kolkhoz (state collective farm) village located between Zhitomir and Korosten. A large number of them succumbed to the disease shortly after their admission. On April 30, 1943, one of the barns in that village, which housed around 800 Jews, was set afire. The living torches who jumped out of the flaming barn were machine-gunned by waiting guards.

The death rate among the Jewish labor servicemen was staggering. Of the approximately 50,000 deployed in Ukraine, only 6,000 to 7,000 returned to Hungary. Thousands of them were killed by the Hungarians and the Germans; many other thousands succumbed to famine, disease, and exhaustion; and thousands ended up in Soviet prisoner of war (POW) camps, where their treatment generally was not very different from that endured by the German and Hungarian POWs.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, sealed the fate of Hungarian Jewry. Having survived the first four and a half years of the war, the Jews of Hungary, constituting the last generally intact community in Nazi-dominated Europe, were subjected to the Nazis' most brutal and concentrated liquidation program. Within less than four months all of Hungary, except Budapest, was "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*). Ironically, the labor service system, which remained under Hungarian Army jurisdiction, emerged as a refuge, albeit only temporarily. Motivated primarily by reasons of national interest, the Hungarian Defense Ministry retained control over the Jews inducted into labor service. Although the labor servicemen, especially those deployed in Ukraine and Serbia, continued to suffer the mistreatment of their superiors, they were saved from the threat of ghettoization and deportation. A number of decent Hungarian officers, in fact, saved several thousand Jewish men from certain death by recruiting them into the service. However, there were also officers who, committed to the general application of the "Final Solution," went out of their way to deport as many labor servicemen as they could. (This was the case, for example, in Hatvan in June 1944, when a train carrying approximately 600 labor servicemen was attached to a deportation train going to Auschwitz. A similar fate befell about 30 labor servicemen who were rounded up in Kecskemét on June 20.) The situation of the surviving Jews of Budapest, like that of the labor servicemen stationed within the country, improved considerably after Horthy stopped the deportations in early July 1944.

The respite enjoyed by the labor servicemen stationed within the country and by the surviving Jews of Budapest was all too brief. On October 15, when Horthy decided to extricate Hungary from the Axis Alliance, the followers of the Arrow Cross Party (*Nyilaskeresztes Párt*), the ultra-rightist and viciously antisemitic political group headed by Ferenc Szálasi, staged a successful coup with the aid of the Germans. The anti-Jewish drive was resumed with great vehemence and speed. Less than a week after the seizure of power, Altábornagy (Lieutenant General) Károly Beregfy, the new defense minister, ordered the call-up "for national defense service" of all Jewish men between the ages of 16 and 60 and Jewish women between the ages of 16 and 40. On October 26, he authorized the transfer of a large number of labor service companies to the Germans, ostensibly to work on the construction of fortifications along the borders of the Reich and Hungary.[4] The transfer of the companies to German

The new premier of Hungary, Arrow Cross party leader Ferenc Szálasi (right), greets his troop commander in front of the Ministry of Defense in Budapest, October 16, 1944.
USHMM WS #09020, COURTESY OF EVA HEVESI EHRLICH.

control began on November 2. An estimated 50,000 Jewish labor servicemen were handed over to the Germans.

Thousands of labor servicemen were made to march, along with many other thousands of men and women rounded up by the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) in Budapest, along what came to be called a "highway of death" leading to the borders of the Reich. With the advance of the Soviet forces toward Budapest, the Arrow Cross decided to transfer most of the remaining labor service companies still under its control to Western Hungary. The lot of these servicemen was not very different from that of the Jews in the most notorious concentration camps. Poorly housed and poorly fed, they were required to work for long hours during the winter months of 1944. Those who became exhausted and could no longer work were simply shot and buried in mass graves. As the Soviet forces approached the Arrow Cross and the SS went on a rampage, killing thousands of labor servicemen in cold blood. The exhumations conducted after the liberation found, for example, the bodies of 790 labor servicemen in a mass grave in Hidegség, 400 bodies in Ilkamajor, 814 in Nagycenk, 350 in Sopron-Bánfalva, 300 in Mosonszentmiklós, and 220 in Hegyeshalom. At Kőszeg, the labor servicemen were even subjected to gassing. This took place during the evacuation of the city on March 22 and 23, 1945, when 95 ill and emaciated labor servicemen were locked in a sealed barrack especially equipped for this purpose and gassed by three German commandos. Large-scale atrocities against labor servicemen also took place at several other places in Western Hungary, including Kiskunhalas and Pusztavám.[5]

Most of the labor servicemen who survived these atrocities were herded toward the Reich, where they ended up in various concentration camps, including Mauthausen and its subcamp at Gunskirchen.

GHETTOS

The establishment of ghettos was among the top priorities of the government of Döme Sztójay, officially appointed by Horthy on March 22, 1944. Before the month had ended, the Sztójay government had adopted an avalanche of decrees, which were calculated to bring about the isolation, marking, expropriation, and ghettoization of the Jews as a prelude to their deportation.

The plans for the ghettoization and concentration of the Jews were worked out on April 4 at a meeting held in the Interior Ministry under the chairmanship of László Baky, a gendarmerie officer who had then served as undersecretary in the Interior Ministry. Among the participants were high-ranking members of the Wehrmacht and of the Hungarian Army; SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann and members of his special unit (*Einsatzsonderkommando Eichmann*); László Endre, the former deputy prefect of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County and State Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the Interior Ministry; Ezredes Győző Tölgyesy, the commander of Gendarmerie District VIII with its headquarters in Kassa—the first area destined to be cleared of Jews—and Alezredes László Ferenczy, representing the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie. The participants discussed the general guidelines to be forwarded to the local organs of state power and entrusted Ferenczy, who had just a few days earlier been appointed Liaison Officer of the Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie to the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo), with the implementation of the ghettoization and concentration drive.

Acting under the overall guidance of Baky and Endre, Ferenczy lost no time in putting together his staff. His closest collaborators in the dejewification unit were Százados Leó Lulay, who served as his chief aide; Lajos Meggyesi; Péter Hain; László Koltay; and Márton Zöldi. Among his closest collaborators in the gendarmerie were some of the most antisemitic and rightist-oriented commanders of the country's gendarmerie districts, including Tölgyesy, in charge of operations in Carpatho-Ruthenia; Ezredes Tibor Paksy-Kiss, entrusted with the anti-Jewish campaign in Gendarmerie Districts IX and X covering Northern Transylvania; Ezredes László Orban, the commander of the operations in the southern areas of the country; and Ezredes Vilmos Sellyey, who was in charge of the operations in the country's other gendarmerie districts. In accordance with the April 4 instructions of Interior Minister Andor Jaross, Ferenczy kept a record of his operations against the Jews and submitted daily reports on the campaign to Section XX of the Interior Ministry.

The draft document relating to the roundup, ghettoization, concentration, and deportation of the Jews—the basis of the April 4 discussion—was prepared by Endre. It was issued secretly as Decree No. 6163 / 1944.res. on April 7 over the signature of Baky. This most fateful document, addressed to the representatives of the local organs of state power, spelled out the procedures to be followed in the campaign to bring about the "Final Solution" in Hungary.[6] Additional details about the measures to be taken against the Jews were spelled out in several highly confidential directives, emphasizing that the Jews destined for deportation were to be rounded up without regard to sex, age, or illness.[7] The first concrete directives for the implementation of the decree were issued by the Interior Minis-

ter three days before the top-secret decree was actually sent out. In a secret order issued on April 4, the minister instructed all the subordinate mayoral, police, and gendarmerie organs to bring about the registration of the Jews by the appropriate local Jewish institutions.[8] These registration lists, containing the names of all family members, exact addresses, and the mother's name of all those listed, were to be prepared in four copies, with one copy to be handed over to the local police authorities, one to the appropriate gendarmerie command, and a third to be forwarded to the Interior Ministry.[9] To make sure that no Jews would escape the net, another registration order was issued by the Supply Minister, allegedly to regulate the allocation of food to the Jews.

Unaware of the sinister implications both of these lists and of the wearing of the yellow star—the two interrelated measures designed to facilitate the Jews' isolation and ghettoization—the Jewish masses complied with the measures implemented by their local Jewish communal leaders. In the smaller Jewish communities, especially in the villages, it was usually the community secretary or registrar who prepared the lists; in larger towns and cities, these lists were usually prepared by young men not yet mobilized for service in the military labor service system.

On April 7, Baky held another important meeting, with many of the same people who had attended the April 4 conference. The focus was the "imminent evacuation" of the Jews from the area of Gendarmerie District VIII (i.e., from Carpatho-Ruthenia and some parts of northeastern Hungary). The conferees decided on the operational techniques to be employed and the organizational structure to be set up to bring about that evacuation. The city of Munkács was selected as the headquarters for the command unit, which was to consist of both German and Hungarian experts on the anti-Jewish drive. Endre spelled out the final detailed instructions relating to the planned anti-Jewish operations, corresponding to the provisions of the fateful decree issued that same day. He identified the specific locations where the Jews were to be concentrated: empty warehouses, abandoned or nonoperational factories, brickyards, Jewish community establishments, Jewish schools and offices, and synagogues.

Since the anti-Jewish measures could not be camouflaged and the mass evacuation of the Jews was bound to create dislocations in the economic life of the affected communities, officials in charge of the anti-Jewish drive felt compelled to provide a military rationale for the operations. They assumed, it turned out correctly, that the local population, including some of the Jews, would understand the necessity for the removal of the Jews from the approaching frontlines "in order to protect Axis interests from the machinations of Judeo-Bolsheviks." On April 12, the Council of Ministers—in an ex post facto act—declared Carpatho-Ruthenia and Northern Transylvania, the first two areas slated for dejewification, to have become military operational zones as of April 1.[10]

The master plan called for the ghettoization and concentration of the Jews to be implemented in several distinct phases:

- Jews in the rural communities and the smaller towns were to be rounded up and temporarily transferred to synagogues and/or community buildings.
- Following the first round of investigations in pursuit of valuables in these "local ghettos," the Jews rounded up in the rural communities and smaller towns were to be transferred to the ghettos of the larger cities in their vicinity, usually the county seat.
- In the larger towns and cities Jews were to be rounded up and transferred to a specially designated area that would serve as a ghetto—totally isolated from the other parts of the city. In some cities, the ghetto was to be established in the Jewish quarter; in others, in factories, warehouses, brickyards, or under the open sky.
- Jews were to be concentrated in centers with adequate rail facilities to make possible swift entrainment and deportation.

During each phase, the Jews were to be subjected to special investigations by teams composed of gendarmerie and police officials, assisted by local Arrow Cross and other accomplices, to compel them to surrender their valuables. The implementation plans for the ghettoization and deportation operations called for the launching of six territorially defined "mopping-up operations." For this purpose, the country was divided into six operational zones, with each zone encompassing the territory of one or two gendarmerie districts. The operations were carried out according to the following territorial order of priority:

- Zone I: Gendarmerie District VIII (with headquarters in Kassa)—Carpatho-Ruthenia and northeastern Hungary;
- Zone II: Gendarmerie Districts IX (Kolozsvár) and X (Marosvásárhely)—Northern Transylvania;
- Zone III: Gendarmerie Districts II (Székesfehérvár) and VII (Miskolc)—the area of northern Hungary extending from Kassa to the borders of the Reich;
- Zone IV: Gendarmerie Districts V (Szeged) and VI (Debrecen)—the southern parts of Hungary east of the Danube;
- Zone V: Gendarmerie Districts III (Szombathely) and IV (Pécs)—the southwestern parts of the country west of the Danube;
- Zone VI: Gendarmerie District I (Budapest)—the capital and its immediate environs.

The order of priority was established on the basis of a series of military, political, and psychological factors. Time was of the essence because of the rapid approach of the Red Army. Politically it was more expedient to start in Carpatho-Ruthenia, northeastern Hungary, and Northern Transylvania, because the national and local Hungarian authorities and the local population had less regard for the "Galician," "Eastern," "alien,"

non-magyarized, and Yiddish-oriented masses than for the assimilated Jews. Their roundup for "labor" in Germany was accepted in many Hungarian rightist circles as doubly welcome: Hungary would get rid of its "alien" elements and would at the same time make a contribution to the joint war effort, thereby hastening the termination of the German occupation and the reestablishment of full sovereignty.

Like the decision identifying Carpatho-Ruthenia and Northern Transylvania as military operational zones, the decree stipulating the establishment of ghettos was adopted on an ex post facto basis. The government decree, issued on April 26, went into effect on April 28, which was 12 days after the roundup of the Jews of Carpatho-Ruthenia had begun.[11] The rationale for and the alleged objectives of the ghettoization decree were outlined by Jaross at the Council of Ministers meeting of April 26. He claimed that in view of their better economic status the Jews living in the cities had proportionally much better housing than non-Jews, and therefore it would be possible to "create a healthier situation" by rearranging the whole housing situation. Jews were to be restricted to smaller apartments, and several families could be ordered to move in together. National security, he further argued, required that Jews be removed from the villages and the smaller towns and be transferred to larger cities, where the chief local officials—the mayors or the police chiefs—would set aside a special section or district for them.[12] The crucial provisions of the decree relating to the concentration of the Jews were included in Articles 8 and 9. The former provided that Jews could no longer live in communities with a population under 10,000, whereas the latter stipulated that the mayors of the larger towns and cities could determine the sections, streets, and buildings in which Jews were to be permitted to live. This legal euphemism in fact empowered the local authorities to establish ghettos. The location of and the conditions within the ghettos consequently depended on the attitudes of the mayors and their aides.

ZONE I: CARPATHO-RUTHENIA AND NORTHEASTERN HUNGARY

Although the decree relating to the establishment of ghettos went into effect only on April 28, 1944, the roundup and concentration of the Jews of Carpatho-Ruthenia and northeastern Hungary began on Sunday, April 16, 1944, the last day of Passover. The details of the anti-Jewish campaign in these areas were worked out at a conference held in Munkács on April 12 under the chairmanship of László Endre, State Secretary for Jewish Affairs at the Interior Ministry. This fateful meeting was attended by the top civilian, police, and gendarmerie officers from the cities, municipalities, and counties in the affected areas. The details of the operation in each county were worked out at local conferences held shortly after April 12, attended by the county's deputy prefects, mayors, police chiefs, and gendarmerie commanders. The local conferees worked from the written instructions of László Baky and, more importantly, from the oral communications given by Endre at Munkács. It was the function of the local meetings not only to determine the location and administration of the local ghettos but also to establish the commissions or squads to round up the Jews and the special teams to identify and confiscate Jewish wealth.

The day the anti-Jewish operations began, Ferenczy and his dejewification squad arrived to take command in Munkács, the area headquarters for the ghettoization, concentration, and deportation drive. As was subsequently the case in every other part of Hungary, the operation began with the roundup of the Jews in the hamlets and villages. The Jews were awakened by the gendarmes at the crack of dawn. They were usually given only a few minutes to pack essential clothes and the food they happened to have in the house and then were taken to their local synagogues or community buildings. There they were robbed of their money, jewelry, and valuables. Although their homes were "sealed" and the contents subsequently inventoried, they were soon plundered; poultry and farm animals were also simply removed. A few days after having been assembled, the Jews were marched to the nearest concentration and entrainment centers, normally consisting of brickyards in the larger cities, including Beregszász, Huszt, Kassa, Munkács, Nagyszőllős, Nyíregyháza, Sátoraljaújhely, Técső, and Ungvár.

The conditions under which the Jews lived in these ghettos were fairly typical of those in all the ghettos of Hungary. Feeding and caring for the Jews were the responsibility of the local Jewish Councils. The main and frequently only meal consisted primarily of a little potato soup. Even with these meager rations, though, the feeding problem became acute after the first few days, when the supplies that the rural Jews had brought along with them were used up. The living conditions in the ghettos were extremely harsh and often brutally inhumane. The terrible overcrowding in the living quarters within the ghettos, with completely inadequate cooking, bathing, and sanitary facilities, created intolerable hardships as well as tensions among the ghetto dwellers. Inadequate nutrition, lack of sanitary facilities, and inclement weather led to serious health problems. The water supply for the many thousands of ghetto inhabitants usually consisted of a limited number of faucets, several of which were often out of order for days on end. Ditches dug by the Jews themselves were used as latrines. Minor illnesses and ordinary colds, of course, were practically ubiquitous. Many people also succumbed to serious diseases including dysentery, typhoid, and pneumonia.

The poor health situation was compounded by the generally barbaric behavior of the gendarmes and police officers guarding the ghettos. In each larger ghetto the authorities set aside a separate building to serve as a "mint"—the place where sadistic gendarmes and detectives tortured Jews into confessing where they hid their valuables. Their technique was basically the same everywhere. Husbands were often tortured in full view of their wives and children; often wives were beaten in front of their husbands or children tortured in front of their parents. The devices used were cruel and unusually barbaric. The victims were beaten on the soles of their feet with canes

or rubber truncheons; they were slapped in the face and kicked until they lost consciousness. Males were often beaten on the testicles; females, sometimes even young girls, were searched vaginally by collaborating female volunteers and midwives who cared little about cleanliness, often in full view of the male interrogators. Some particularly sadistic investigators used electrical devices to compel the victims into confession. They would put one end of such a device in the mouth and the other in the vagina or attached to the testicles of the victims. These tortures drove many of the victims to insanity or suicide.

ZONE II: NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA

The ghettoization of the close to 160,000 Jews of Northern Transylvania, the area encompassing Gendarmerie Districts IX (Kolozsvár) and X (Marosvásárhely), began on May 3, 1944, at 5:00 A.M. The roundup of the Jews was carried out under the provisions of Decree No. 6163 / 1944 as amplified by the oral instructions given by Endre and his associates at the two conferences on ghettoization plans in the region.

The first conference was held in Szatmárnémeti on April 26 and was devoted to the dejewification operations in the counties of Gendarmerie District IX, namely Beszterce-Naszód, Bihar, Kolozs, Szatmár, Szilágy, and Szolnok-Doboka. The second was held two days later in Marosvásárhely and was devoted to the concentration of the Jews in the so-called Szekely Land, the counties of Gendarmerie District X: Csík, Háromszék, Maros-Torda, and Udvarhely. Both conferences were chaired by Endre, and both were attended by the heads and representatives of the civil service, gendarmerie, and police of the concerned counties. Among them were the deputy prefects (in some cases the prefects themselves), the mayors of the cities and their top assistants, and the chief officers of the gendarmerie and police units. The size of the delegations from the various Northern Transylvanian counties and cities varied.

Endre reviewed the procedures to be followed in the concentration of the Jews as detailed in Decree No. 6163 / 1944, and Lajos Meggyesi provided additional refinements relating to the confiscation of their wealth. The latter was particularly anxious to secure the Jews' money, gold, silver, jewelry, typewriters, cameras, watches, rugs, furs, and paintings. Ferenczy revealed the preliminary steps already taken toward the ghettoization of the Jews, identifying the cities of Dés, Kolozsvár, Nagybánya, Nagyvárad, Szamosújvár, Szatmárnémeti, and Szilágysomlyó as the planned major concentration and entrainment centers in Gendarmerie District IX. In the course of the anti-Jewish operations, Beszterce was added as a center, while Szamosújvár was used only as a temporary assembly point, with those assembled there being transferred to the ghetto of Kolozsvár. In Gendarmerie District X, the cities of Marosvásárhely, Szászrégen, and Sepsiszentgyörgy were selected as the major concentration and entrainment centers.

The last major item on the conferees' agenda for this district meeting was the composition of the various ghettoization commissions (i.e., who would be the officers and officials in charge of the anti-Jewish operations) and the specification of the geographic areas from which the Jews would be transferred to the major ghetto centers. Because most of these ghettos were in the county seats, they were designated as the assembly and entrainment centers for the Jews in the various counties.

In accordance with the decree and the oral instructions communicated at the two conferences, the chief executive for all the measures relating to the ghettoization of the Jews was to be the principal administrator of the locality or area. Under Hungarian law then in effect, this meant the mayor for cities, towns, and municipalities and the deputy prefect of the county for rural areas. The organs of the police and gendarmerie, as well as the auxiliary civil service organs of the cities, including the public notary and health units, were to be directly involved in the roundup and transfer of the Jews into ghettos.

Thus the mayors, acting in cooperation with the subordinated agency heads, were empowered not only to direct and supervise the ghettoization operations but also to determine the location of the ghettos and to screen the Jews applying for exemption. They were also responsible for seeing to the maintenance of essential services in the ghettos.

A few days before the scheduled May 3 start of the ghettoization drive in Northern Transylvania, the special commissions for the various cities and towns held meetings to determine the location of the ghettos and settle the logistics relating to the roundup of the Jews. The commissions were typically made up of the mayors, deputy prefects, and heads of the local gendarmerie and police units. Although nearly the same procedure was followed almost everywhere, the severity with which the ghettoization was carried out and the location of and the conditions within the ghetto depended on the attitude of the particular mayors and their subordinates. Thus in cities such as Nagyvárad and Szatmárnémeti, the ghettos were set up in the poorer, mostly Jewish-inhabited sections; in other cities, such as Beszterce, Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Szászrégen, and Szilágysomlyó, the ghettos were set up in brickyards. The ghetto of Dés was situated in the Bungur, a forest, where some of the Jews were put up in makeshift barracks and the others were left outdoors.

Late on May 2, on the eve of ghettoization, the mayors issued special instructions to the Jews and had them posted in all areas under their jurisdiction. The text followed the directives of Decree No. 6163/1944, though it varied in nuances from city to city.[13]

The roundup of the Jews, which began at the crack of dawn on May 3, was carried out by special units or squads consisting of civil servants, usually including local primary and high school teachers, gendarmes, and policemen, as well as Arrow Cross volunteers. The units were organized by the mayoral commissions and operated under their jurisdiction.

The ghettoization drive was directed by a field dejewification unit headquartered in Kolozsvár. This unit was headed by László Ferenczy and operated under the guidance of several representatives of Sondereinsatzkommando Eichmann. Communication between the dejewification field offices in Northern Transylvania and the central organs in Budapest was provided by two special gendarmerie courier cars that

traveled daily in opposite directions, meeting in Nagyvárad—the midpoint between the capital and Kolozsvár. Immediate operational command over the ghettoization process in Northern Transylvania was exercised by Gendarmerie Ezredes Tibor Paksy-Kiss, who delegated special powers in Nagyvárad to Alezredes Jenő Péterffy, his personal friend and ideological colleague.

The ghettoization of the Jews of Northern Transylvania was carried out smoothly, without known incidents of resistance. The Jewish masses, unaware of the realities of the "Final Solution," went to the ghettos resigned to a disagreeable but presumably nonlethal fate. Some of them rationalized their "isolation" as a logical step before their territory became a battle zone. Others believed the rumors spread by some Jewish leaders and antisemitic elements that they were merely being resettled at Kenyérmező in Transdanubia, where they would be doing agricultural work until the end of the war. Still others sustained the hope that the Red Army was not very far and that their time in the ghetto would be relatively short-lived.

The non-Jews, even those friendly to the Jews, were mostly passive. Many cooperated with the authorities on ideological grounds or in the expectation of quick material rewards in the form of properties confiscated from the Jews. The smoothness with which the anti-Jewish campaign was carried out in Northern Transylvania, as elsewhere, also can be attributed in part to the absence of a meaningful resistance movement, let alone general opposition to the persecution of the Jews. Neutrality and passivity were the characteristic attitudes of the heads of the Christian churches in Transylvania, as reflected in the behavior of János Vásárhelyi, the Calvinist bishop, and Miklós Józan, the Unitarian bishop. The exemplary exception was Aron Márton, the Catholic bishop of Transylvania, whose official residence was in Alba-Iulia, in the Romanian part of Transylvania.[14]

The ghettoization drive in Northern Transylvania was generally completed within one week. During the first day of the campaign close to 8,000 Jews were rounded up. By noon on May 5, that number increased to 16,144, by May 6 to 72,382, and by May 10 to 98,000.[15] The procedures for rounding up, interrogating, and expropriating property of the Jews, as well as the organization and administration of the ghettos, were basically the same in every county in Northern Transylvania. The Jews were rounded up at great speed, given only a few minutes to pack, and driven into the ghettos on foot. The internal administration of each ghetto was entrusted to a Jewish Council, usually consisting of the traditional leaders of the local Jewish community.

ZONE III: NORTHERN HUNGARY

In launching the ghettoization and deportation campaign in Zones III through VI, the German and Hungarian dejewification experts took into consideration the experience they had gained from the implementation of the drives in Carpatho-Ruthenia, northeastern Hungary, and Northern Transylvania. Just before beginning the campaign in Zone III, Ferenczy consequently issued detailed instructions:

- The rounding up and concentration of the Jews [are to] be effectuated by suitable gendarmerie and police forces covering smaller territorial units.
- The deportations begin immediately after the completion of the concentration of the Jews in entrainment centers.
- The internal command of the camps and the technical supervision of entrainment continue to be the responsibility of the German Security Police, while the external security and guarding of the camps become the task of the Hungarians.
- Meetings [are to] be held in the Ministry of the Interior with the concerned county prefects and gendarmerie commanders only a few days before the launching of an operation in a particular territory, and meetings with local mayors and police officials [are to be held] only one day before the beginning of the operation.
- The ill, the aged, and their families [will] be deported in the first transports rather than in the last as had been the case earlier.[16]

In the master plan for the dejewification of Hungary, Zone III encompassed the area of northern Hungary extending from Kassa to the borders of the Reich north of Budapest. It covered the territories of Gendarmerie Districts II (Székesfehérvár) and VII (Miskolc), including the counties of Bars, Borsod, Fejér, Győr, Heves, Komárom, and Nógrád.

The operational details for the concentration and entrainment of the Jews in this zone were discussed at a conference in the Interior Ministry on May 25, 1944. Chaired by Baky, the conference was attended by the prefects and the gendarmerie and police chiefs of the concerned counties, the Nazi Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) commander, and the leaders of the Sondereinsatzkommando Eichmann. The conferees decided to begin the concentration of the originally estimated 65,000 Jews gathered in the ghettos in Zone III on June 5 and to carry out the deportations between June 11 and 16.[17] The launching of the anti-Jewish operations in this zone was envisioned to coincide with the completion of the deportations from Northern Transylvania. In accordance with the resolutions adopted on May 25, the details of the campaign in this zone were discussed on June 3 at a meeting held at the headquarters of the gendarmerie's investigative unit in Budapest. This meeting, chaired by Ferenczy, was attended by the mayors of the communities as well as by two top police officials and three transportation experts in the affected area.

The dejewification squads set up their headquarters in Hatvan, a small town northeast of Budapest. In accordance with Ferenczy's directives, the Jews, who already had been assembled for weeks in their local ghettos, were not concentrated in the entrainment centers until just a few days before their planned deportation.

The concentration of the Jews began on schedule at 5:00 A.M. on June 5; by June 10, 51,829 Jews had been transferred to 11 entrainment centers. Six of these centers, which held close to 24,000 Jews, were in Gendarmerie District II: Dunaszerdahely, Érsekújvár, Győr, Komárom, Léva, and Székesfehérvár; five, which held slightly over 28,000 Jews, were in Gendarmerie District VII: Balassagyarmat, Eger, Hatvan, Miskolc, and Salgótarján.

ZONE IV: SOUTHERN HUNGARY EAST OF THE DANUBE

The anti-Jewish operations in Zone IV affected the Jews living in Gendarmerie Districts V (Szeged) and VI (Debrecen). The zone included the southeastern parts of Trianon (interwar) Hungary extending from the Danube and the formerly Yugoslav-held area of the Délvidék. The ghettoization, concentration, and deportation operations in this zone were directed from Kiskunfélegyháza, where the dejewification squads had their headquarters.

The concentration process began at 5:00 A.M. on June 16, 1944, the very day the deportations from Zone III were completed. It ended just four days later with the establishment of seven concentration-entrainment centers: four in Gendarmerie District V and three in Gendarmerie District VI. The plan originally called for these centers to be located in Békéscsaba, Berettyóujfalu, Debrecen, Kecskemét, Szabadka, Szeged, and Szolnok and for the deportations to begin on June 21, the day after the project to ghettoize all the Jews had been completed.[18] The plan was then revised, with the later version calling, among other things, for the replacement of Szabadka by Bácsalmás as one of the main entrainment centers and for delaying the deportation date by four days.

Among the major ghettos that were liquidated as a result of the concentration drive were those of Hódmezövásárhely, Kalocsa, Kecel, Kiskőrős, Makó, Nagykáta, Szarvas, and Szentes in Gendarmerie District V, as well as those of the so-called Hajdu towns—Hajdúböszörmény, Hajdúdorong, Hajdúhadház, Hajdúnánás, and Hajdúszoboszló—Karcag, and Téglás in Gendarmerie District VI.[19]

As a result of the drive, 40,505 Jews were concentrated in the seven entrainment centers of Zone IV. Of these, 21,489 were concentrated in the four centers in Gendarmerie District V (Bácsalmás, Kecskemét, Szeged, and Szolnok) and 19,016 in the three centers in Gendarmerie District VI (Békéscsaba, Debrecen, and Nagyvárad).

THE SPECIAL CASE OF THE DÉLVIDÉK AND SOUTHWESTERN HUNGARY

Approximately 10,000 Jews living in this area of Hungary adjacent to the Independent State of Croatia and Occupied Serbia—in Gendarmerie Districts IV and V—were rounded up and deported concurrently with the drive against the Jews in Zones I and II. Of these, slightly over 2,700 Jews were from around the Croatian border in the Csáktornya, Nagykanizsa, and Perlak Districts of Zala County. As part of the anti-Jewish operations in the Délvidék, approximately 1,600 Jews from the southern border of Baranya County were concentrated in Barcs.

The concentration of the Jews from the various ghettos in the Délvidék was carried out on a territorial basis. Those in the communities along the western bank of the Tisza River in the eastern section of the Bácska were taken to Szeged. Those living in the central zone of the Bácska, including Újvidék, were concentrated in Szabadka. The Jews living in the communities situated along the Danube in the western parts of the Bácska and in the Baranya region along the Dráva River, including those of Zombor, were taken to Baja for entrainment. The major concentration centers from which the approximately 5,200 Jews of the Délvidék were deported were Baja, Szabadka, and Szeged.

A large number of Jews from the Délvidék area were concentrated in three camps in Baja. Two of these camps held the Újvidék Jews transferred from Szabadka; the third camp held the other Jews from the Délvidék who were not concentrated in Topolya, Szabadka, or Szeged.

ZONE V: WESTERN HUNGARY

This zone of anti-Jewish operations encompassed the area west of the Danube—Transdanubia—corresponding to Gendarmerie Districts III (Szombathely) and IV (Pécs). The plans for the concentration and deportation of the Jews were completed at a conference on June 22, 1944, at Siófok. In addition to the leading members of the dejewification team, the conference was also attended by administrative, gendarmerie, and police officials of the two gendarmerie districts.

According to the plans worked out by Ferenczy, the Jews assembled in the various ghettos in Zone V were concentrated in eight centers having adequate entrainment facilities.[20] The transfer of the Jews from the ghettos began at 5:00 A.M. on June 30 and was completed on schedule at 8:00 P.M. on July 3.

Of the 29,405 Jews rounded up in Zone V, 17,201 were placed in the five entrainment centers in Gendarmerie District III: Pápa, Sárvár, Sopron, Szombathely, and Zalaegerszeg. The 12,204 Jews rounded up in Gendarmerie District IV were concentrated in Kaposvár, Paks, and Pécs.

ZONE VI: BUDAPEST AND ITS ENVIRONS

The drive for the concentration and deportation of the Jews in Gendarmerie District I, which included Budapest, was launched while the entrainment of the Jews was occurring in Zone V. The Jews of Budapest were spared because Horthy halted the deportations on July 7. However, the Jews in the cities ringing the capital, including Budafok, Csepel, Kispest, Pestszenterzsébet, Rákoscsaba, Rákospalota, Sashalom, Soroksár, Szentendre, and Újpest, were less fortunate: they suffered the same fate as the other provincial Jews.[21] With a few exceptions, the Jews in the cities surrounding Budapest had been placed into local ghettos or yellow-star-marked buildings between May 22 and June 30.[22] Defying the order of the regent, the Nazi SS and their Hungarian accomplices deported the Jews from these communities on July 7 and 8. The 24,128

Jews rounded up in these areas were first concentrated in the brickyards of Budakalász and Monor together with the local Jews. Those concentrated in Budakalász were entrained in nearby Békásmegyer.

The largest, the last, and the only ghetto to survive in Hungary was that of Budapest. At the time the Jews in the provinces were being ghettoized, the Hungarian authorities, for military and security reasons, decided against the establishment of a centralized territorially contiguous ghetto in Budapest. Instead, they relocated the Jews into specially selected buildings throughout the city, which were identified as yellow-star houses (*sárga csillagos házak*). The decrees relating to the relocation and concentration of the Jews of Budapest were issued on June 16 under the signature of Mayor Ákos Doroghi Farkas.[23] The idea of establishing a contiguous ghetto surfaced only after the Arrow Cross acquired power on October 15, 1944. The newly established government of Ferenc Szálasi informed the Jewish Council of its decision to set up a ghetto on November 16. However, Decree No. 8935/1944.BM relating to its establishment, and issued under the signature of Interior Minister Gábor Vajna, was not made public until November 29.

The ghetto was established in District VII of Budapest, an area inhabited by a large number of Jews. The relocation of the Jews into the closed ghetto that encompassed an area of only one-tenth of a square mile started toward the end of November and was virtually completed by December 2. At its peak, the ghetto included approximately 80,000 Jews. Close to 3,000 of the ghetto inhabitants died during the ghetto's relatively brief existence from a variety of causes, including hunger, disease, and massacres. These people were buried in mass graves in the courtyard of the Dohány Street Synagogue. Soviet troops liberated the ghetto over two days, from January 17 to 18, 1945. The survivors still living in other parts of Hungary had to wait until April 4, when the combined Romanian-Soviet forces liberated the country from the yoke of the Nazis and their Arrow Cross hirelings.

Among the first of the Hungarian Jews to be liberated were the labor servicemen whose companies had been deployed along the eastern part of Hungary. In the wake of the advancing Soviet and Romanian armies, most of the surviving labor servicemen returned to their former hometowns and villages and began laying the foundation for the reestablishment of communal life. In expectation of the returning concentration camp survivors, they also established soup kitchens and communal living facilities. In most localities no traces of the ghettos were found, having been removed by the local authorities soon after the deportation of the Jews. The ghetto of Budapest was cleared soon after its liberation by the Red Army. In most communities, especially in the former concentration and entrainment centers, the survivors exhumed the bodies of the Jews who were killed and buried there and reinterred them ritually in Jewish cemeteries. As life was gradually returning to "normal," a number of labor service and concentration camp survivors—motivated by the desire to preserve the historical record—began publishing their personal accounts.

After the establishment of the communist regime in late 1948, however, this endeavor came to an end. As a result of emigration and the relocation of the survivors into larger cities, most of the smaller Jewish communities were soon dissolved. To the great disappointment of virtually all survivors, the Jewish issue, including that of restitution and compensation, and the subject of the Holocaust were soon sunk into the Orwellian black hole of history. An exception was made for several trustworthy party members, who were allowed to publish several volumes of archival materials and historical accounts. The political slant of these works notwithstanding, they emerged as highly valuable source materials for researchers in both Hungary and abroad.

SOURCES Among the numerous secondary sources describing the Holocaust in Hungary, including camps, forced labor battalions, and ghettos, are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013); Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013); Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, *A végső döntés: Berlin, Budapest, Birkenau 1944* (Budapest: Jiaffa Kiadó, 2013); Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, "Ungarn," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009); Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and László Karsai, "The Last Phase of the Hungarian Holocaust: The Szálasi Regime and the Jews," in Randolph L. Braham and Scott Miller, eds., *The Nazis' Last Victims* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), pp. 103–116.

Primary sources documenting internment camps, forced labor battalions, and ghettos in Hungary can be found in numerous archives, of which USHMMA holds many microform and digital copies. The archives and libraries include MOL (several collections at USHMMA available under RG-39); MZSL (DEGOB collection; USHMMA, RG-39.013M); OGYK (USHMMA, RG-39.013M); and the Randolph Braham collection (USHMMA, RG-52.001-014). In several collections, the ITS contains valuable documentation on the paths of persecution of Jews during the Hungarian Holocaust. VHA holds nearly 13,000 survivor testimonies relating to the Holocaust in Hungary.

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. See "1939. évi II.törvénycikk a honvédelemröl," *1939 évi Országos Törvénytár* (Budapest, 1939). For some details on this law, see Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 297.

2. Also relevant were Articles 87–94, which stipulated that all persons between the ages of 14 and 70 were liable to work

for the defense of the nation to the limit of their physical and mental capacities.

3. See the decree in *BK*, April 19, 1941. The text of the order (and of its amendments) can be found in "*Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezőkön . . .*," edited by Elek Karsai (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1962), 1: 300–326.

4. For a listing of these companies, see Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 1368–1370.

5. For details, see ibid., 1: 357–360.

6. Ibid., 1: 573–375. For the original version, see Ilona Benoschofsky and Elek Karsai, eds., *Vádirat a nácizmus ellen* (Budapest: A Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képvislete, 1958), 1: 124–127.

7. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 575–578.

8. Order No. 6136 / 1944.VII.res., April 4, 1944, reproduced in ibid., 1: 578–579.

9. For a sample of a mayoral order addressed to a local Jewish community (Nyiregyháza), see ibid., 1: 579.

10. Decree No. 1.440 / 1944.M.E.; ibid., 1: 581–582.

11. "A m. kir. minisztérium 1610/1944.M.E. sz. rendelete a zsidók lakásával és lakóhelyének kijelölésével kapcsolatos egyes kérdések szabályozása tárgyában," *BK*, April 28, 1944.

12. For the minutes of the Council of Ministers meeting on this issue, see Benoschofsky and Karsai, *Vádirat a nácizmus ellen*, 1: 241–244.

13. For a sample, see the text of the announcement issued by László Gyapay in Nagyvárad, in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 629.

14. For details on the resistance movements and on the attitudes and reactions of the Christian church leaders, see Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: ch. 10.

15. Ibid., 1: 651.

16. Ferenczy report of May 29, 1944. Used in the Eichmann Trial as Doc. 1319 of Bureau 06 of the Israel Police.

17. Ibid.

18. Ferenczy report of June 12, 1944.

19. For some details on these ghettos and on the rural Jewish communities concentrated within them, see Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 714–716.

20. Ibid., 2: 755–764.

21. Ibid., 2: 776–777.

22. For details on the relocation schemes instituted in Budapest and its environs, see ibid., 1: ch. 8.

23. "Budapest székesfőváros polgármestere 147.501/1944.-IX. számu rendelete zsidók által lakható épületek kijelőlése a székesfőváros I. közigazgatási területében," *BK*, June 17, 1944. Similar decrees were issued for each of the other 13 districts of the capital as well. For further details, see Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 850–860.

Hungarian Camps and Ghettos
Germany
General Government
Protectorate of Bohemia & Moravia
Slovakia
Germany
Romania
Hungary
Romania
Croatia
Serbia
Bulgaria
Kassa
Garany
Ungvár
Munkács
Csörgő
Sátoraljaújhely
Ricse
Beregszász
Szeklence
Huszt
Kisvárda
Nagyszőllős
Máramarossziget
MISKOLC
Nyíregyháza
Técső
Bárdfalva
Szatmárnémeti
Nagybánya
Debrecen
Szilágysomlyó
Dés
Beszterce
Szászrégen
Marosvásárhely
Kolozsvár
Nagyvárad
Békéscsaba
Sepsiszentgyörgy
Verebély
Léva
Nagysurány
Balassagyarmat
Szécsény
Ipolyság
Eger
Dunaszerdahely
KOMÁROM
SOPRON
GYŐR
BUDAPEST
Budakalász
Kistarcsa
Budafok
Monor
Pestszenterzsébet
Csepel Island
Sárvár
Pápa
Székesfehérvár
Szombathely
VESZPRÉM
Lake Balaton
Szolnok
Kecskemét
Zalaegerszeg
Keszthely
Paks
Kalocsa
Csongrád
NAGYKANIZSA
Kaposvár
PÉCS
MOHÁCS
Bácsalmás
SZEGED
Barcs
Siklós
Topolya
Zombor
Újvidék
Bor
CITY
CITY & CAMP/GHETTO
Camp/Ghetto
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80
120
160
miles
kilometers
0
40
80
120
160
N
W
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S
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

BÁCSALMÁS

Bácsalmás, an entrainment center and ghetto located in southern Hungary in the region of Bácska (Bács-Kiskun County), was close to the border with the Vojvodina region of Serbia. The town is approximately 155 kilometers (almost 96 miles) south of Budapest and nearly 105 kilometers (65 miles) northeast of Novi Sad, Serbia. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 186 Jews in Bácsalmás.

The Bácsalmás authorities converted the local flour mill into a ghetto in April 1944. By the middle of May the Nazi SS had replaced the Hungarian gendarmes in overseeing the ghetto. The Jewish population from Bácsalmás, surrounding villages, the Topolya internment camp, and the Bácsalmás, Baja, Jánoshalma, Topolya, and Szabadka Districts were sent to the Bácsalmás ghetto. Approximately 3,000 inmates inhabited the ghetto on June 26, 1944. There was no food in the ghetto. The Jewish Council had a kitchen for the sick and the elderly without families.[1]

Between June 25 and 28, 1944 the Bácsalmás ghetto was emptied. Most of the Jews from Bácsalmás were sent to Auschwitz, with a smaller group sent to the Strasshof camp, near Vienna, as part of Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner's negotiations with Adolf Eichmann. Other victims, initially sent to Auschwitz, were then transferred to Bergen-Belsen, Theresienstadt, Gross-Rosen, and the Gross-Rosen subcamp at Langenbielau.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Bácsalmás ghetto in Hungary can be found in "Bácsalmás," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 30–32; and "Bácsalmás," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 68.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Bácsalmás Jews can be found at USHMMA. A private handwritten memoir is available: "Sheindel (Bella) Trebits diary," Acc. No. 2006.210. VHA holds 45 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Bácsalmás ghetto. The testimony featured here is Ferenc Kurcz, June 19, 2000 (#51010). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution of individuals from the Bácsalmás ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTE

1. VHA #51010, Ferenc Kurcz testimony, June 19, 2000.

BALASSAGYARMAT

Balassagyarmat, a town in northern Hungary (Nógrad County) located almost 67 kilometers (approximately 42 miles) northeast of Budapest and 54 kilometers (almost 34 miles) southeast of Levice, Slovakia, had two ghettos. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Jewish population of Balassagyarmat was 1,712, or just over 13 percent of the town's population.

Hungarian Gendarmes oversee the deportation of Jews from Balassagyarmat, 1944.
USHMM WS #77642, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

Under the direction of Mayor Béla Vannay, the local Hungarian authorities established one large and later one small ghetto in Balassagyarmat between May 4 and 10, 1944. The large ghetto was bound by the streets of Kossuth Lajos, Thököly, Hunyady, and Rákóczi, and the small ghetto was in the vicinity of Óváros Square along the southern bank of the Ipoly (Slovak: Ipel') River. The ghettos were sealed on May 13, interning the Jews of Balassagyarmat and the Jewish women from neighboring villages. The men in the rural areas had already been conscripted for forced labor. There was little food in the ghettos, and many internees were beaten by the authorities in their search for valuables. A good number were beaten to death.[1] There was a Jewish ghetto police force that monitored the ghetto residents.[2]

At the end of May 1944, 2,100 Jews were sent to the temporary detention site at Nyírjespuszta in preparation for deportation as part of Deportation Zone III. The inmates of the small ghetto were dispatched to the tobacco-drying buildings at Illéspuszta. The Jews in these sites were deported on transports on June 12 and 14 to Auschwitz II-Birkenau after marching to Balassagyarmat for entrainment. According to Central Name Index (CNI) queries from the International Tracing Service (ITS), some Jews were transferred to Bergen-Belsen, Ravensbrück, Buchenwald, and Theresienstadt, among other detention sites.[3] The death toll of the Balassagyarmat Jewish community was between 80 and 90 percent.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Balassagyarmat ghetto in Hungary can be found in "Balassagyarmat," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 681–685; and "Balassagyarmat," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*

before and during the Holocaust (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 80.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Balassagyarmat Jews can be found at USHMMA, RG-39.013M, Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956, including protocols originally recorded by DEGOB. VHA holds 13 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Balassagyarmat ghetto. The testimonies featured in this entry are Yolan Schubert, August 7, 1998 (#44738) and Piroska Vrabel, May 25, 2000 (#50965). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Balassagyarmat ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #44738, Yolan Schubert testimony, August 7, 1998.
2. VHA #50965, Piroska Vrabel testimony, May 25, 2000.
3. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Eva Kallos, née Löwy, Doc. No. 50595203.

BARCS

The town of Barcs is located in the Barcs District (Somogy County), approximately 210 kilometers (130 miles) southwest of Budapest and 160 kilometers (99 miles) east-northeast of Zagreb. According to a communal survey, in 1944 Barcs was home to a Jewish population of 284. In the spring and summer of 1944, Hungarian and German authorities opened a large ghetto in the shut-down Unió Mill in town. Some documentation refers to the site as an assembly camp or collection camp.[1] According to some estimates, more than 2,500 Jews from Barcs and the wider border region were briefly detained there and then deported.

In 1944, gendarmerie Ezredes László Hajnácskőy commanded Gendarmerie District IV, which included Somogy County. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the area became part of Deportation Zone V. On April 19, 1944, Hungarian officials of the Interior Ministry in conjunction with Hajnácskőy and others decided to round up the Jews in the districts immediately bordering Croatia. During this operation, more than 1,500 Jews were transferred to Barcs, where the abandoned mill served as a detention center or ghetto. Subsequently, the Jews of the Barcs and Csurgó Districts and of the town of Szigetvár were also detained at the site.

The ghetto at the Barcs mill opened on May 3, 1944. It had its own railway connection, with tracks running right into the facility. According to survivor testimony, the Nazi SS held the command inside the camp while Hungarian gendarmes acted as guards. The inmates suffered brutal searches for valuables and other abuses at the hands of the guards.[2] Detainees were crowded into three stories of the building, which lacked basic amenities or furniture. They slept on straw-covered floors. There were few blankets. Without access to sufficient provisions, the inmates had to operate their own camp kitchen. According to one survivor, the camp authorities forced some inmates to borrow money from non-Jewish friends and acquaintances to pay for their food. Many of the elder inmates were weak and ill, succumbing to starvation and ailments at Barcs. Several rabbis were among the inmates, and the camp authorities permitted occasional funeral services and some religious observances.[3]

Many inmates at Barcs were women and the elderly. Most of the remaining able-bodied men had already been drafted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) during roundups or were transferred there after brief stays at the ghetto. Among other tasks, they were employed to dig trenches in the Carpathian Mountains. Many thereby avoided immediate deportation.[4]

Jews who remained in the Barcs ghetto were deported in April and May 1944. Some of them learned of the impending deportations from fake newspapers circulated by camp authorities. According to one survivor, these news articles were intended to assuage panic among the inmates by explaining the deportations as imminent resettlement for work deployment.[5] The inmates were then forced to clean the mill thoroughly, and men and women were separated before boarding freight train cars to Auschwitz.[6] Many of the Jewish women who boarded these trains to Auschwitz were then transferred to a number of German and Austrian forced labor camps for Jews (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden*, ZALfJ), including the women's camp at Mährisch Weisswasser.[7]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Barcs ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 816–817.

Primary sources include RG-39.013M (OGYK), including reel 6 (box D 8/1) and reel 68 (box L 4/2). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen inmates likely incarcerated at Barcs. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Other primary documentation includes VHA testimony of Rosalia Benau, November 21, 1997 (#35569); Susan King, July 13, 1995 (#3938); Henry Kraus, January 17, 1995 (#674); and Georg Kundler, October 28, 1996 (#20786).

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. CNI card for Smuel Berger, Doc. No. 53204718; also CNI card for Jolantha Mautner, Doc. No. 51287332.
2. VHA #674, Henry Kraus testimony, January 17, 1995.
3. VHA #20786, Georg Kundler testimony, October 28, 1996.
4. CNI card for Mordechai Klein, Doc. No. 52910690.
5. VHA #674.
6. VHA #3938, Susan King testimony, July 13, 1995.
7. CNI card for Elisabeth Kreisler, Doc. No. 50603852.

BÁRDFALVA

Bárdfalva was located 11 kilometers (7 miles) south of Máramarossziget in the Aknasugatag District in Máramaros County. After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the area was formally ceded to the Kingdom of Romania. Under Romanian administration, Bárdfalva was known as Berbeşti, and Máramarossziget was known as Sighet. After the Second Vienna Award in 1940, the area came under Hungarian administration. Hungarian authorities operated a ghetto in Bárdfalva between April 16 and May 17, 1944. More than 3,000 Jews from the town and neighboring communities were interned there.

On April 16, 1944, Hungarian gendarmes rounded up the members of the small Orthodox Jewish community of Bárdfalva. Several people fled, and the gendarmes temporarily released the remaining internees, forcing them to retrieve the runaways. The next day, Bárdfalva's Jews were once again concentrated in the synagogue, school, and Jewish residences in the center of town, which now served as a satellite ghetto of Máramarossziget.

The Hungarian authorities also rounded up several thousand Jewish inhabitants of 19 neighboring communities and brought them to Bárdfalva. According to the testimony of a survivor, Sam Ganz, the ghetto was not closed or fenced in. However, the gendarmes intimidated the inhabitants with threats and violence.[1] Inmates could leave their houses only between the hours of 8 and 10 A.M. They were punished harshly for any transgressions. Although some survivors mention German authorities overseeing the site, most survivor testimony emphasizes the brutality of the Hungarian gendarmes.[2] For instance, survivor Shirley Fried recalled that a Hungarian gendarme viciously beat a woman who had missed curfew by a few minutes; she was beaten with a leather strap until she bled.[3] There are several accounts of gendarmes raping young women at Bárdfalva. For example, a gendarme assaulted Fried's 16-year-old sister Etta during her first night at the ghetto.[4] Survivor Sarah Friedman recalled that inmates tried to keep girls and young women hidden from view to protect them from these attacks.[5]

The ghetto at Bárdfalva was liquidated on May 17, 1944. The inmates were force-marched to Máramarossziget, where they spent one night in the overcrowded synagogue. They were then transported to Auschwitz on May 18, 1944.[6]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources for the ghetto in Bárdfalva include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 816–817. See also Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013); it contains relevant primary documents, including the testimony of survivor Ignác Berkovits, pp. 297–298.

Primary sources include RG-39.005M (MOL Z 936), reel 1, available at USHMMA. VHA has 27 testimonies indexed for the ghetto at Bárdfalva, including testimony by Shirley Fried, July 30, 1997 (#31532); Sarah Friedman, October 2, 1996 (#20427); Sam Ganz, June 24, 1996 (#16437); and Rose Herskovitz, August 16, 1996, (#18630). The ITS CNI contains inquiries about several inmates of the Bárdfalva ghetto as well as about natives of the town. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #16437, Sam Ganz testimony, June 24, 1996.
2. VHA #20427, Sarah Friedman testimony, October 2, 1996.
3. VHA #31532, Shirley Fried testimony, July 30, 1997.
4. Ibid.
5. VHA #20427.
6. Ibid.

BÉKÉSCSABA

Békéscsaba (Békés County) was a ghetto and entrainment center in southeast Hungary, located in the eponymous city approximately 178 kilometers (more than 110 miles) southeast of Budapest and 58 kilometers (36 miles) north of Arad, Romania. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 2,433 Jews living in Békéscsaba.

The Germans arrived in the city in March 1944 and institutionalized the persecution of the Jews and the expropriation of their property. The ghettoization of Békéscsaba's Jews and Jews from neighboring villages began on May 7, 1944. In the Békéscsaba ghetto there were only two toilets available for hundreds of people, and the stench was intolerable. Midwives searched the body cavities of women for valuables as they screamed and cried in protest. Both women and men committed suicide.[1]

The entrainment of the Békéscsaba ghetto's Jews took place on June 25 and 26, during which most were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. Others were bound for the Strasshof camp outside Vienna and then were dispatched for forced labor.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Békéscsaba ghetto include "Békéscsaba," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 135–138; and "Békéscsaba," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 99.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Békéscsaba Jews can be found at USHMMA, RG-39.013M, Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956. VHA holds 25 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Békéscsaba ghetto. The testimony featured here is Istvan Benedek,

February 23, 1999 (#49300). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Békéscsaba ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #49300, Istvan Benedek testimony, February 23, 1999.
2. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ester Abrahamowits, Doc. No. 53628490.

BEREGSZÁSZ

Beregszász (Slovak: Berehovo; Ukrainian: Berehove; Russian: Beregovo), a village in Bereg County, was the third largest town in Transcarpathia, now part of Ukraine. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city's population was 19,373, of whom 5,856, or 30 percent, were Jewish.

In 1920, Transcarpathia became part of the newly formed state of Czechoslovakia. In November 1938, as part of the First Vienna Award, Beregszász once again became part of Hungary and, as such, was subject to anti-Jewish legislation. Many Jewish shops and businesses lost their business licenses. The discriminatory acts were so extensive that the Hungarian mayor of the town felt compelled to return some of the licenses to the Jewish business owners because they had eliminated the commercial life in some trades, such as leather works, and caused unemployment.

In the late 1930s, the region of Transcarpathia experienced waves of Jewish refugees from German-occupied countries surrounding Hungary—in particular, from the antisemitic regimes of Jozef Tiso from Slovakia and Octavian Goga from Romania—where Jews were being persecuted, killed, and deported. Many of these Jews took refuge in the Jewish communities of Transcarpathia, and for the first time, the Jews of Hungary heard firsthand accounts of the atrocities taking place in nearby countries.

In March 19, 1944, the German Army occupied Hungary, and Adolf Eichmann was sent to Budapest to personally take charge of the "Final Solution." Soon afterward, Jews in Hungary were ordered to wear the yellow Star of David, and Jewish Councils were ordered to be formed in each community.

At the end of March, the Gestapo and the German Army reached Beregszász. One of their first acts was to take more than 120 hostages and demand a ransom of one million pengős from the Jewish community (the rough equivalent of just over $410,000 in 1940 U.S. dollars). Among the hostages were the rabbi, the head of the Jewish Council, and many other community leaders, their families, and children. When the ransom was paid, the hostages were freed, but other acts of extortion continued.

The ghettoization of the Jews of Beregszász began on April 16, 1944, by order of the Interior Ministry. The unsuspecting Jewish families were ordered to pack and be ready to depart at dawn under the watchful eye of the Hungarian gendarmes. Jewish families were collected from Beregszász, as well as from neighboring villages in Bereg County—Beregvégardó, Beregkövesd, Beregsurány, Bilke, Dolha, Harangláb, Makkosjánosi, Tarpa, and Vásárosnamény—and taken to the ghettos in the Vály and Kont brickworks and the buildings of the Weisz farmstead. At every site, the conditions were unlivable. The ghettos were overcrowded, with 10,000 Jews sleeping on concrete floors. In the brickworks, there was roofing, but the brick buildings were open on the sides, leaving everyone exposed to the elements.

Madeline Deutsch vividly remembered the day when the Jews were all herded into the ghetto: it was her 14th birthday.[1] The Gestapo, police, and gendarmes brought various barrels and buckets and then announced that all the Jews were to deposit all their money, jewelry, and anything else of value into the receptacles. Everyone was to be searched afterward, and if anything of value were found, that person would be shot. Madeline remembered that a few individuals simply overlooked or forgot about their own wedding rings or other small treasured items and, because of this oversight, were separated from the crowd. Madeline was practically in tears when they searched her father and found a dollar in the pocket of his vest. He was likewise separated from the rest. In the end, those separated were not shot, but were later released. Madeline suspected their separation was a scare tactic to frighten those inside the ghetto into following directions precisely and without delay.

At the brickworks, a soup kitchen was set up by the Jewish Council, which was also responsible for organizing a steady supply of food to the ghetto. Each week, two men from the ghetto, escorted by the police, were allowed to return to empty Jewish homes and collect foodstuffs to be shared at the soup kitchen.

A month after the Jews arrived in the Beregszász ghetto, they were told they were being sent to Kecskemét in the interior of Hungary where they would work in agriculture. Nothing could have been further from the truth. Between May 16 and 29, 1944, all 10,000 Jews were taken from the ghetto in Beregszász and shipped to Auschwitz in four transports as part of Deportation Zone I. Only a few survived and were able to return to Beregszász after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Beregszász ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 165–169; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Csilla Fedinec and Mikola Vehesh, eds., *Kárpátalja: 1919–2009: Történelem, politika, kultura* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2010); and Viktoria Bányai, Csilla Fedinec, and Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy, eds., *Zsidók Kárpátalján: Történelem és Örökség: A Dualizmus Korától Napjainkig* (Budapest: Aposztrof, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Beregszász ghetto can be found at USHMMA, including five testimonies by Jewish survivors: Tibor Eliahu Beerman, "My experiences and survival

in Nazi death camps," n.d., Acc. No. 1997.A.0303; Samuel Gottesman collection, Acc. No. 2013.175.1; Madeline Deutsch interview, May 14, 1990, RG-50.030*0060; Jolana Hollander interview, November 7, 1992, RG-50.477*1207 and *1399; and Michael Weiss interview, August 9, 1995, RG-50.155*0029. VHA holds 293 testimonies by Beregszász survivors. The CNI of the ITS holds hundreds of queries about Jews originating from, performing forced labor near, or held in Beregszász during the Holocaust. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Susan M. Papp

NOTE

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0060, Madeline Deutsch interview, May 14, 1990.

BESZTERCE

Located in Transylvania, Beszterce (Romanian: Bistriţa; German: Bistritz) was part of Hungary until 1918 and between 1940 and 1944. It is located 325 kilometers (202 miles) northwest of Bucharest and nearly 414 kilometers (257 miles) east of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Jewish population of Beszterce was 2,370, representing 14.5 percent of the total population of 16,313. During the interwar period, when the city was under Romanian rule, the Jews, most of whom were Hungarian speaking, were subjected to many discriminatory regulations, especially after the establishment of the Goga-Cuza government in December 1937. Under the terms of the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940, the town, then located in Northern Transylvania, came under Hungarian rule. The Jews were immediately subjected to the anti-Jewish measures already in effect in Hungary. Their economic activities were severely restricted, and young men of military age were conscripted into labor service.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, marked the beginning of the end of the community. An avalanche of anti-Jewish measures brought about their isolation, expropriation, and ghettoization—all in preparation for their deportation. The details of the anti-Jewish drive in Beszterce-Naszód County (Beszterce was its seat) were worked out at a conference that was held in Szatmárnémeti for Gendarmerie District IX on April 26 with the participation of the national and local officials in charge of the "Final Solution."[1]

The roundup of the Jews of Beszterce, who had been compelled to wear the yellow star since April 5, began on the early morning of May 3. The Jews were concentrated in a ghetto that was established at the Stamboli farm, located about three to five kilometers (two to three miles) from the city. At its peak, the ghetto held close to 6,000 Jews, including the approximately 2,500 Jews from the city of Beszterce. The others had been brought in from the neighboring communities in the following districts of Beszterce-Naszód County: Lower Beszterce, Upper Beszterce, Naszód, and Óradna. The ghettoization drive in the city was carried out under the command of Mayor Norbert Kuales and police chief Miklós Debreczeni. In the rural communities of the county, the Jews were rounded up by gendarmerie units under the command of László Smolenszki, the deputy prefect, and Gendarmerie Alezredes (Lieutenant Colonel) Ernö Pászthói. The ghetto, consisting of a number of barracks and pigsties, was inadequate from every point of view and made worse by the antisemitic beliefs of Heinrich Smolka, a local official who was in charge. Among those who cooperated with Smolka in the anti-Jewish drive were Kálmán Borbély, the county prefect, and Gusztáv Órendi, a local Gestapo agent. The ghetto was guarded by the local police and 25 gendarmes brought in from Nagydemeter. It was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews in two transports that left for Auschwitz-II Birkenau on June 2 and 6, 1944.

Among the first survivors to return to the city were the relatively few Jewish labor servicemen who were liberated by the Soviet and Romanian forces that occupied the area of Northern Transylvania in October 1944. The returnees reorganized the community and, under the leadership of Rabbi Mozes Spitz, established several social and health-related institutions in expectation of the return of the surviving deportees.

In absentia, the Cluj (Hungarian: Koloszvar) People's Tribunal on May 31, 1946, condemned Pászthói to death, Debreczeni to lifelong hard labor, and Kuales to life in prison.[2]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto in Beszterce are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 194–196, 196–201.

Primary sources on the Beszterce ghetto can be found in microform at USHMMA, RG-25.004M, Selected records from collections of Bristiţa-Năsăud branch, ANR; and RG-52.003, Records relating to the Jewish Communities of Hungary and Romania, the "Final Solution" and the 1946 War Crimes Trial in Cluj, Romania, 1940–1946. Under Bristiţa, VHA holds 47 testimonies for the Beszterce ghetto. Two published testimonies are Emil Herczeg, *Egy év az életemből* (Tel Aviv: self-published, 1996); and Arie N. Gafni, *Bistritz* (B'nei B'rak: Lipe Friedmann, n.d.).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Szatmárnémeti conference summarized in Nagybanya mayor's office to Interior Ministry, Doc. 30/44, cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 652 n. 4.

2. Sentence in Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, pp. 216–217, 220.

BOR

Bor Copper Mine and Metallurgy (*Bor Kupferbergwerke und Hütten AG*) was located in the town of Bor, Serbia, approximately 153 kilometers (95 miles) southeast of Belgrade. The Siemens Construction Union (*Siemens Bauunion*, SBU) and Organisation Todt (OT), the Nazi construction organization, operated the mining complex. In response to war damage, partisan attacks, and infrastructural needs such as improving and maintaining the railways, the German authorities deployed thousands of forced laborers to more than 20 camps at the site. In 1943 and 1944, more than 6,200 Hungarian forced laborers—Jews, half-Jews, Jewish converts to Christianity, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-Day Adventists—were sent to Bor. The Royal Hungarian Army (*Honvéd*) and the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) oversaw the Hungarian deployment.

On February 20, 1943, OT vice president Gerhard Fränk contacted the German Foreign Office, asking for 13,000 additional workers for Bor, including 10,000 from Hungary.[1] After protracted negotiations, the German and Hungarian authorities stipulated the following: 3,000 forced laborers, organized into military companies, were to be turned over to OT, with the first 1,000 to arrive by July 15, 1943; the labor service companies were to remain under Honvéd control; the Reich was to deliver 100 tons of copper to Hungary monthly; a joint commission would handle forced labor deployment, feeding, and housing matters; and the Hungarian Defense Ministry would supply additional forced laborers in return for additional copper shipments.[2]

The Bor camp consisted of subcamps along the route from the town to Žagubica, 21 kilometers (13 miles) to the northeast. Forced laborers were housed in camps chiefly bearing German place names, including "Berlin," "Bregenz," "Brünn," "Dresden," "Heidenau," "Innsbruck," "Laznica," "München," "Rhon," "Vorarlberg," and "Westfalen." Some sites, such as Brünn, were penal camps (*Straflager*).[3] At various times, Berlin, München, and Dresden served as reception camps. The largest subcamp, Berlin, also served as the headquarters for OT and Honvéd personnel.

For Hungarian prisoners, torture and filth were part of everyday life. These circumstances applied still more to the Straflager, where shifts began at 5:00 A.M. instead of the normal 6:00 A.M. start time and inmates received daily rations of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread instead of the normal 500–700 grams (1 to 1.5 pounds) of moldy bread mixed with straw and cornmeal. Some prisoners managed to obtain additional sustenance through the black market, but the principal beneficiaries of these transactions were often the guards. On their work clothes, white armbands distinguished Christian converts from Jews, who wore a yellow dot sewn on the front and back. In the barracks, prisoners slept on three-tiered wooden bunks.

Escape was hardly an option for several reasons. Few Hungarian inmates spoke Serbo-Croatian. The surrounding populace was frequently suspicious of laborers and interested chiefly in black market activities. The area was well policed by Honvéd, German, and quisling Serb units. A few successful escapes still occurred, as when 16 members of the Vorarlberg camp managed to make their way to a Romanian-speaking district near Golubac (73 kilometers [more than 45 miles] northwest of Bor) on the banks of the Danube.[4] Others were less fortunate, as when Alezredes Ede Marányi insisted on death sentences for two of nine escapees recaptured in July 1944.[5]

The 5th Hungarian Labor Battalion departed Szeged for Bor in July 1943. (Szeged is more than 286 kilometers [178 miles] northwest of Bor.) The battalion included the 801st Special Company of Jászberény, which consisted of Jehovah's Witnesses.[6] At the München subcamp, the battalion was divided into four groups: the first, consisting of weaker conscripts, cleaned barracks and gathered firewood; the second helped Serb builders unload cargo and erect structures; and the remaining two groups worked on the railway that would cross a mountain summit near the Bregenz subcamp.

From August 2 to December 19, 1943, Alezredes András Balogh commanded Honvéd forces; later, the sadistic and antisemitic Marányi replaced him. In the Berlin subcamp, one building was turned over to about 200 Jehovah's Witnesses, whereas other barracks housed some 500 other forced laborers.[7] Vorarlberg was located near a railway track under construction. Its prisoners were at first deployed to fortify the perimeter against partisans, but later excavated railway tunnels. Although OT supervisors treated prisoners fairly, the Honvéd command staff was vicious. The camp commanders, Főhadnagy Szilard Brucker (until April 1944) and then Főhadnagy Pál Juhasz administered sadistic punishments, such as tying prisoners' arms behind their backs and suspending them from a pole so their toes did not touch the ground. Among noncommissioned officers (NCOs), Zászlós Őrmester András Tálas was notorious for being abusive.[8]

The second convoy of Hungarian labor servicemen, which numbered about 2,600 men, arrived at Bor in the summer of 1944. Ironically, OT's renewed call for additional labor temporarily spared the lives of some 3,250 Jews, at a time when Hungarian Jewry faced annihilation. Because of partisan sabotage and Allied bombings, the convoy took a circuitous route via Niš (approximately 87 kilometers [about 54 miles] southwest of Bor) near the Bulgarian border. En route they had little food or water.[9]

On arrival at the Dresden intake camp, the second convoy was divided into five camps, each consisting of 650 inmates. At Westfalen, prisoners worked alongside Italian Military Internees (*Italienische Militärinternierte*, IMIs) from a neighboring camp in digging a railway line. On Sundays, Honvéd personnel under Főhadnagy Laszlo Scheffer harassed prisoners so cruelly that many volunteered for extra OT work. Commanded by Főhadnagy Nagy, Laznica was an isolated site where workers excavated earth and stones for the railway. Its prisoners were treated relatively decently. Located some 40 kilometers (almost 25 miles) west of Bor, the Rhon subcamp had an antisemitic commander, Zászlós Frigyes Torma. Prisoners labored on the railway. On Sundays, they felled trees and built

fortifications against partisan attack. "Hanging-up" punishments were frequent. The subcamp Heidenau was immortalized in the poem, "Seventh Eclogue" (*Hetedik Ecloga*), found on the body of prisoner Miklós Radnóti. It held some 400 Hungarian forced laborers, including many Jewish converts to Christianity.[10] Under the command of Hadnagy Antal Szall, the conditions were relatively decent. The Bregenz subcamp was known for its sadistic Hungarian commanders, such as Törzsőrmester Csaszar, and unusually hostile OT managers. Prisoners felled trees and prepared the ground for the railway. Christian converts were housed separately from Jews, which exacerbated conflict among prisoners. Located near the town of Bor, the subcamp Innsbruck was commanded by Zászlós Nagy. Inmates worked on railway construction and were severely undernourished.[11]

The German and Hungarian authorities evacuated Bor in September 1944, although about 200 weakened Hungarian inmates remained under Százados Bela Nagy and Törzsőrmester Csaszar. Transferred from Berlin to Brünn on September 30, 1944, these inmates narrowly escaped two days later when the guards set the buildings on fire. Local Serbs rescued the prisoners, and the partisans arrested a number of Hungarian soldiers.[12]

Escorted by approximately 100 Honvéd troops under Főhadnagy Sándor Pataki and Hadnagy Pál Juhász, the first convoy of some 3,200 Hungarian forced laborers left the Berlin subcamp on September 17, 1944. The convoy faced a murderous ordeal during which Honvéd, ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*), and Waffen-SS units perpetrated a series of massacres costing the lives of approximately 1,200 Jews. Those who managed to reach the Austro-Hungarian border in November 1944 ended up in Nazi concentration camps, such as Flossenbürg.[13]

The second convoy, consisting of labor companies that arrived in the summer of 1944, was more fortunate. Led by Honvéd personnel under the command of Hadnagy László Schäffer, who was known for his fair treatment of the prisoners, the group of around 2,600 set off on September 29. On the third day of the march, partisans ambushed the convoy, and Schäffer's troops surrendered.

Many Honvéd officers who served at Bor were later tried in Yugoslav trials. Although Marányi disappeared, Tálas and Csaszar were executed.[14]

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Hungarian forced labor battalions at Bor include the following: Sabine Rutar, "Arbeit und Überleben in Serbien: Das Kupfererzbergwerk Bor im Zweiten Weltkrieg," *GuG* 31: 1 (2005): 101–134; Ruth B. Birn, "Austrian Higher SS and Police Leaders and their Participation in the Holocaust in the Balkans," *HGS* 6: 4 (1992): 351–372; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Tamás Csapody, *Bori munkaszolgálatosok: fejezetek a bori munkaszolgálat történetéből* (Budapest: Vince, 2011); Zvi Erez, "Jews for Copper: Jewish-Hungarian Labor Service Companies in Bor," trans. Naftali Greenwood, *YVS* 28 (2000): 243–286; Walter Manoschek, *"Serbien ist Judenfrei": Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995); Tomislav Pajić, *Prinudni rad i otpor u logorima Borskog rudnika 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1989); Klaus Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg in Jugoslawien 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Mittler, 2002); and Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945: Occupation and Collaboration* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Hungarian forced labor battalions at Bor can be found in AS, collection DK; BAB; ITS (collection 1.1.07, Verschiedene Lager und Haftstätten in Jugoslavien, available in digital form at USHMMA); and USHMMA, Acc. No. 1995.A.0442, Susan Toth collection, "Documents relating to the incarceration and labor at Bor." Published archival sources on Bor can be found in Randolph L. Braham, *The Destruction of Hungarian Jewry*, 2 vols. (New York: Pro Arte for the World Federation of Hungarian Jews, 1963); and Elek Karsai, ed., *Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezökön: Dokumentumok a mundaszolgá lat történetéhez Magyarországon* (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1962). Bor survivor testimonies can be found in VHA. Other survivor testimonies are at YVA: Aharon Strauss, 03/805; Moshe Glück, 03/1061; Yehoshua Amsel, 03/5360; Leopold Klein, 03/5585; Shmuel Herskovic, 03/5687; and Dr. Zoltán Straus, 03/6799. Erez cites personal testimonies by Kariel Gardos and by György Nagy, the latter titled "A 108/84—es bori munkaszolgálatos század története" (unpublished MS, Sutobica, n.d.). Published survivor testimonies include Yehuda Deutsch, *Bor: Slave Trade during the Second World War*, trans. Berthold Gottlieb Rose (Natanya: self-published, 2000); and Nathan Eck, "The March of Death from Serbia to Hungary (September 1944) and the Slaughter of Cservenka," *YVS* 2 (1958): 255–294, which reproduces "The Memoirs of Zalman Teichman: The Story of the Bitter Journey from Bor to Cservenka-Temesuar." "The Seventh Eclogue" by Miklós Radnóti is available in English in *Clouded Sky*, trans. Steven Polgar, Stephen Berg, and S. J. Mark (Riverdale-on-Hudson, NY: Sheep Meadow Press, 2003). Collections of published testimonies on Bor include Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Wartime Experience of Labor Service in Hungary: Varieties of Experiences* (New York: Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies Graduate Center/City University of New York and Social Science Monographs, 1995); and Istvan Kadar, Erhard Roy Wiehn, and Klara Strompf, eds., *Zwangsarbeit, Todesmarsch, Massenmord: Erinnerungen überlebender ungarischer Zwangsarbeiter des Kupferbergwerks Bor in Jugoslawien 1943–1944*, trans. Lidia Gál und Viktória Pelcz (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2007).

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NOTES

1. Fränk, note, February 20, 1943, AA Inland III, reproduced in Braham, *Destruction of Hungarian Jewry*, 1: 104, Doc. 58.

2. Fernschreibstelle AA, Budapest, Nr. 1163/23, June 24, 1943, Inland II/K213655; and Vorvereinbarung, signed Neyer and Ruszkiczaz-Rüdiger, July 2, 1943, reproduced in Braham, *Destruction of Hungarian Jewry*, 1: 102, 11–12, Docs. 56 and 62.

3. AS, DK, k. 599, fasc. 649, June 6, 1945; György Nagy, "A 108/84," and YVA testimonies by Aharon Strauss, 03/805; Moshe Glück, 03/1061; Yehoshua Amsel, 03/5360; Leopold Klein, 03/5585; Shmuel Herskovic, 03/5687; and Dr. Zoltán Straus, 03/6799, as cited in Erez, "Jews for Copper," pp. 251–252.

4. Deutsch, *Bor*, pp. 101–103.

5. Ibid., p. 105.

6. *FAA*, 2: 378, as cited in Braham, *Politics of Genocide*, Table 10.4, 1: 347.

7. Deutsch, *Bor*, pp. 56–67.

8. Ibid., pp. 68–75.

9. VHA #42506, Andrew Martin testimony, June 22, 1998.

10. Radnóti, *Clouded Sky*, p. 88.

11. Deutsch, *Bor*, pp. 85–100.

12. Ibid., p. 162.

13. Jazo Appel questionnaire, May 16, 1950, ITS, 1.1.07, Doc. 87769413.

14. Deutsch, *Bor*, pp. 165–169.

BUDAFOK

Budafok was an independent county town (*megyeváros*) in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, located just 13 kilometers (8 miles) south of Budapest. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the town had a population of 24,352. This figure included 314 Jews and 109 Christians of Jewish origin. Between 1940 and 1945, various labor and internment camps, as well as a ghetto, were located in Budafok. These sites are not well documented. Hungarian Jews constituted the main group of victims detained here. A smaller number of foreign Jews and possibly some non-Jewish individuals were also among the inmates.

ITS documentation suggests that forced laborers were registered in Budafok as early as 1940. For instance, Endre Ruttkay, a Hungarian Jew, may have been incarcerated in a labor camp in Budafok on July 1, 1940.[1] Laszlo Rosenzweig was likely dispatched to a labor camp in Budafok after his arrest in Gödöllö in July 1940.[2] Little is known about the life and work of forced laborers in Budafok. Scarce documentation indicates that an enamel factory employed forced laborers between 1942 and 1944.[3] Forced laborers were also registered at a cardboard factory at Gyar Street in Budafok.[4] In late 1944, one labor or internment camp was likely located at the Budafok airfield.[5] According to historian Randolph Braham, it is also possible that this field served as a transit station during the death marches of November 1944. At the time, the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) also operated a camp in Budafok, although its exact location is not clear. According to eyewitness testimony, some 600 to 700 women, likely of Jewish origin, were registered there. The site was guarded by members of the Hungarian Army and the Arrow Cross, suggesting that it operated between September 1944 and January 1945.[6]

In the spring of 1944, Hungarian authorities opened a ghetto in Budafok for Jews from the town and surrounding areas. The ghetto initially occupied a single street. In early July 1944, Hungarian gendarmes moved the inmates to a school building in Budafok, where they were physically abused and undernourished. Subsequently, they were transferred to a brick factory in Budakalász. This site served as an improvised entrainment center. Many of the Jews of Budafok were deported from that brick factory to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between July 6 and July 8, 1944. At least one eyewitness recalls cold winter weather during his transfer, suggesting the possibility that there were subsequent transports from Budafok to Auschwitz.[7] An unknown number of Jews were still living in the ghetto at Budafok on January 18, 1945, when Soviet soldiers arrived at the site.[8] Some evidence also suggests that inmates of the Arrow Cross camp were spared from deportation.[9] After the end of the war, 20 survivors returned to Budafok.[10]

SOURCES For background information on the detention sites in the Budafok internment camps see these secondary sources: Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 735; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977), p. 71.

Relevant primary documentation includes Records of the 8th Gendarmerie District, Kassa, Hungary (MOL Z 936), 1944–1945 (USHMMA, RG-39.005M, reel 5). VHA holds three testimonies indexed for the Budafok ghetto: Miryam Kohen, February 25, 1998 (#41278); Malka Mittelman-Seifert, September 14, 1995 (#6760); and Stephen Nasser, December 13, 1995 (#10053). The digital ITS Archive deposited at USHMMA contains a postwar eyewitness report describing the Arrow Cross camp for women at Budafok. See ITS, 1.1.0.7 (Verschiedene Lager in Ungarn), folder 85, Doc. No. 87769081. Also, the CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Jewish and possibly non-Jewish inmates of labor and internment camps at Budafok and of the Budafok ghetto, as well as other town residents. The cards document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. CNI card for Endre Ruttkay, Doc. No. 50619146.

2. CNI card for Laszlo Rosenzweig, Doc. No. 53139189.

3. CNI card for Zoltan Fried, Doc. No. 52814110.

4. CNI card for Josef Weisz, Doc. No. 50760135.

5. CNI card for Marika Korda, Doc. No. 52448567.

6. Testimony by Ermine Schisha, ITS, 1.1.0.7, folder 85, Doc. No. 87769081.

7. VHA #10053, Stephen Nasser testimony, December 13, 1995.

8. VHA #6760, Malka Mittleman-Seifert testimony, September 14, 1995.

9. ITS, 1.1.0.7, folder 85, Doc. No. 87769081.

10. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 2: 735.

BUDAKALÁSZ

Budakalász is located 14 kilometers (9 miles) north of Budapest in the Pomáz District of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County. In 1941, the town had a native population of 3,259, including 48 Jews. The Hungarian authorities rounded up most Jews in the towns surrounding Budapest between May 22 and June 30, 1944, and detained them in ghettos or so-called yellow-star houses. The Jewish population of Budakalász was transferred to the Csillaghegy ghetto in Budapest on May 24, 1944. At the same time, Hungarian authorities established a ghetto and deportation center at Budakalász. The site spanned several brickyards and possibly other industrial installations in town.[1] Between 17,500 and 20,000 Jews were transferred to Budakalász from Csepel Island in Budapest and from communities north of the capital, such as Kispest, Pesterzsébet, and Újpest.

Survivors have testified to the brutality in Budakalász.[2] According to survivor Olga Herskovitz, Hungarian gendarmes and the Nazi SS policed the Budakalász brickyards.[3] The site was overcrowded with thousands of frightened people who trampled over one another. Survivor Leslie Aigner testified that it lacked even basic accommodations: most people had to sleep outdoors on the ground without shelter.[4] People had to endure hunger and boredom for several weeks before being deported. Between July 6 and July 8, 1944, more than 24,000 inmates detained at the deportation centers of Budakalász, Monor, and other smaller sites in Deportation Zone VI were deported to Auschwitz and to sites in Austria.

SOURCES Secondary sources covering the Budakalász ghetto and deportation center include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 735–736.

Relevant primary sources include RG-19.013M (OGYK), reel 10, box D 9/4. VHA has 25 testimonies indexed for the "deportation center" at Budakalász, including testimony by Leslie Aigner, March 12, 1995 (#1400); Olga Herskovitz, December 10, 1995 (#9902); Armin Krauss, May 5, 1996 (#14918); Ibolya Kritzler, December 22, 1996 (#25215); and Elizabeth Laszlo, January 14, 1997 (#25846). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about nearly 100 Budakalász inhabitants and people likely detained at the Budakalász ghetto. Some cards refer to a labor camp for Jews in Budakalász operating in 1944. It is not clear whether this reference is to the ghetto. See, for instance, the CNI card for Laszlo Riess (Doc. No. 51988048). The cards are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. CNI card for Klara Ritter (Doc. No. 50542313) lists a light-bulb factory and a brick factory in Budakalász as possible detention sites.
2. VHA #25846, Elizabeth Laszlo testimony, January 14, 1997.
3. VHA #9902, Olga Herskovitz testimony, December 10, 1995.
4. VHA #1400, Leslie Aigner testimony, March 12, 1995.

BUDAPEST

Jews had lived in Budapest since the medieval period, but it was at the end of the nineteenth century that the Jewish population grew most dramatically in both absolute and relative terms. According to the 1880 census, the Jewish population was 70,879 (19.7% of the total). Forty years later, in 1920, it had increased to 215,512 (23.2%), making Budapest home to the second largest Jewish population in Europe after Warsaw. In the last census taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, in 1941, the Jewish population of the city was 184,453 (15.8%). Jews lived throughout the city, but their proportion was much higher on the Pest side (18.9%) of the Danube River than on the Buda side (6.1%). Within Pest, Jews were especially prevalent in the central districts of the city, making up 34.4 percent, 31.6 percent, and 35.5 percent of the population in Districts V, VI, and VII, respectively, according to the 1941 census.

The Jews in the capital suffered economically as a result of the anti-Jewish measures introduced in 1938, and Jewish men were called up into labor service battalions. The relocations of Jews in Budapest first came about when Jewish-owned apartments were seized for use by non-Jewish families made homeless by the Allied bombing of the city in early April 1944. These Jewish families were rehoused in Districts VI and VII in central Pest, where the rightist press reported something like a "ghetto" being formed. However it was not until May 9, 1944, that formal plans for ghettoizing Budapest's Jews were developed.[1] These plans sketched out major streets and squares that were to be "cleansed" of Jews, as well as seven ghetto areas—four in Pest and three in Buda—where Jews were to be gathered. These locations were intended to be in close proximity to strategically important sites—such as factories, railway stations, and government offices—that were targets of Allied bombing. They were in accord with the claims of the State Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the Interior Ministry, László Endre, that "we will concentrate an appropriate number of Jews close to everywhere we expect to be attacked by the terror bombers, for example factories, railway stations."[2]

However, a far more dispersed form of ghettoization was adopted in the capital by mayoral officials in mid-June. A mass registration of the city's inhabitants was undertaken on June 1–2, 1944, that identified which properties were owned and lived in by a majority of Jews. Where Jews lived in the city appears to have been critical in determining which 2,637 apartment buildings and family homes were listed on June 16 as ghetto houses, to be marked on their exterior with a large yellow star on a black background, earning them the name "[yellow-] starred houses."[3] Jews were to move into these properties by June 21, making use of the Jewish Council's Housing Department if they needed assistance in finding a place to live.

Almost immediately, there were complaints about which houses had or had not been designated. Hundreds of petitions

were sent to the Budapest mayor, the majority from non-Jews calling for the removal of ghetto status from their apartment building, and there was a thoroughgoing reinvestigation of the properties that were designated as yellow-star houses on June 16.[4] Less than a week later, on June 22, a new, definitive list of properties was published.[5] This reduced the total number of apartment buildings making up the ghetto to 1,948—with a large proportion found in the central districts of Pest (where almost one in three buildings in Districts V and VII were marked with a yellow star). Most strikingly, the scale at which ghettoization was implemented shifted as a result of the extensive complaints launched by non-Jewish inhabitants. Although Jews were being forced to move into yellow-star buildings, non-Jews were permitted to remain living in their apartments in these buildings, and large numbers chose to do so. At the end of November, non-Jews partially occupied 144 of the 162 yellow-star houses in the area that was later made into the Pest ghetto.[6] If these figures are representative of the city as a whole, it would seem that the great majority of ghetto houses were in fact "mixed houses" where non-Jews lived just down the corridor from Jews.

Jews lived in yellow-star houses throughout the city from June through late November 1944. From June 5 onward, Budapest Jews were permitted to shop only between 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. This reduction in their access to shops was applied to other places in the city, with a limited number of cafes, bars, restaurants, bathhouses, and cinemas designated as accessible by Jews at set times on set days. On June 25 Jews were informed that they could only leave these buildings between 2 P.M. and 5 P.M., a period later extended to 11 A.M. to 5 P.M.[7]

Entrance to a yellow star house in Budapest, 1944.
USHMM WS #76124, COURTESY OF FORTEPAN.

Although deportations were planned for Budapest's Jews in July, they were spared the fate of Jews living elsewhere in Hungary when Regent Miklós Horthy halted deportations on July 7. After his failed attempt to extricate Hungary from the war, Horthy was captured and a puppet Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) government installed on October 15, 1944. This government implemented a new policy of ghettoization for those Jews who remained in the country. Men aged 16 to 60 and women aged 18 to 40 were marched westward from the city to undertake forced labor, particularly the digging of fortifications. Those who remained were placed into one of two ghettos, depending on their status. In November 1944, an "International ghetto" was set up in the "Palatinus" buildings in the Újlipótváros quarter of the city. "Protected" Jews were to move into these houses by November 15, a deadline that was extended to November 17. A little over 15,000 Jews held official papers issued by the neutral legations, although the numbers of Jews crammed into International ghetto houses was considerably higher, with Raoul Wallenberg estimating that up to 35,000 Jews lived in them.[8] They moved into around 120 houses clustered on the following streets: Katona József, Pozsonyi, Tátra, Pannónia, Csanády, Wahrmann Mór, Hollán Ernő, Légrády Károly, Phönix, and Sziget, the Újpesti Wharf, and Szent István Park.

Those Jews who did not have this protection were moved from yellow-star houses across the city into a fenced ghetto established in the traditional "Jewish quarter" of the city around the Dohány Street synagogue. The precise shape of the Pest ghetto was announced by Interior Minister Gábor Vajna on November 29, although the Jewish Council had been informed of the plan to set up a closed ghetto on November 18 by the deputy head of police, János Solymossy. Located in the area bordered by Károly Boulevard and Király, Dohány, and Nagytádi Szabó Streets, the ghetto included apartment buildings on Dob, Wesselényi, Rumbach Sebestyén, Sip, Holló, Kazinczy, Kisdiófa, Nagydiófa, Nyár, Csányi, Klauzál, and Akácfa Streets, and Klauzál Square. Non-Jews were ordered to leave the ghetto area between December 2 and 7. According to a Jewish Council survey undertaken in December, 44,416 Jews lived in 7,726 rooms in 4,513 apartments in 241 to 243 buildings.[9] The ghetto was closed on December 10, with exit and entry restricted to four gates guarded by policemen. As elsewhere, the costs of fencing were withdrawn from the Jewish bank account.

Under the direction of the Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*), the ghetto was subdivided into 10 districts, with each one being responsible for its food and fuel supply. Communal kitchens were established at a number of locations, supplying around 60,000 portions of food daily. According to the estimates of the ghetto commander and Jewish Council member, Miksa Domonkos, ghetto provisions supplied 781 calories per adult

Jews in the Budapest ghetto, 1944.
USHMM WS #98981, COURTESY OF BEIT LOHAMEI HAGHETAOT (GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE MUSEUM).

per day.[10] Food supply was a major problem, in particular after the Red Army encircled Budapest on December 25. The food shortage was compounded by the growth of the ghetto population to an estimated 70,000 by January 1945. Within the ghetto, order was maintained by a ghetto police force (*gettórendészet*) of around 900. However, they were largely powerless against roaming gangs of Arrow Cross thugs who murdered thousands of Jews from both the Pest and International ghettos in the chaotic winter of 1944. Rumors of plans to blow up the Pest ghetto remain unsubstantiated. Instead, both ghettos were liberated by the Red Army between January 16 and 18, 1945. Around 20,000 to 25,000 Jews survived in the International ghetto, a little less than 70,000 in the Pest ghetto, and another estimated 25,000 Jews survived the war in hiding in Budapest.

SOURCES Major secondary sources on the Budapest ghetto are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Tim Cole, *Holocaust City: The Making of a Jewish Ghetto* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Kinga Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999); László Karsai, "The Last Phase of the Hungarian Holocaust: The Szálasi Regime and the Jews," in Randolph L. Braham and Scott Miller, eds., *The Nazis' Last Victims* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998), pp. 103–116; "Budapest," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 736–755; and Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013). An early history of the ghetto is found in Jenö Lévai, *A Pesti Gettó Csodálatos Megmenekülésének Hiteles Története* (Budapest: Officina, 1946).

Primary sources on the Budapest ghetto can be found in BFL, MOL, and ÚMKL. Two of the many collections available at USHMMA concerning the Budapest ghetto are RG-39.013M (Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956); and RG-39.006M (Records of the Budapest People's Court). USHMMA holds a large number of written and oral testimonies by ghetto survivors, as does VHA. Some documentation on the Budapest ghetto can also be found in NARA, T-973 (Hungarian Political and Military Records), selectively copied at USHMMA as RG-30.003M. Published primary sources can be found in Ilona Benoscofsky and Elek Karai, eds., *Vádirat a Nácizmus Ellen*, 3 vols. (Budapest: A Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete Kiadása, 1958); and Raoul Wallenberg, *Letters and Dispatches 1924–1944*, trans. Kjersti Board (New York: Arcade Publishing in association with USHMM, 1995).

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NOTES

1. MOL, K147, 3410 cs., reproduced in Benoscofsky and Karai, eds., *Vádirat a Nácizmus Ellen*, 1: 301–303.
2. *Magyarság*, April 16, 1944.
3. See the lists published in *BuKö* 135 (June 17, 1944); *EsUj*, June 16, 1944; and on wall posters.
4. See BFL, IX/1867.1944; IX/1870.1944; IX/2026.1944; IX/2027.1944; IX/2030.1944; IX/2031.1944; IX/2035.1944; IX/2037.1944; IX/2040.1944; IX/2041.1944; IX/2042.1944; IX/2048.1944; IX/2102.1944; IX/2105.1944; IX/2114.1944; IX/2115.1944; IX/2116.1944; IX/2339.1944; IX/2747.1944; IX/2781.1944; IX/2782.1944; IX/2783.1944; IX/2784/1944; IX/2785.1944; IX/2786.1944; IX/2787.1944; IX/2789.1944; IX/2790.1944; IX/2791.1944; and IX/2792.1944; see also MOL, I collection, reels 15–17.
5. For example, see the lists published in *EsUj*, June 22, 1944; and on wall posters.
6. ÚMKL, XXXIII-5-c-1, XI.23.
7. See the translation of this order, Decree 7200/fk. ebn. 1944, June 23, 1944, in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 855–856.
8. Wallenberg, *Letters and Dispatches 1924–1944*, p. 265.
9. ÚMKL, XXXIII-5-c-2, n.d.
10. Domonkos is quoted in full in Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest*, p. 415.

BUDAPEST/COLUMBUS STREET

A major camp for Jewish refugees was located at 60 Columbus Street (*Kolumbusz utca*) in Budapest, District XIV, on a lot behind the Jewish National Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (*Israelita Siketnémak Országos Intézete*) on Mexico Street (*Mexikói utca*). The camp had a capacity of up to 3,000. According to eyewitness testimony, the inmates occupied two large wooden barracks, each containing two rows of bunk beds. A third, smaller barrack served as an infirmary. The inmates were mostly Jewish refugees awaiting emigration clearance. Some inmates contributed significant sums of money that went toward the running of the camp.

Survivor Vera Barcza entered the camp in 1944, when she was 15 years old. She remembered it as a safe haven after the

extreme stress of living in hiding. She credited her stay in the camp with her survival because it offered safety, shelter, and food during the dangerous final months of World War II.[1] Indeed, after the German invasion of Hungary in March 1944, the site came to be known as a "privileged camp." According to historian Randolph Braham, SS units guarded the site until September 1944, temporarily preventing Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) attacks and deportations. Many Jews saved by the famous transports arranged by Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner were housed at the Columbus Street camp.[2] Some 388 of these Jews arrived in the camp from the Kolozsvár ghetto.

By September 1944, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) assumed full control over the site's day-to-day administration. The camp was liquidated in early December 1944 after the Arrow Cross attacked the barracks and murdered a number of the inhabitants. Children and elderly inmates were subsequently transferred to the Budapest ghetto. Women were transferred to a detention site at Teliki Square, colloquially called "Jews' House Teliki Square" (*Judenhaus Teliki Platz*). Others were transferred to the nearby deportation center at the National Center for Secondary Sports Clubs (*Középiskolai Sportkörök Országos Központja*, KISOK) sports field.[3]

SOURCES For secondary sources describing the Budapest/Columbus Street camp, see especially Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Yehuda Bauer, *Jews for Sale? Nazi–Jewish Negotiations, 1933–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Budapest/Columbus Street camp can be found in MZSML, available at USHMMA as RG-39.013M (Records relating to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956). The ITS CNI contains inquiries about inmates registered at the internment camp at Columbus Street. The cards document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA testimonies include Vera Barcza, March 3, 1996 (#12733); Tibor Bielik, March 10, 1995 (#1332); George Bishop, October 25, 2000 (#51218); Rachel Bleier, December 11, 1995 (#7071); and Eva Boyum, February 9, 1995 (#40695).

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NOTES

1. VHA #12733, Vera Barcza testimony, March 3, 1996.
2. Partial passenger list of Kasztner train, USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), box 6/2, reel 69.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Sosana Weis, Doc. No. 53055977.

BUDAPEST/CONTI STREET PRISON

A military prison was located on Conti Street in District VIII in Budapest. During World War II, the Hungarian authorities detained political prisoners and others accused of treason, espionage, and related offenses at the site. Postwar documentation suggests that some foreign Jews were also among the prisoners.[1]

The Hungarian poet and Zionist resistance fighter Hannah Szenes was one of the most famous prisoners detained at Conti Street; she lived in a cell with other prisoners. After the war, her mother Catherine testified to having visited her at the site in early October 1944. After Hannah's execution by firing squad at the Margit Boulevard prison on November 7, her mother picked up her personal belongings from the Conti Street prison.[2]

Another famous prisoner incarcerated at the site was János Kádár. The Hungarian communist leader and resistance fighter was arrested while trying to cross the border into Yugoslavia on April 20, 1944. Sentenced to two and a half years in prison, he was incarcerated at the Conti Street prison. His cell was nearly demolished when a bomb damaged the prison during an American air raid later that year.

The Conti Street prison was evacuated in November 1944, when prisoners were assembled for a forced march toward the Slovakian border. Kádár managed to escape at that time. He survived the war, but was once again incarcerated at Conti Street as a political prisoner before eventually rising to the position of General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Conti Street prison include Maxine Schur, *Hannah Szenes: A Song of Light* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1986); Roberta Grossman, ed., *Hannah Senesh: Her Life and Diary* (Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights Publishing, 2007); and Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *Perfect Heroes: The World War II Parachutists and the Making of Israeli Collective Memory* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010). For Catherine Szenes's postwar testimony regarding her daughter Hannah's incarceration at Conti Street see Grossman, *Hannah Senesh: Her Life and Diary*, pp. 253–293. See also Roger Gough, *A Good Comrade: János Kádár, Communism and Hungary* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2006).

There is little documentation of the prison at Conti Street. The CNI of the ITS contains an inquiry about Ruzica Raicic (Doc. No. 52022212) who may have been a prisoner there. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. For confirmation see ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ruzica Raicic, Doc. No. 52022212.
2. Grossman, ed., *Hannah Senesh*, pp. 281–293.

BUDAPEST/KISOK

The National Center for Secondary Sports Clubs (*Középiskolai Sportkörök Országos Központja*, KISOK) was located on Erzsébet Királyné Street in District XIV in Budapest. Between October 1944 and January 1945, the site served as a detention and deportation center for Hungarian Jews after Defense Minister Károly Beregfy issued a labor conscription decree on October 21, 1944. He ordered Budapest's Jewish men between the ages of 16 and 60 to report to the Tattersall

horserace track at Kerepsi Street and Jewish women between the ages of 16 to 40 to go to the KISOK sports field by October 23.[1]

Immediately following the announcement, Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) units acted as "recruitment officers" and unleashed a terror campaign against Budapest's Jews. The Arrow Cross units brutally forced the Jews out of their "yellow-star houses" where they made preselections and then drove those who were selected toward the appointed assembly points. These sites had no facilities to accommodate the thousands of people who were processed every day.[2] Thousands were assigned to labor battalions deployed to dig trenches and build defense fortifications along the southern periphery of Budapest. Those who survived several months of violence, abuse, and neglect were liberated alongside the remaining inhabitants of the Budapest ghetto by the Red Army on January 18, 1945.[3] Others were selected for forced labor in Nazi Germany. These Jewish labor battalions were marched from KISOK and other transit points, such as the Ujlaki Brickyards, toward Hegyeshalom, the Hungarian checkpoint at the Austrian border. Among them was Valeria Szerkely, who was a Jewish 21-year-old Budapest native when she entered a yellow-star house in the city in June 1944. From there she passed through the KISOK deportation center and survived a forced march to Hegyeshalom. She then was transferred to Köszeg and Mauthausen and was finally liberated at Gunskirchen in May 1945.[4]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources include the following: for background information on the Hungarian forced labor program for Jews see Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013). The latter volume contains relevant primary documents, including Beregfy's conscription order from October 21, 1944, pp. 153–154. See also Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Primary sources include USHMMA, RG-39.013M, reel 25 (HJA XX-F-1, box D 6/1). USHMMPA contains information about several KISOK inmates, including the Breuer family, whose members were assembled at the KISOK sports field, but escaped the death march of December 1944; see WS #67848. Although VHA contains several thousand testimonies indexed for Budapest, very few of them contain references to the KISOK site. The ITS CNI contains inquiries about several dozen Hungarian Jews registered at the KISOK sports field. The cards document various paths of persecution to and from the site. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-39.013M (HJA), reel 25.
2. USHMMPA, WS #67848.
3. CNI card for Lea Leuchter, Doc. No. 52030551.
4. CNI card for Valeria Szerkely, Doc. No. 50579943.

BUDAPEST/MAGDOLNA STREET

Magdolna Street was located in District VIII, in a poor neighborhood of Budapest traditionally occupied by observant Jews.[1] A house possibly located at 28 or 31 Magdolna Street served as an internment camp for foreign Jews and other refugees.[2] Hungarian Jews without proper identification papers were also interned there. Some records casually refer to the site as the "Jew House."[3] It likely operated between 1941 and 1944. According to International Tracing Service (ITS) documentation, one of the earliest admissions was in April 1941.[4] Police records detail transfers into and out of the Magdolna Street camp as late as June 11, 1944.[5]

Survivor Arnold Polak, a Jew from Slovakia, who spent one month at the site, described it as a "detention house." According to his postwar testimony, the site consisted of a residential building with a gated courtyard. He remembered that he was grateful to receive meals and shelter at Magdolna Street after spending time in hiding in Slovakia.[6] Like Polak, most inmates were foreign Jews under age 50. Most seem to have stayed at the site no longer than a few weeks or months before being transferred to other internment camps in Budapest and the surrounding areas. Survivor Benjamin Wayne, for example, was detained at Magdolna Street after crossing the border from Slovakia in 1943. After a few weeks at the camp, he was moved to a similar site on Szabolcs Street. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, some Magdolna Street inmates were transferred to Jewish labor camps in the Reich, including Austria. For others, the house at Magdolna Street became a way station to Auschwitz.[7]

SOURCES For background information on Budapest internment camps see Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Important primary sources documenting the Magdolna Street camp include MZSML, available at USHMMA as RG-39.013M (Records relating to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956). The ITS CNI contains inquiries about inmates registered at the internment camp at Magdolna Street. The cards document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA contains seven survivor testimonies of former internees at Magdolna Street, including Piroska Freund, March 11, 1996 (#11459); Arnold Polak, October 16, 1998 (#47954); Benjamin Wayne, May 19, 1996 (#15361); and Ilona Singer, April 14, 1997 (#28381).

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NOTES

1. VHA #11459, Piroska Freund testimony, March 11, 1996.
2. Compare ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Fritz Berger, Doc. No. 51839185; with ITS, 1.1.0.6, Doc. No. 82341641.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Franciska Unger, Doc. No. 53193216.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Nurit Jungreisz, Doc. No. 52125700.

5. List of prisoners, Magdolna Street, n.d., USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), box d/84, reel 10.
6. VHA #47954, Arnold Polak testimony, October 16, 1998.
7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Sarotta Czimmerman, Doc. No. 52529429.

BUDAPEST/MARGIT BOULEVARD

The Hungarian authorities maintained a large prison in District I in Budapest. It was located on Margit Boulevard (*Margit körut*), part of Grand Boulevard (*nagkörut*), one of the city's major thoroughfares. During World War II, the site served as a military prison.[1] Political prisoners and others accused of treason, espionage, and similar offenses were detained there. Postwar documentation suggests that many foreign Jews were among the prisoners.

David Schoenblum, a Jewish Romanian survivor, was incarcerated at Margit after illegally crossing the border in 1942. According to his postwar testimony, he spent nine months in solitary confinement in a cell measuring roughly 2 by 3 meters (6 by 9 feet). There was little food, and he suffered from starvation and other ailments stemming from neglect. Schoenblum was accused of espionage and sentenced to 15 years in prison. He recalled learning of this sentence with some relief after having witnessed mass hangings of other prisoners at the site.[2]

After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the Gestapo also detained prisoners at this site. Many were Jews who were subsequently deported to Auschwitz or transferred to other detention sites, including labor camps, concentration camps, and ghettos.[3] Zipora Blick, a Jewish Romanian survivor like Schoenblum, was detained at the Margit Boulevard prison for several days in 1944. According to her postwar testimony, she was interrogated several times and threatened with torture. However, when she refused to divulge her Jewish identity and provided the authorities with false identification papers, she was released.[4]

The Hungarian poet and pro-Zionist resistance fighter Hannah Szenes was also imprisoned at the Margit prison in 1944. Szenes was tried for treason in a military trial on October 28, 1944, and executed by firing squad at the site on November 7. In late December 1944, members of the Zionist Hashomer Hatzair organization liberated several inmates from the prison according to historian Krisztián Ungváry. The remaining prisoner population was liberated on January 18, 1945.[5]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources include Krisztián Ungváry, *Battle for Budapest: 100 Days in World War II* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004); Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz, *Perfect Heroes: The World War II Parachutists and the Making of Israeli Collective Memory* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010); Maxine Schur, *Hannah Szenes: A Song of Light* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1986); and Roberta Grossman, *Hannah Senesh: Her Life and Diary* (Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights Publishing, 2007).

Primary documentation about the prison at Margit Boulevard is very scarce. VHA has 21 testimonies indexed for the prison including a testimony by Sidonie Bennett, December 18, 1995 (#10307); Zipora Blick, July 26, 1995 (#43123); David Schoenblum, August 7, 1996 (#18618); Eric Spicer, August 29, 1995 (#4535); and Raymond Taudlich, May 19, 1995 (#2602). Additionally, the CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about 12 inmates. The cards document various paths of persecution, including inmates' passage through a series of prisons or through a variety of detention institutions, such as prisons, labor camps, concentration camps, and ghettos. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. For confirmation see ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Bernard Kunovitz, Doc. No. 52716484, and Helene Abeles, Doc. No. 52936590.
2. VHA #18618, David Schoenblum testimony, August 7, 1996.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alice Rottmann, Doc. No. 52532665.
4. VHA #43123, Zipora Blick testimony, July 26, 1995.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Awraham Karni, Doc. No. 51261168.

BUDAPEST/MOSONYI STREET

The Hungarian judicial authorities operated a police detention center ("*toloncház*" or colloquially "*tolonc*") at 9 Mosonyi Street in Budapest District VIII. The site was located near the Keleti Railway Station, where many of the detainees arrived.[1] Some records refer to it by the German term "push house" (*Schubhaus*), a detention facility traditionally used to process vagabonds and others lacking proper identification papers. Postwar documentation and secondary literature refer to the site by a number of different designations, including "detention camp" or "collection camp."[2]

The Mosonyi Street site was part of a network of police detention centers that included two larger sites: Toloncház I at Mosonyi Street in Budapest and Toloncház II at Kistarcsa. The available documentation from the International Tracing Service (ITS) suggests that the Hungarian authorities used such sites as detention centers for refugees and political prisoners—both Hungarians and foreigners—throughout the early 1940s. Even before the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, a high percentage of these centers' inmates were Jews. Prisoners were processed here before their transfer to permanent internment camps or labor battalions.[3] Itziak Benakuva, a Polish Jew, was 28 years old when he was briefly interned at the Mosonyi Street detention center in the summer of 1941. According to his postwar testimony, the cells were

overcrowded with hundreds of inmates. Gizela Eisner was a Czech Jew detained at Mosonyi Street. She recalled later that Jewish aid organizations provided the inmates with food and basic necessities. After staying at the Mosonyi Street prison for several weeks or even months, Eisner was transferred to an internment camp located on Budapest's Szabolcs Street in 1942.[4]

After the German occupation of Hungary in the spring of 1944, many of the newly detained foreign and Hungarian Jews passed through institutions of the toloncház network, including the site at Mosonyi Street. Elizabet Benedek was one of many foreign Jews detained at the Mosonyi site at that time. According to her postwar testimony, she arrived at the Keleti Railway Station with a large transport of detainees. At the prison, men and women were separated and made to spend the night sleeping on the floor of large detention halls. Like other survivors, she testified that the prisoner population consisted of hundreds of people. The following morning, the prison authorities conducted a roll call in the prison yard. Benedek, her brother, and other younger detainees were slated for deportation to Auschwitz.[5] Postwar documentation reveals that the vast majority of Jews processed at Mosonyi Street after March 1944 were transferred to Kistarcsa. Most Kistarcsa inmates were then deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in the summer of 1944. The available evidence suggests that a significant number of those initially registered at Mosonyi avoided deportation and survived the war.[6]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Mosonyi Street detention site include Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, "Ungarn," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 359–361. See also Szita Szabolcs, *Ungarn in Mauthausen: Ungarische Häftlinge in SS-Lagern auf dem Territorium Österreichs* (Vienna: Bundesministerium für Inneres, Abt. IV/7, 2006); Jonny Moser, *Wallenbergs Laufbursche: Jugenderinnerungen 1938–1945* (Vienna: Picus, 2006); Johannes F. Evelein, ed., *Exiles Traveling: Exploring Displacement, Crossing Boundaries in German Exile Arts and Writings 1933–1945* (New York: Rodopi, 2009), pp. 363–364; and Norbert Kerenyi, *Stories of a Survivor* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, 2011).

Primary documentation about the Mosonyi Street camp is scarce. An Austrian postwar report listing the site can be found at ITS, 1.1.0.6, folder 53/I412, Doc. No. 82341650. Additionally, the CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Mosonyi Street inmates. The cards document various paths of persecution, including the flow from Mosonyi Street to Kistarcsa that predominated in 1944. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA has 69 testimonies indexed for the prison at Mosonyi Street, including testimony by Itziak Benakuva, April 15, 1996 (#12550); Elizabet Benedek, November 13, 1997 (#37905); Gizela Eisner, July 16, 1996 (#17690); Jacob Halberstam, July 10, 1996 (#17276); and Margaret Hubsher, February 15, 1998 (#38985).

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Magda Breiner, Doc. No. 5207599.
2. See, for example, CNI cards for Tova Schwartz, Doc. No. 52174540; Erzsebeth Jakob, Doc. No. 52089972; and Jehuda Jakubovics, Doc. No. 52193160.
3. VHA #12550, Itziak Benakuva testimony, April 15, 1996.
4. VHA #17690, Gizela Eisner testimony, July 16, 1996.
5. VHA #37905, Elizabet Benedek testimony, November 13, 1997.
6. Compare CNI cards for Rose Heilig, Doc. No. 52208979; Ilona Braun, Doc. No. 52246758; Mordechaj Roth, Doc. No. 52422132; and Soel Rubin, Doc. No. 52424626.

BUDAPEST/ÓBUDA

The Nagybátony-Újlaki Brickyards were located at 134–136 Bécsi Street in Óbuda, a northeastern suburb of Budapest. Between November 1944 and January 1945, the site served as a large transit and deportation center. Thousands of Hungarian Jews were marched from these brickyards to the Austrian border.

The Óbuda area saw antisemitic excesses immediately after the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) took over the Hungarian government in October 1944: gangs of Arrow Cross militants rounded up Jewish labor servicemen and executed them at the Margit Bridge and the Chain Bridge. In the following weeks, most of the remaining Jewish labor service units were evacuated from the path of the advancing Red Army and transferred to Budapest. When the Soviet offensive against the Hungarian capital stalled briefly in November 1944, many of these labor units were deployed on the left bank of the Danube to dig trenches and build fortifications. Once the offensive resumed, the surviving laborers and other Jews rounded up in Budapest were detained at the Újlaki Brickyards in Óbuda.

During this period, András Szentandrássy commanded the Óbuda Deportation Center at the Újlaki Brickyards. Hungarian police nominally served as guards while the Arrow Cross terrorized, robbed, and abused the inmates. Thousands of Jewish men and women were housed under extremely primitive conditions. They endured cold and rain in the overcrowded courtyards or in the open brick-drying barns. Sanitary conditions were catastrophic. There was little to no food.[1]

Beginning on November 8, 1944, after spending several days at the brickyards, Jewish labor battalions were formed into marching columns and sent along a route through Piliscsaba, Dorog, Süttő, Szőny, Gönyű, Dunaszeg, and Mosonmagyaróvár toward Hegyeshalom, the Hungarian checkpoint at the Austrian border. The Hungarian Defense Ministry and the Interior Ministry were responsible for guarding, housing, and feeding the prisoners during the forced marches. However, in reality, prisoners endured rampant neglect, abuse, and torture at the hands of their guards, resulting in mass deaths along the route.[2] At Hegyeshalom, the survivors were transferred to the German authorities and sent to build fortifications near Vienna.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources about the Óbuda Deportation Center at the Újlaki Brickyards include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and Kinga Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History* (New York: Central European University Press, 1999).

Primary documentation includes 100 VHA testimonies indexed for the Óbuda Deportation Center, including VHA testimony by Yehuda Adam, January 21, 1998 (#37507); Fred Adler, July 2, 1998 (#44077); Leslie Aigner, March 12, 1995 (#1400); Judith Alt, May 4, 1995 (#2217); Per Anger; February 21, 1996 (#12289); Gabrielle Baumann-Kober, July 27, 1996 (#17895); Ivan Becker, February 23, 1996 (#12390); and Magdalena Berenyi, June 13, 1996 (#16138). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen inmates registered at the Újlaki Brickyards. The cards document various paths of persecution endured by Hungarian Jews in the fall of 1944. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #2217, Judith Alt testimony, May 4, 1995; VHA #17895, Gabrielle Baumann-Kober testimony, July 27, 1996.
2. VHA #12390, Ivan Becker testimony, February 23, 1996; VHA #16138, Magdalena Berenyi testimony, June 13, 1996.

BUDAPEST/RÖKK-SZILÁRD STREET

The National Rabbinical Institute (*Országos Rabbiképző Intézet*, ORI) was located at 26 Rökk-Szilárd Street in Budapest's Palace District (*Palotanegyed*). Under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Dieter Wisliceny, the site served as a Gestapo prison and transit center for Jews from March until September 1944.

Gestapo and SS forces first seized the building on March 20, 1944. By the following day, some 240 prisoners were registered there. The facility was guarded by the Hungarian police under Pál Ubrizsi, who was described by the survivors as a merciless perpetrator. The site served several purposes. It was the administrative center for the network of internment camps on the heavily industrialized Csepel Island, due south of Budapest. The site also served as a collection point for the deportations of Hungarian Jews, including the first major deportation of nearly 1,800 Kistarcsa inmates to Auschwitz.[1] Prisoners tended to stay only for brief periods and were usually transferred to other internment camps for Jews. By September 1944, the Hungarian authorities closed the internment camp at 26 Rökk-Szilárd Street. Beginning on October 15, 1944, however, the regime of Ferenc Szálasi used the site as a jail run by the Center of National Defense.[2]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources include Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, "Ungarn," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 359–361. See also Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994), 1: 124, 165, 281.

There is scarce documentation on the internment camp at Rökk-Szilárd Street. VHA has two testimonies indexed for the site. See the VHA testimony by Eva Hance, December 6, 1997 (#36043), and by Sándor Szenes, July 14, 2000 (#50997). Additionally, the CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Rökk-Szilárd prisoners. Most of them were detained at the site in April and May of 1944 before their transfer to other prisons and camps, including Auschwitz. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. See also records of the HDCM collection as cited by Szita Szabolcs, *Trading in Lives? Operations of the Jewish Relief and Rescue Committee in Bucharest, 1944–1945* (New York: Central European University Press, 2005): 25. MAZSIHISZ holds a report issued by the Jewish Council about the internment camps for Jews (XX-C-1, Box D 8/4). Also relevant is a letter by the directorate of the seminary regarding the return of the building issued on September 22, 1944 (PIH-XII-A, Box N 4) and an eyewitness testimony by Dr. Tibor Neumann (DEGOB, Transcript No. 3617). All MAZSIHISZ documents are cited by Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági in "Ungarn," 9: 360–361.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Michael Heisler, Doc. No. 51257200, and Eva Schwartz, Doc. No. 51135831.
2. HJMA, PIH-XII-A, Box N 4/1, as cited by Kádár and Vági, "Ungarn," p. 661.

BUDAPEST/TATTERSALL

Named after the British racehorse auctioneer Richard Tattersall, Budapest's Tattersall racetrack and arena were located at 7 Kerepsi Street in District VIII. It was adjacent to the Budapest ghetto that operated between November 18, 1944, and January 18, 1945, in District VII. During the Arrow Cross's (*Nyilas*'s) reign of terror against Budapest's Jews, the Tattersall area served as a detention and transfer center.[1] After rounding up the city's Jews, Arrow Cross forces moved them to Tattersall where they confiscated their valuables before transferring them into the ghetto. Arrow Cross militants not only terrorized but also murdered an unknown number of Jews at the Tattersall location.[2] Elszebeth Kertesz was among the Budapest Jews arrested after the German occupation of Hungary. Detained in April 1944, she was likely briefly registered at Tattersall in November 1944 before being deported to Theresienstadt, Dachau, and Bergen-Belsen.[3]

SOURCES The Arrow Cross roundup point at Tattersall is under-researched. It is mentioned in Kinga Frojimovics et al., *Jewish Budapest: Monuments, Rites, History* (New York: Central European University Press, 1999), p. 389.

For primary documentation see the CNI inquiry card for Elszebeth Kertesz, who likely passed through Tattersall in November 1944. Her card refers to the site as a "Jew House Tattersall" and is available in digital form at USHMMA. See

ITS, 0.1, Doc. No. 53746129. VHA has a small number of testimonies mentioning Tattersall. Relevant testimonies include VHA testimony by Irene Abrams, November 6, 1995 (#5402); Livia Adler, June 18, 1996 (#15295); and Fred Andrews, June 1, 1997 (#29534).

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NOTES

1. VHA #15295, Livia Adler testimony, June 18, 1996; VHA #29534, Fred Andrews testimony, June 1, 1997.
2. VHA #5402, Irene Abrams testimony, November 6, 1995.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Elszebeth Kertesz, Doc. No. 53746129.

CSEPEL ISLAND

Extending south from Budapest, Csepel Island (Hungarian: Csepel-sziget) is the largest Danube River island in Hungary, measuring approximately 48 kilometers (30 miles) long and between 6 and 8 kilometers (3.7–5 miles) wide. At its northernmost point lies the town of Csepel, located about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south of Budapest's center. In 1941, it was located in Központi District in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County (today: Pest County). At the time, Központi District had a total population of 149,671, including 4,342 Jews. The town of Csepel was home to a population of 46,171, including 902 Jews and 262 Christians of Jewish descent.

In early 1944, approximately 900 Jews still lived in the town of Csepel. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the German authorities established several internment camps for Jews at industrial locations on Csepel Island (see the next entry).[1] The Jews were deliberately detained in the vicinity of the Csepel Island armaments factories, including the Manfréd Weiss Works, to serve as human shields against the intensifying Allied air raids. Most of these adults performed forced labor.[2]

Like other towns ringing the capital, Csepel also became the site of a ghetto or concentration center during the deportation drive against Hungary's provincial Jews. The largest of these urban concentration centers were located in Csepel, Kispest, and Újpest. In April 1944, the Hungarian authorities first set up a ghetto for Csepel's Jews in a few dilapidated buildings located around one of the steel works. On May 10, 1944, the leaders of the Csepel Jewish community were instructed to organize the community's transfer to the bicycle storage rooms of the Manfréd Weiss Works.

The site lacked adequate facilities, and the conditions deteriorated rapidly as hundreds of Jews from nearby communities, including Dömsöd, Kiskunlacháza, Ráckeve, Szigetszentmiklós, Taksony, and Tököl, were also transferred to the site. Within a few days, the ghetto population swelled to about 3,000. Beginning on June 30, 1944, the Jews of the Csepel ghetto, together with the Jews from the island's various internment camps, were transferred to the entrainment center at Budakalász.[3] From there, they were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between July 6 and July 8, 1944.[4] After the deportation, several Jewish labor battalions remained in Csepel through November 1944.[5]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Csepel Island ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 758–759. See also Frigyes Brámer, "Koncentrációs tábor a Rabbiképző épületében," *Évkönyv 1971–72* (1972): 219–228; Jenő Lévai, *Zsidósors Magyarországon* (Budapest: Magyar Téka, 1948); and Alice Landau, *Snippets from My Family Album* (Caulfield, South Victoria, Australia: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2009).

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.005M, (MOL Z 936), reel 5; RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 8/4); and DEGOB, protocols nos. 273, 689, 719, 1333, 1553, 1690, 2131, 2203, 2641, 2935, 3606, 3617, 3620, and 3627 (also available at USHMMA as RG-31.013M). Published firsthand accounts include János Fóthy, *Horthyliget: A magyar Ördögsziget* (Budapest: Müller Károly, 1945); and various articles by journalist Endre György in *Új Élet* (1946–1948); USHMMPA contains relevant images, including images of several Mantello El Salvadoran certificates issued to Jews registered at Csepel. VHA contains relevant testimonies, including Leslie Aigner, March 12, 1995 (#1400); Victor Shermer, June 25, 1996 (#15504); and Miriam Rozner, April 23, 1998 (#40449). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Csepel natives and individuals likely interned in Csepel camps and ghetto. These cards are available in digital format at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Oskar Friedmann, Doc. No. 50726465.
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Zoltan Fohn, Doc. No. 50551926; Andrew Glynn, Doc. No. 50564305; and Jehuda Klein, Doc. No. 50567122.
3. VHA #1400, Leslie Aigner testimony, March 12, 1995.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Piroska Lederer, Doc. No. 51366609; and Regina Engel, Doc. No. 51540493.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Jehuda Klein, Doc. No. 50567122; and Oskar Friedmann, Doc. No. 50726465.

CSEPEL ISLAND/INTERNMENT CAMPS

The high number of arrests made in March and April 1944 after the German invasion strained Hungary's extant internment facilities and led the Hungarian authorities to set up temporary internment camps. With the intention of using Jews as human shields against intensifying Allied air raids, the authorities preferred sites adjacent to military and industrial zones and transportation lines. Hence the Hungarians established five internment camps and two subcamps in the industrial area

due south of Budapest on Csepel Island. The sites included one of Europe's largest armament complexes, including the Manfréd Weiss Works and other strategic factories, all of which were Jewish owned before the German occupation.

The internment camps were set up on the island in late April and early May 1944. Two were civilian internment camps, one at the Tschuk fur factory (*Szűcs-és Szőrmeárúgyár*, Camp III) and the other at the Mauthner grain-processing plant (*Mauthner Ödön Magtermelő és Magkereskedelmi Rt.*, Camp I). The third was a military internment camp at Horthyliget (*Horthy-liget* or Újtelep, Camp II). Constant selections, releases, new arrivals, and the flow of people among the Csepel camps and various internment facilities in and around Budapest make it difficult to estimate the size of the individual camps. According to Jewish Council reports, the Tschuk (or Tsuk) camp's population peaked at the end of May 1944 at 604 men, women, and children. The Mauthner camp's population peaked in mid-June with 333 men and women. The first detainees arrived at Horthyliget on May 3, and their number reached 447 by June 9. The highest number at Horthyliget according to Jewish Council lists was 468 men and women on July 29.[1] There were also smaller auxiliary camps, including Királyerdő (Camp IV), with an average of 30 to 40 inmates, and Herminamajor (Camp V), with a maximum of 53 according to a report dated June 11. Horthyliget subcamps were located at the shooting range of the *levente* youth paramilitary movement at the Manfréd Weiss Works, which held 51 men, and at the Füzesséry estate, which held 50 people.

Tschuk was a camp for people registered by the National Central Authority for Controlling Foreigners; it held Central Europeans, former Yugoslavs, and those of "uncertain citizenship." They were placed in storehouses and cellars on the factory grounds. According to one member of the Jewish Supportive Office, which was under the auspices of the Jewish Council,

> These rooms were in an indescribable condition lacking the most basic structures, there was not even glass in the windows, etc. The latrine was for instance a half-meter (20 inches) from the unglazed window in the cellar so that its smell was everywhere. There were only two taps to be used for hygienic purposes . . . . These conditions become unthinkable if we add that 90% of the interned in this camp were over 60 years (old), but at least 50% was over 70, and that there were rooms occupied by people over 90.[2]

A number of textile workers, mainly women, were taken to the Mauthner camp to perform slave labor. Mauthner's inmates also included prominent figures such as Alfréd Brüll, the industrialist, sports manager, and chairman of the renowned Hungarian Jewish sport club, Circle of Hungarian Fitness Activists (*Magyar Testgyakorlók Köre*, MTK). Mauthner's sanitary conditions were generally better than those at the Tschuk camp, although crowded rooms and the lack of soap led to a louse infestation. The inmates complained about the meals, which largely consisted of potatoes and legumes. Bread portions were satisfactory, but there was hardly food to be had with the ration cards. According to some survivor accounts, the women in Tschuk and Mauthner were sexually harassed by the policemen who served as guards.[3]

Horthyliget (named after Regent Miklós Horthy) consisted of a recently developed industrial area of 243 acres and an airfield of 324 acres located between the villages of Szigetszentmiklós and Tököl. Following the June 6, 1941, German-Hungarian agreement, an armaments factory was established on this territory by the Manfréd Weiss Syndicate with Hungarian state support. The Danube Airplane Factory (*Dunai Repülőgépgyár*, DR) mostly produced Messerschmitt aircraft. The Horthyliget camp was set up near the Szigetszentmiklós-Gyártelep suburban railroad station in a cluster of bomb-damaged adobe huts built to accommodate seasonal workers and livestock. Survivors described them as dirty holes with broken windows, damaged roofs, and doors. Guarded by Hungarian soldiers under Főhadnagy (First Lieutenant) Károly Dudás, the camp also had a kind of Jewish police force organized under attorney Dr. Ernő Vajda.

The first groups interned in Horthyliget included prominent liberal Jewish journalists. One journalist, János Fóthy, published the most detailed memoir on the site, *Devil's Island*, a reference to the notorious nineteenth-century penal facility in French Guyana. Another group of 69 men arrived on May 25 and included mostly workers and intellectuals. At first, the treatment was generally cruel, mostly meted out by factory supervisors (armed civilians) who assisted the undermanned military in guard duty. Chief Supervisor Pusztaffi and some of his associates routinely humiliated and robbed the detainees and beat them with rubber batons. Harsh physical abuse caused two internees to die of heart failure. According to Fóthy, the detainees were forced to wear a square metal plaque on the right side of their chests, along with the yellow star on the left. On the plaques were a yellow strip and the prisoner's registration number.[4]

Dudás tried to stop the atrocities committed by those under his command, and the detainees' situation gradually improved, beginning in late May. Prisoners were allowed to receive parcels and letters from home. The treatment followed roughly the same pattern in the Tschuk and Mauthner camps. Most of the adults performed forced labor in 12-hour shifts, including auxiliary labor in the factories, such as loading railroad cars or carrying equipment, clearing rubble, and digging out corpses from bombed factory buildings, or agricultural work.

The Budapest/Rökk-Szilárd Street police detention house served as the administrative center of the Csepel internment camps. It was the task of the Jewish Council and its Supportive Office to provide the inmates with food, clothing, and equipment. The Jewish camp leaders did everything they could to improve conditions.

In addition to experiencing hard labor, poor food and clothing provisions, substandard accommodations, and often cruel treatment by guards, the prisoners suffered from Allied bombings. The Danube Airplane Factory was equipped with modern bomb shelters, but Jewish prisoners were not allowed to use

them. Instead, they found shelter in makeshift trenches that they had dug. On July 30, the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) bombed the Horthyliget camp, killing 20 inmates and severely injuring 15.

In early July, the inmates of the three major Csepel camps experienced dramatically different fates. Taken first to the Budakalász brick factory, the Tschuk and Mauthner inmates were then deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between July 6 and 8, where most of them perished. Unwilling to lose the Danube Airplane Factory's valuable workforce, Dudás intervened to spare Horthyliget's internees from deportation. However, there were still at least three rounds of selections at Horthyliget, during which some 150 internees were dispatched to other internment camps, including Kistarcsa and Sárvár. There were former Horthyliget detainees among those deported from these two camps by Sonderkommando Eichmann on July 19 and 24, respectively.

From July 18 onward, the Swiss and Swedish diplomatic corps liberated several detainees from the Rökk-Szilárd Street and the Csepel camps. Treatment further improved, and the most notorious supervisors were replaced. The internees were allowed to use proper air-raid shelters and receive non-Jewish visitors. After Romania's switch to the Allied side, the deportation of the remaining Hungarian Jews was taken off the agenda. By August 31, all the Csepel camps were shut down.

Until the end of November, when the Red Army approached and soon occupied the territory, the Csepel Island sites occasionally served as temporary forced labor camps for various labor service companies at nearby plants.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the internment camps on Csepel Island include Frigyes Brámer, "Koncentrációs tábor a Rabbiképző épületében," *Évkönyv 1971–72* (1972): 219–228; Jenő Lévai, *Zsidósors Magyarországon* (Budapest: Magyar Téka, 1948); and Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Csepel Island camps can be found in MZSML, RG-XX-C-1, box D 8/4, reports of the Central Jewish Council on the internment camps, name lists of internment camp inmates (this documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-31.013M); and DEGOB, protocol nos. 273, 689, 719, 1333, 1553, 1690, 2131, 2203, 2641, 2935, 3606, 3617, 3620, and 3627 (also available in RG-31.013M). Published firsthand accounts include János Fóthy, *Horthyliget: A magyar Ördögsziget* (Budapest: Müller Károly, 1945); and various articles by journalist Endre György in *Új Élet* (1946–1948). An English-language testimony is Alice Landau, *Snippets from My Family Album: Csepel Island to Caulfield* (Caulfield, South Victoria, Australia: Makor Jewish Community Library, 2009).

László Csősz

NOTES

1. MZSML, RG-XX-C-1, Box D 8/4.
2. DEGOB testimony 3617.
3. DEGOB testimony 3620.
4. Fóthy, *Horthyliget*, pp. 35–40.

CSONGRÁD

The town of Csongrád was located less than 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Szeged, the capital of Csongrád County. In 1941, it had a small native Jewish population of 286. After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, Hungarian authorities opened a ghetto in Csongrád. It was located on Csemegi Károly and Úri Streets and included several buildings near the synagogue.

The ghetto operated between mid-May and late June 1944. Hungarian gendarmes rounded up 220 local Jews by May 12, 1944. Several foreign-born Jews were also detained at the site. Survivor Magda Simon testified that ghetto inmates endured boredom and overcrowding, but did not suffer harassment or abuse. By late June, most inmates were transferred from the Csongrád ghetto to the brickyards in Szeged. According to Simon, authorities told them that they would be assigned to work details there.[1] Instead, Gendarmerie Százados Imre Finta oversaw their deportation in three transports between June 25 and 28.

Altogether, 204 Jews from the Csongrád ghetto were deported at this time. Two transports went to Strasshof in Austria, and one went to Auschwitz. A number of Csongrád inmates were transferred to other camps from both Strasshof and Auschwitz. Some survived the ordeal. For example, Schoschanna Schchori, who had been born in Csongrád and was detained at its ghetto in 1944, was deported to Auschwitz. She was then transferred to Bergen-Belsen, to a labor camp at Duderstadt, and finally to Theresienstadt, where she was liberated.[2] Sixty-four survivors returned to Csongrád after the end of the war.[3]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Csongrád ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 322–323.

Primary sources documenting the Csongrád ghetto include USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), reel 8 (Box I 9/2) and reel 33 (Box J 6/7). VHA contains the testimony of Magda Simon, November 17, 1994 (#262). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 100 people from Csongrád, as well as ghetto inmates. The cards document various paths of persecution, including the deportations to Auschwitz and beyond. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #262, Magda Simon testimony, November 17, 1994.
2. See among others: ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Schoschanna Schchori, Doc. No. 52421197.
3. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 323.

CSÖRGŐ

The village of Csörgő (Čerhov) was located in Zemplén County, 9 kilometers (nearly 6 miles) north of Sátoraljaújhely and some 60 kilometers (37 miles) southeast of Košice. The Hungarian authorities installed an internment camp at Csörgő for political prisoners, refugees, and Jews without proper citizenship papers. Its exact opening date is not clear, but the site may have been operational as early as May 1942.[1] Henry Steeber was an Austrian Jewish refugee interned in Budapest in February 1943 when he was transferred some 265 kilometers (165 miles) northeast to the Csörgő internment camp. He recalled that the site was isolated and guarded by Hungarian police. Under Hungarian auspices, daily camp life was bearable, marked mainly by boredom. Rations were small and consisted mostly of thin soup, but the inmates could buy or receive additional food. In addition, the Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI) provided extra food and other general care. Many survivors recalled that they did not starve at Csörgő.[2]

The situation at Csörgő changed dramatically after the German occupation of Hungary. According to inmate testimonies, there were between 130 and 300 inmates at the camp in March 1944.[3] German and Hungarian authorities expanded the site to house even larger numbers of prisoners, including prominent hostages and Jews. Several former inmates testified that guards viciously abused the prisoners.[4] German authorities also immediately began to organize deportations of Jews from the camp. Steeber was among the first groups of deportees who were transported from Csörgő for Sátoraljaújhely in the spring of 1944; from there they were deported to Auschwitz.[5] ITS documentation suggests that deportations from Csörgő to Auschwitz proceeded throughout the summer of 1944. During the same period, some inmates were transferred to labor camps,[6] and others were released.[7]

SOURCES The history of the Csörgő internment camp is neither well documented nor researched. Relevant secondary sources include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1291.

Relevant primary documentation includes Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956 (USHMMA, RG-39.013M, reel 70). VHA has nine testimonies indexed for the Csörgő internment camp, including Joseph Heimberg, November 28, 1995 (#9307); Henry Herzog, May 14, 1995 (#4301); Israel Kupferwasser, February 28, 1996 (#10434); and David Mandl, September 18, 1998 (#46684). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Csörgő camp inmates and village residents. The cards document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA. See RG-50.322*0031, oral history interview with Henry Steeber from January 28, 1980, at USHMMA. An unauthorized Salvadoran citizenship certificate issued to Ignacz Knaker, January 11, 1944, by Salvadoran diplomat George Mandel-Mantello is available at USHMMPA, WS #88817.

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NOTES

1. CNI card for Josef Loewner, Doc. No. 52069582.
2. VHA #10434, Israel Kupferwasser testimony, February 28, 1996.
3. VHA #9307, Joseph Heimberg testimony, November 28, 1995.
4. VHA #4301, Henry Herzog testimony, May 14, 1995.
5. Testimony of Henry Steeber, January 28, 1980, USHMMA, RG-50.322*0031; also VHA #10434.
6. CNI card for Artur Korton, Doc. No. 51275206.
7. CNI card for Jakob Necker, Doc. No. 51310164.

DEBRECEN

Debrecen, the capital of Hajdú County, is located in eastern Hungary, approximately 195 kilometers (121 miles) east of Budapest. The situation of the Jews deteriorated considerably in the wake of the antisemitic agitation and the increasingly harsh anti-Jewish measures of the 1930s and early 1940s. Students in higher education and the middle and lower classes were hit particularly hard. Beginning in 1939, an increasingly large number of Jewish males of military age were conscripted into the forced labor service system, which became much harsher after Hungary's entry into the war two years later. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Debrecen had a Jewish population of 9,142, representing 7.3 percent of the city's total of 125,933.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, brought to an end the once flourishing Jewish community in Debrecen. Many leaders were arrested on April 9 and taken as hostages to the Hajdúszentgyörgy camp. On May 9, under an order by Mayor Sándor Köcsey, the authorities established a ghetto in the Jewish district of Debrecen. The ghetto consisted of two parts—the "large" and the "small" ghettos—

Jewish men perform forced labor in Debrecen, 1940–1944.
USHMM WS #60346, COURTESY OF HANNAH & NISSAN LOWINGER.

divided by Hatvan Street. The local Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was headed by Pál Weisz and included Miksa Weinberger, Bernfeld, and Waldmann as members. Dr. Dezsö Fejes Friedmann was in charge of health and sanitary services, and Béla Lusztbaum, a reserve captain, headed a 25-member "police" force entrusted with the preservation of law and order. Debrecen's chief police commissioner, Gyula Szabó, exercised command over the ghetto. To coordinate the Jews' eventual deportation, the mayors and local police from Gendarmerie Districts V and VI, the latter including Debrecen, convened at Szeged on June 10 with Hungarian Interior Ministry and German officials. The ghetto gates were locked on June 11, and the last valuables of the Jews were confiscated.[1]

The ghetto was liquidated on June 20 with the transfer of the Jews to the Serly brickyard for purposes of entrainment and deportation. The brickyard contained 13,084 Jews, including those brought in from the neighboring communities in Hajdú County. Among them were the Jews first concentrated in Balmazújváros, Hajdúböszörmény, Hajdúdorog, Hajdúhadház, Hajdúnánás, Hajdúsámson, Hajdúszoboszló, Józsa, Mikepércs, Téglás, Tiszacsege, and Vámospércs. In the brickyard, the Jews, especially those who were well-to-do, were again subjected to harsh treatment by sadistic gendarmes in search of hidden valuables. The Jews were deported in four transports starting on June 25, 1944. Two of the transports that left Debrecen on June 26 and 27 with 6,841 Jews were taken to Strasshof, near Vienna, where many of the families survived relatively intact. The other two transports ended up in Auschwitz II-Birkenau. During the Holocaust, the city lost 4,028 Jews, nearly half the pre-1944 total.

The Red Army liberated Debrecen on October 19, 1944. The number of liberated Jews retuning to the city was relatively large thanks to the survival rate of those deported to Strasshof and of those in labor service companies. A small number of Debrecen ghetto survivors reached Switzerland, via Bergen-Belsen, as part Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner's negotiations with the German authorities.[2] In 1946, the Jewish community numbered 4,640.

A people's court in Debrecen condemned Szabó to death shortly after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Debrecen ghetto are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 406–413; and Moshe Eliyahu Gonda, *A debreceni zsidók száz éve* (Tel Aviv: A Debreceni Zsidók Emlékbizottsága, n.d.). Brief mention of the ghetto can be found in Gáti Ödön et al., eds., *Mementó: Magyarország 1944* (Budapest: Kossuth, 1975), pp. 50–52. A portion of the Debrecen memorial book, Moshe Elijahu Gonda, ed., *Mea shana le-yehudei Debrecen; le-zekher kedoshei ha-kehila ve-yishuvei ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Committee for Commemoration of the Debrecen Jewry, 1970), is available in English translation at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Debrecen/Debrecen.html#TOC295.

Primary sources on the Debrecen ghetto can be found in CML. A list of some Debrecen survivors of the Kasztner mission at Strasshof can be found in ITS, 1.1.3.1. USHMMA holds a number of oral history interviews with Debrecen survivors, including RG-50.549.02*0006, Agnes Vogel, July 9, 1997. VHA has 200 interviews with Debrecen survivors. Two published testimonies on the Debrecen ghetto are Nicolas Roth, *Avoir 16 ans à Auschwitz: Mémoire d'un juif hongrois* (Paris: Manuscrit—Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah, 2010); and Ceila Weiss, *Where Once I Walked* (self-published, 1992).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Hungarian Interior Ministry Item No. 3299, signed Péter Halmosi, CML, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 742 n. 2.

2. ITS, 1.1.3.1, Ord. 34, "Namentliches Verzeichnis von ungarischen Häftlingen (Männer, Frauen und Kinder) die im Juni 1944 nach Strasshof deportiert und von dort am 29.11./7.12.1944 zum KL-Bergen-Belsen überstellt wurden."

DÉS

A town in the Transylvanian region of Romania, Dés (Romanian: Dej), was part of Hungary until the end of World War I and from 1940 to 1944. It was the capital of Szolnok-Doboka County, 48 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Cluj-Napoca. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 3,719 Jews, representing 19.3 percent of the total population of 19,242 inhabitants.

During the interwar period, the Jews, most of whom were Hungarian and spoke Yiddish, were largely resented by the Romanian authorities for their adherence to Hungarian cultural and linguistic traditions. The political and economic climate under which the Jews lived worsened in the wake of the antisemitic policies that the successive Romanian governments adopted after December 1937. As a result of the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940, arbitrated by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Northern Transylvania, which included Dés, was acquired by Hungary. The Jews of the region were immediately subjected to the anti-Jewish laws already in place in Hungary. They became the victims of increasingly harsh economic measures, and Jewish males of military age were conscripted into labor service units.

The Jews' situation worsened after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. The Jews of Dés were isolated, marked with yellow stars, expropriated, and placed in a ghetto prior to deportation. The details relating to the anti-Jewish drive in Szolnok-Doboka County, the capital of which was Dés, and in several other counties in Northern Transylvania were worked out at a conference held by the officials in charge of the "Final Solution" convened in Szatmárnémeti on April 26, 1944.[1] The conference was chaired by László Endre, the State Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the Interior Ministry, and attended by the local and county governmental and law

enforcement officials of the affected counties. Szolnok-Doboka County and Dés were represented by János Schilling, the deputy prefect of the county; Jenö Veress, the mayor of Dés; Lajos Tamási, the mayor of Szamosújvár; Gyula Sárosi, the police chief of Dés; Ernö Berecki, the police chief of Szamosújvár; and Pál Antalffy, the commander of the gendarmerie in the county. The decisions taken at this conference were communicated to the civil service, gendarmerie, and police officers of the county at a special meeting held in Dés on April 30 under the chairmanship of Schilling.

The ghettoization drive in Dés began on May 3, at 5:00 A.M. Before their transfer to the ghetto, the Jews of Dés were concentrated in three centers within the city, where they were subjected to body searches for valuables. The Jews from outside Dés were similarly subjected to a first round of expropriations. (The Jews assembled in Szamosújvár were eventually transferred to the Kolozsvár ghetto.) The roundup of the Jews in the county was carried out under the leadership of Antalffy, the commander of the gendarmerie.

Living conditions in the Dés ghetto were among the most miserable in the region. At the insistence of the virulently antisemitic local city officials, it was set up in a forest—the Bungur—situated nearly four kilometers (two miles) from the city. At its peak, the ghetto held around 7,800 Jews, including close to 3,700 from the town itself. The others were brought in from the rural communities in the following járás (districts) of the county: Bethlen, Dés, Kékes, Nagyilonda, Magyarlápos, and Szamosújvár. The luckier among the Jews who were concentrated in the Bungur ghetto lived in makeshift barracks; the others found shelter in homemade tents or lived under the open sky.

Surrounded by barbed wire, the ghetto was guarded by the local police supplemented by a special unit of 40 gendarmes assigned from Zilah. Supreme command over the ghetto was in the hands of *Nyilas*-member Jenő (Emil) Takács, a "government commissioner." The internal administration of the ghetto was entrusted to a Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) consisting of the trusted leaders of the local community. Its chairman was Lázár Albert, and the members included Ferenc Ordentlich, Samu Weinberger, Manó Weinberger, and Andor Ágai. Dr. Oszkár Engelberg served as the ghetto's chief physician and Zoltán Singer as its economic representative in charge of supplies.

Sanitary conditions within the ghetto were miserable, and essential services and supplies were lacking. In the short life span of the ghetto, 25 inmates died. This was largely due to the malevolence of Jenő Veress, the mayor of Dés, and Dr. Zsigmond Lehnár, its chief health officer. The investigative teams for the search for valuables were as cruel in Dés as they were everywhere else. Among those involved in such searches were József Fekete, József Gecse, Maria Fekete, Jenő Takács, and József Lakadár, as well as police officers Albert (Béla) Garamvölgyi, János Somorlyai, János Kassay, and Miklós Désaknai. All of them were tried and convicted by a people's court in Kolozsvár in 1946.[2]

The ghetto was liquidated between May 28 and June 8 with the deportation of 7,674 Jews in three transports. A few Jews managed to escape from the ghetto. Among them was Rabbi József Paneth of Nagyilonda, who together with nine members of his family was eventually able to get to safety in Romania.

Soviet and Romanian forces liberated Dés in October 1944. Among the first survivors to return to the city were the labor servicemen whose companies were overrun by the Allied forces in eastern Hungary.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Dés ghetto are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994), 1: 635–637; Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1022–1028.

Primary sources on the Dés ghetto can be found at USHMMA, in RG-25.017, Selected records of the Cluj Branch of ANR. YVA holds testimonies by Dés survivors in the O-3 collection. Under its Romanian name, VHA holds 63 survivor testimonies on the ghetto. The following publication contains personal recollections about the Jewish community of Dés and of the neighboring communities: Zoltán Singer, ed., *Volt egyszer egy Dés . . . Bethlen, Magyarlápos, Retteg, Nagyilonda és környéke*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: A Dés és Vidékéről Elszármazottak Landmannschaftja, n.d.).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Szatmárnémeti conference summarized in Nagybanya mayor's office to Interior Ministry, Doc. 30/44, cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 652 n. 4.

2. Judgment in Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, p. 181.

DUNASZERDAHELY

Located in northwestern Slovakia, Dunaszerdahely (Slovakian: Dunajská Streda) was part of Hungary before 1918 and between 1938 and 1944. Under the terms of the First Vienna Award of November 2, 1938, the area of the Upper Province (*Felvidék*) of Czechoslovakia, which included Dunaszerdahely, was allotted to Hungary. Dunaszerdahely was a district capital in Komárum County, approximately 41 kilometers (26 miles) southeast of Bratislava and 122 kilometers (76 miles) northwest of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the town had 2,645 Jews, representing 40.2 percent of the total number of 6,584 inhabitants.

When Dunaszerdahely became part of Hungary, it made the transition from a democratic society into a semi-fascist one, which changed the status of the area's Jews: they were then subjected to the ever harsher anti-Jewish measures introduced by the Hungarian authorities. Particularly cruel was the fate of those who could not prove their citizenship; many

of them were first interned and then, in July-August 1941, deported to near Kamenets-Podolsk where they were murdered. Starting in 1940, Dunaszerdahely became a recruitment center for the mobilization of Jews for forced labor. It was also a transit center for some escapees from ghettos in Poland and Slovakia.

The status of the Jews worsened drastically after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. According to the census ordered by the Nazi authorities, the Orthodox community consisted of around 2,000 members, guided by József Wetzler as president and by Rabbis Hillel Weinberger, Antal Katz, Mór Katz, David Salczer, Jenö Weinberger, and Pál Weinberger as spiritual leaders. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*), installed by the authorities, was headed by József Wetzler. The local ghetto was established in the Jewish quarter along Bacsák and Csillag Streets. Among the 2,840 Jews in the ghetto were not only the local Jews but also those brought in from many communities in Dunaszerdahely Járás, including Csallóközkürt, Förgepatony, Gelle, Nemesabony, Tönyeistál, and Vásárút. The ghetto also included the Jews brought in from Nagymegyer, Somorja, and some communities in other districts in Komárom County. The Jews were subjected to unspeakable cruelties, especially during the gendarmes' search for valuables.[1] As part of the deportation of Jews in Zone III, the Dunaszerdahely ghetto was closed on June 8, 1944, when the Jews were first transferred to the town's large synagogue, where they were deprived of their last valuables, and then deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on June 15.

After the war approximately 650 Jews returned to the town, many of whom used to live in the neighboring smaller communities. They reorganized the community under the leadership of József Weisz and Rabbi Yechiel Weinberger.

SOURCES The following secondary sources describe the ghetto at Dunaszerdahely: Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 529–532; and Alfréd Engel, ed. *A dunaszerdahelyi zsidó közösség emlékkönyve* (Tel Aviv: A Dunaszerdahelyi Bizottság Kiadása, 1975).

The Jews of Dunaszerdahely boarding railroad cars for deportation to Auschwitz, 1944.
USHMM WS #82747, COURTESY OF SEFER HA-ZIKARON LI-KEHILAT DUNASERDAHELI/MEMORIAL TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF DUNASZERDAHELY.

Primary sources on the Dunaszerdahely ghetto can be found in MOL, collection I. USHMMPA holds two photos from the deportation, WS #71042 and WS #82747. YIVO has testimonies by survivors Charlotte and Rose Fleischmann (Archives file no. 774/2715). VHA holds 35 testimonies in Hebrew, Hungarian, Slovak, and English.

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NOTE

1. On the expropriation of Jewish property from Dunaszerdahely, see MOL, collection I, reel 73, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 704 n. 8.

EGER

The seat of Heves County, Eger, is located 110 kilometers (68 miles) northeast of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Eger's Jewish population was 1,787, representing 5.5 percent of the city's 32,482 inhabitants. According to data compiled in April 1944 at the order of the German authorities, the Status Quo Ante synagogue had 748 members and was led by President Jenő Polátsik and Rabbi Zoltán Rácz.

Beginning in 1938, the Jewish community in Eger was subjected to increasingly harsh anti-Jewish measures. The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, sealed the fate of Eger's Jews. The leader of the community, Lajos Fischer, and some of his associates were arrested and detained in Budapest. Under the supervision of Prefect Árpád Horváth, ghettoization began on May 15 under plans worked out by Mayor István Kálnoky, and the operation lasted until May 27, when Endre Pál took over as mayor. The Eger ghetto was in Deportation Zone III, Gendarmerie District VII. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) consisted of Jenő Polatsik, Béla Löw, Jenő Balázs, Jenő Kunovits, Mór Frank, Ignác Braun, József Grosz, and József Fischer. The ghetto included 2,744 Jews, of whom more than 1,600 were from the city itself. The others were brought in from neighboring towns and villages, including Egercsehi, Felnémet, Füzesabony, Kál, and Verpelét. Another ghetto was established a few miles from Eger at Bagólyuk in the workers' quarters of a deserted mine—the Coal and Portland Cement Mine of Egercsehi (*Egercsehi Kőszénbánya és Portlandcementbánya*). Among the 984 Jews concentrated at Bagólyuk were 174 Jews from the smaller communities in Gyöngyös District; 625 Jews from Heves District; and 185 Jews from Pétervásári District.[1] A third ghetto, located in Eger, was opened for the small group of Christian converts, who numbered fewer than 20.

On June 8, after their valuables were confiscated, the Jews concentrated in Eger were marched to the brickyards of Kerecsend, located about 16 kilometers (nearly 10 miles) south of the city. Among those taken to Kerecsend was the 94-year-old

rabbi of Eger's Orthodox community, Simon Schreiber, who had led the community since 1879 and had also established a well-known yeshiva. Rabbi Schreiber was murdered at Auschwitz II-Birkenau. After the gendarmes confiscated their last valuables, the Jews were put on trains at the Maklár railway station and deported to Auschwitz.

The survivors, including a number of former labor servicemen, reorganized the Eger Jewish community after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Eger are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 452–457; Arthúr Ehrenfeld, ed., *Az egri zsidók története* (Tel Aviv: Az Egri Zsidók Emlékbizottsága, 1975); Arthúr Ehrenfeld and Tibor Klein, eds., *Egri Zsidók* (New York: New York Public Library; Amherst, MA: National Yiddish Book Center, 2003); and Orbánné Szegö Ágnes, *Egri zsidó polgárok* (Budapest: VPP, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the ghettos and entrainment center at Eger can be found in MOL. VHA holds 12 testimonies by Eger survivors. Two published testimonies on the Eger ghetto are Lilly Kertész, *Mindent felfaltak a lángok* (Budapest: Ex Libris, 1995); and Tibor Gerstl, *Mosaics of a Life* (Pittsburgh, PA: Sterling House, 1999).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. MOL, collection I, reels 109–110, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 707 n. 39.

GARANY

Garany (Slovak: Hraň) was a village in the Sátoraljaújhely District in Zemplén County (Slovak: Zemplin), located more than 349 kilometers (217 miles) northeast of Bratislava and almost 235 kilometers (146 miles) northeast of Budapest. After World War I, Zemplén County's northern territories were awarded to the newly formed Czechoslovakia. Hungary retained the southern portions and subsequently expanded its territorial control over the Upper Province with the First Vienna Award of November 1938. The settlement conferred on Garany considerable strategic importance because of its location at a railway hub near the border. Consequently, the Hungarian authorities established the largest of the three Zemplén County internment camps in the village.[1]

The internment camp operated between July 1940 and the summer of 1944. It was administered by the Hungarian Interior Ministry, while the Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI) and the Public Kitchen of the Orthodox (*Népaszal*) Jewish community provided food, medicine, and other aid to the inmates. The prisoners included Jewish refugees from Slovakia and German-occupied Poland who had crossed the border since September 1939 and who had to register with the National Central Alien Control Office (*Külföldieket Ellenőrző Országos Központi Hatóság*, KEOKH) in Hungary. Hungarian Jews detained for lacking sufficient citizenship papers, as well as Hungarian communists and others negatively characterized as regime opponents, were also detained there.

Survivor Stephen Abraham arrived at Garany in late 1940 and remained through late 1943. According to his postwar testimony, the site consisted of barracks that housed some 800 to 900 Jewish men interned for political offenses, as well as refugees. He recalled that Hungarian soldiers and policemen guarded the site. His parents visited the camp regularly, talking to their son through the fence and leaving parcels with food and clothing. Daily life in the camp was regimented, with prisoners having to assemble for roll call several times a day. Prisoners were beaten and starved as punishment for a variety of transgressions, including nearly constant escape attempts.[2] Survivor Fred Baron also recalled the strict regime at the camp, which impressed on inmates that they were prisoners. According to him, Hungarian guards armed with bayonets hunted runaways and beat them mercilessly. At the same time, most of his days were marked by boredom because the inmates did not work. Baron recalled that there was much "rumor-mongering" among prisoners, with stories circulating about "unspeakable, terrible things" happening to Jewish people in Poland. Unsure whether to believe these stories, Baron said he had hoped to be able to stay at Garany and ride out the war in relative safety.[3]

The few existing records reveal that the inmate population at Garany was in constant flux. Six hundred prisoners were registered at the camp in 1941. According to a March 24, 1942, report by the Hungarian General Staff, there were 293 inmates at Garany available for punitive labor service.[4] In late April 1944, the camp inmates were transferred to the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto along with a few Jews from the village. (Sátoraljaújhely is more than 19 kilometers [12 miles] southeast of Garany.) Baron was among those evacuated from the camp. He recalled that the Jewish inmates were separated from the non-Jewish inmates and that the Jews were marched out of Garany, closely guarded by armed gendarmes. After marching for a day, the group finally arrived at a railway station where other Jews were already assembled; there armed SS men forced men, women, and children into overcrowded cattle cars that took them to Sátoraljaújhely.[5] From Sátoraljaújhely, many of the Jews of the Garany camp were transferred to Auschwitz in May 1944, where most were put to death.

SOURCES The history of the Garany internment camp is covered in several secondary sources, including Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2:1294; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols.,

2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and Elek Karsai, ed., *Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezökön: Dokumentumok a mundaszolgá lat történetéhez Magyarországon*, 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1962).

Primary sources documenting the Garany internment camp include MOL (K 149 PTI), available in microform at USHMMA as Provincial Police Reports to the Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs (RG-39.011M, reel 3, 1941). VHA has 35 testimonies indexed for the Garany internment camp, including Stephen Abraham, May 7, 1995 (#2540); Fred Baron, February 18, 1996 (#12162); Itziak Benakuva, April 15, 1996 (#12550); Izak Fremd, July 24, 1996 (#18640); and Bill Friedman, June 12, 1996 (#42586). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Garany camp inmates and village residents. See also a postwar ITS document listing Garany's period of operation at ITS, 1.1.0.6. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. ITS, 1.1.0.6, folder 53/I 412, Doc. No. 82341653.
2. VHA #2540, Stephen Abraham testimony, May 7, 1995.
3. VHA #12162, Fred Baron testimony, February 18, 1996.
4. Karsai, *Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezőkön*, 1: 512.
5. VHA #12162.

GYŐR

Located approximately 100 kilometers (67 miles) west-northwest of Budapest, Győr was the seat of Győr-Moson-Pozsony County and of the Toszigetcsiliköz District. In 1941, the city had a population of 57,000, including nearly 4,700 Jews. From late May until mid-June 1944, the Hungarian authorities operated a ghetto in Győr. They issued a formal ghettoization order on May 13 and prepared registration lists on May 15 and May 16, 1944. According to survivor John Batory, Jewish residents had to register with the local gendarmerie, which inflicted severe abuse and humiliation. People were tortured at the elementary school in the Sziget District, also known as Győrsziget, to reveal the location of their valuables. Batory's grandmother endured a humiliating body search by a young gendarme looking for hidden jewelry. When his father went to protest this treatment, he was beaten at the police station.[1]

A Nazi SS-Obersturmführer Schmidt and Hungarian Gendarmerie Százados Zoltán Neszemély commanded the Győr ghetto, which spanned several streets near the Jewish cemetery in the Sziget District. It consisted of several buildings with a total of 430 rooms that had previously housed about 1,200 people. It also included emergency accommodations in the Orthodox synagogue, where people slept in makeshift bunk beds. By late May 1944, more than 5,600 Jews were crowded into the ghetto. About 1,000 of these Jews came from neighboring communities, and the rest were residents of the city of Győr. The local authorities also rounded up smaller groups of Roma ("Gypsies") and interned them at the ghetto.

The Győr ghetto lacked even basic accommodations. There was no communal kitchen. People suffered from hunger, crowding, and catastrophic hygienic conditions. They were also subjected to physical abuse. Survivor Marianne Benedek witnessed the routine cruelty of the Hungarian gendarmes. According to her, they beat the ghetto's rabbis and humiliated them by shaving the Star of David into their heads.[2]

On June 7, 1944, the gendarmes evacuated the ghetto and moved the Jews from Győr to military barracks located on the outskirts of town. According to Benedek, the local population lined the road and watched while the Jews marched to their destination. There is evidence to suggest that the ghetto population was slated to join the transports arranged by Rudolph (Rezső) Kasztner, which would have saved most of their lives. They were deported on two transports on June 11 and June 17, 1944. However, the trains were not routed to Switzerland, but to Kosiče and then to Auschwitz, where many were killed.

The young and the elderly, who made up a majority of ghetto population, were particularly vulnerable: 299 Jewish children from Győr are known to have perished at Auschwitz. Among them was Szuzsana Krausz, who was 13 years old when she died there.[3] Other former residents of the Győr ghetto, especially able-bodied women, were transferred from Auschwitz to a series of labor and concentration camps in the Reich, where some survived. Judith Löwinger, for instance, who was born in 1922 in Celldömölk, entered the Győr ghetto in May 1944. She was deported to Auschwitz in June 1944 and later to Parschnitz, a subcamp of Gross-Rosen, and then to other camps. Margarethe Grüngold, born 1910 in Kapuvar, followed the same path of persecution before her liberation at Parschnitz. Many survivors emigrated after the war, and only a few hundred Jews returned to Győr.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Győr ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 386–392.

Primary sources documenting the Győr ghetto can be found in USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML). VHA testimony indexed for "Győr ghetto" include John Batory, July 12, 1996 (#17360); Marianne Benedek, September 26, 1997 (#34355); Eva Bock, January 4, 1996 (#10767); Arpad Buzasi, July 23, 1996 (#18250); and John Cillag, November 3, 1996 (#22328). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 1,500 Győr natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #17360, John Batory testimony, July 12, 1996.
2. VHA #34355, Marianne Benedek testimony, September 26, 1997.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Szuzsana Kraus, born in 1931 in Győr, Doc. No. 50710620.

HUSZT

Located 193 kilometers (120 miles) southwest of Lviv in the Máramaros Administrative Agency of Subcarpathian Rus' (today: Zakarpats'ka oblast' in western Ukraine), Huszt (Czech: Chust; Ukrainian: Khust) was home to around 4,800 Jews in 1930, 27 percent of the town's population. Huszt came under Hungarian occupation in March 1939, as part of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, to which the town had belonged in the interwar period. Although Hungarian rule brought with it severe anti-Jewish measures, including economic persecution, outright plunder, violence, conscription into the Hungarian labor battalions, and partial deportations, the annihilation of the town's Jewish community took place only after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944.

For almost a month prior to ghettoization, a number of anti-Jewish decrees and laws—initiated by both the Hungarian authorities and the German occupiers—marked Jews, robbed them of their remaining possessions and property, and restricted their mobility. Immediately after Passover, on April 16, the Hungarian authorities forced the town's Jews into several synagogues, where they locked them in for several days in terribly crowded conditions, without sanitation facilities, and where they were subjected to continuous humiliation and abuse. During that time, the erection of three separate ghettos completely changed Huszt's landscape. Certain areas in Huszt became ghettos by removing all the fences that divided the houses and boarding all the windows that faced streets outside of the ghettos' boundaries. In addition, the Hungarian authorities deported around 5,000 Jews from the small towns and villages around Huszt to the Davidovics brickyard at the outskirts of the town.

The Huszt Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) had five members: Shmuel David Lazarovitch, the last head of the community and the Council president; Rosenbaum; Dr. Hegedüs; Dr. Polgár; and Markovits. These men had been key figures in the interwar Jewish community of Huszt, and their inclusion in the Council points to continuity in leadership and the sense of responsibility that they shared. Other Jewish leaders functioned as representatives in each ghetto, and László Mauskop served as a liaison to the German authorities because of his command of German. Alongside the Jewish Council, a somewhat improvised Jewish police force helped keep order inside the ghettos.

The Jewish Council labored to fulfill the endless material demands of the Hungarian authorities and German occupiers. At the same time, they attempted to alleviate the suffering of the town's Jews by setting up communal kitchens. Although the quantity and quality of food in the Huszt ghettos remained low, these kitchens together with smuggled food saved the inmates from starvation. In an effort to prevent random kidnapping in the streets, the Council also engaged in the organization of forced labor demanded by the Germans.[1] The Council members, who could have benefited from their prewar status, connections, and knowledge of the "Final Solution," refused to flee or hide and instead chose to share the fate of their community.

Grave overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, and food shortages turned ghetto life into prolonged misery. Families were divided among the three separate ghettos, and the Germans occasionally demanded men for forced labor. Random violence and plunder were routine occurrences, and several survivors recounted instances in which Germans or Hungarians raped Jewish women. Thirty well-off Jews, who had been arrested during ghettoization, fell victim to the cruel interrogations by Hungarian gendarmes in pursuit of money and valuables.[2] This was the local manifestation of the robbery of the Jews in Hungary by the state that occurred prior to their deportation. Some survivors also remembered that Hungarian gendarmes took their identification papers and destroyed them in front of their eyes, a symbolic act of annihilation that preceded physical destruction.

Most Jews in the Huszt ghettos and brickyard (nearly 11,000 altogether) were women, children, and elderly, because many men had already been drafted into the labor battalions. Nevertheless, several small-scale escape attempts from the ghettos took place. One such attempt succeeded: Zvi Prizant, a Zionist activist from Budapest and a former Huszt resident, received help from the Jewish ghetto police in smuggling 10 Jews from the ghettos to the capital. Several other people fled the town in the direction of Budapest, Romania, and Slovakia, where survival chances in the spring of 1944 seemed better. Given that the Huszt ghettos in town existed for only a very short period of time, cultural activities and public life did not develop, apart from some efforts to organize prayer groups and Torah study sessions.

According to survivor accounts, the non-Jewish population of Huszt, predominantly Carpatho-Ruthenian, responded to the plight and suffering of the Jews mostly with indifference. However, in contrast to other places in Subcarpathian Rus', the German and Hungarian authorities found quite a few collaborators among the Carpatho-Ruthenians in the Huszt area. Interestingly, although some survivors noted the assistance that the German occupiers received from the local Germans (*Karpatendeutsche*), others specified the names of a few people among the latter group who helped and saved Jews.

Such ambiguities hardly characterized the Hungarian authorities who directed the process of ghettoization and deportation. The Hungarian mayor of Huszt, József Biró, enthusiastically led the discrimination, persecution, spoliation, ghettoization, and deportation of the Jewish community. Hungarian midwives participated willingly in searching and humiliating Jewish women just before pushing them into the

boxcars that took them to their deaths. The Hungarian gendarmes abused, beat, robbed, murdered, and deported the Jews.

Between May 22 and the first days of June, four trains carried the Jews in the Huszt ghettos and brickyard to Auschwitz II-Birkenau as part of Deportation Zone I. The Hungarian authorities first deported the Jews in the brickyard, situated near the railroad tracks, thus making room for the Jews in the town's ghettos. Hungarian gendarmes tormented the Jews walking from the ghettos to the brick factory, and the remains of some victims were left on the streets, in full view of non-Jews. In the brick factory, more violence awaited the town's Jews in the hope of squeezing from them whatever possessions they had managed to salvage. There again, murder occurred.

Only one postwar trial dealt with the Huszt ghettos: József Biró was put on trial and executed.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the Huszt ghettos are Raz Segal, "The Jews of Huszt between the World Wars and in the Holocaust," *YM* 4 (Winter 2006): 80–119; Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 583–585; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Primary sources on the ghettos in Huszt begin with more than 30 survivors' testimonies at YVA (mainly in Hebrew, located in collection O.3). USHMMA holds an unpublished survivor testimony, RG-02.152, "A Void in My Heart: The Memoirs of Regina Godinger Hoffmann, a Jewish Holocaust Survivor" (1989); and two interviews with survivor Leo Samuel under RG-50.477*1257 and RG-50.477*0023. Among the many photographs in USHMMPA's collection on Huszt are three images of the Hungarian Labor Service Company VIII/2 in Huszt, working on railroad tracks in 1942 (WS #12391, 17384–85; Courtesy of Adalbert Feher). VHA holds 143 testimonies on the Huszt ghetto, under the Czech name, Chust. Published memoirs on the ghettos in Huszt include Gavri'el Heller, *Ki ehyeh va-asaper* (n.p.: Avraham Naveh Publications, 1987); Bernard R. Shore, *Remembrance ha-Shoah: Autobiography* (self-published, 1991); Zvi Menshel, ed., *Chust and Vicinity: A Memorial Book of the Community*, trans. Rachely Schloss and Jonathan Gershovitz (Rehovot: Organization of Chust and Vicinity, 2002); Eitan Porat with Erhard R. Wiehn, *Voice of the Dead Children: From the Carpathian Mountains via Auschwitz and Bergen-Belsen to Israel 1928–1996*, trans. James Stuart Brice (Constance, Germany: Hartung-Gorre, 1997); and Edith Singer, *March to Freedom: A Memoir of the Holocaust* (Santa Clarita, CA: Impact Publications, 2008).

Raz Segal

NOTES

1. H. Shefer testimony, YVA O.3/5959.
2. E. Porat testimony, YVA O.3/9578; and P. Elberg testimony, YVA O.3/7750.

IPOLYSÁG

Ipolyság (Slovak: Šahy) is located approximately 88 kilometers (55 miles) north of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, the town was incorporated into Czechoslovakia after the end of World War I. In the interwar period, Ipolyság retained an ethnic Hungarian majority. It came under Hungarian administration when Hungary annexed Bars and Hont County in 1939 after the First Vienna Award. In 1941, Ipolyság had a population of 5,000, including 773 Jews. German occupation authorities dissolved both Jewish congregations in late March 1944.

The German and Hungarian authorities operated a ghetto in Ipolyság between early May and mid-June 1944. A total of 1,205 people were registered at the site. Initially, most ghetto inhabitants were town residents. By May 8, authorities also ordered the Jews of the surrounding Ipolyság and Szob Districts into the ghetto, which spanned Rózsa, Csepreghy, and Malom Streets. It included a mill, a brick factory, and an Orthodox synagogue, where people slept on the floor and in makeshift shelters. Survivor Vera Karoly recalled that the ghetto was located in the poor part of town. According to her, German soldiers helped clear the residents out of the "slum" and move the poor Jews into vacated "hovels." The ghetto's houses and rooms were overcrowded, and sanitary conditions deteriorated quickly. There was little food, and most people subsisted on the small stores of food they had brought from home.[1]

The inmates of the Ipolyság ghetto were subjected to physical abuse and torture. Survivor testimony tends to focus on Hungarian gendarmes as the main perpetrators. Led by Gendarmerie Fõhadnagy Károly Sziller, the ghetto commander, the gendarmes routinely tortured Jews at the so-called Vikulenszki house. They whipped and beat people to learn the hiding places of their jewelry and other valuables. For example, survivor Katherine Muller testified that her mother was beaten black and blue during her interrogation. The soles of her feet were burnt with cigarettes, and she returned to her family gravely injured.[2] Survivor Rose Halpern testified that gendarmes threatened to murder her mother and young daughter if she did not divulge her hiding places. According to her, many people suffered serious injuries during these brutal interrogations; several people died as well, and some committed suicide. The gendarmes continued to terrify ghetto inmates by breaking into their rooms at night to search for valuables. Halpern recalled that inmates also suffered grave humiliation at the hands of the gendarmes. Her own father was traumatized when the gendarmes shaved the men's beards and mustaches.[3]

In May 1944, male ghetto inhabitants between the ages of 18 and 55 were drafted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF). Women remained in the ghetto and were forced to work on surrounding farms. At the same time, 80 inmates were sent to the Garany internment camp and from there to Auschwitz. On June 7, 1944, the gendarmes marched the remaining ghetto inhabitants through the town while the local population looked

on. The Jews were temporarily housed at an agricultural school on the outskirts of Ipolyság and then transferred to Illésipuszta the following day. From there, they were deported to Auschwitz on June 11 and June 14, 1944. Some 200 survivors are known to have returned to Šahy, which was reincorporated into Czechoslovakia after the war.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Ipolyság ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 111–114; and S. Asher and György, *"Örökmécses": Săhy-Ipoolyság és környéke/szöveggondozás* (Kfar Vradim: A. I. Gidron, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Ipolyság ghetto can be found in USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), especially reel 7 (box D 5/1) and reel 135 (box TC/276 and box TC/512). There are 10 VHA testimonies indexed for "Šahy ghetto," including Rose Halpern, May 19, 1995 (#2761); Vera Karoly, July 11, 1997 (#34085); and Katherine Muller, February 26, 1997 (#26448). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Ipolyság natives and ghetto inmates. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #34085, Vera Karoly testimony, July 11, 1997.
2. VHA #26448, Katherine Muller testimony, February 26, 1997.
3. VHA #2761, Rose Halpern testimony, May 19, 1995.

KALOCSA

Kalocsa was the seat of Kalocsa District in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, located approximately 111 kilometers (69 miles) south of Budapest. In 1941, it had a population of 12,341, including 360 Jews and 42 Christians of Jewish origin. Between late May and mid-June 1944, Hungarian authorities operated two small ghettos in Kalocsa.

District Sheriff Kálmán Egedy directed the roundup of Jews in Kalocsa District between May 22 and May 30, 1944, into two ghettos. The Jewish Council headed by Dr. Mátyás Wolf managed the daily affairs of these sites. Several buildings along Tomori and Híd Streets comprised the larger Kalocsa ghetto. Beginning in May 1944, altogether 617 Jews from the Kalocsa and Dunavecse Districts were registered there. This number included 304 Jewish residents of the city of Kalocsa. Among them was the family of survivor Magda Katz. According to her testimony, the Katz family was assigned a small room in their old neighborhood in May 1944. Magda was enrolled in a trade school at the time located outside the ghetto. She attained a special permit and was allowed to spend her days at school, returning to the ghetto in the evenings.[1] Survivor Eva Gregory also testified that families were crammed into small rooms, but had some freedom of movement. For example, her mother was allowed to leave the ghetto for two hours every morning to procure food and run other errands.[2] The second Kalocsa ghetto was located in two warehouses belonging to a paprika factory on Buzapiac Square. Approximately 181 Jews from several rural communities surrounding Kalocsa were held there.

The Kalocsa ghettos were liquidated on June 18, 1944. Although official documentation is not clear on the exact path of persecution, several survivors testified that the Jews were dispatched to the Szeged entrainment center.[3] From Szeged, most were deported to Auschwitz. Several Jews from Kalocsa were transported to Strasshof in Austria in accordance with the Kasztner-Eichmann agreement, where most survived. Among them was Ilana Schulhof, who was interned in one of the Kalocsa ghettos in May 1944. Subsequently, she was transferred to the brickyard at Szeged and from there to Strasshof. She was liberated at Theresienstadt.[4] According to some estimates, approximately 100 Jews returned to Kalocsa after the end of the war.[5]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kalocsa ghettos are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 766–768.

Relevant primary sources documenting the Kalocsa ghettos include USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), reel 7 (box D 5/1), reel 23 (box 6), and reel 65 (box B 6/1); VHA testimony of Eva Gregory, February 26, 1995 (#1143); Magda Katz, April 24, 1996 (#14442); and Maryla Korn, February 20, 1996 (#12273). See also the CNI cards of the ITS, which contain inquiries about several Kalocsa natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #14442, Magda Katz testimony, April 24, 1996.
2. VHA #1143, Eva Gregory testimony, February 26, 1995.
3. Ibid.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ilana Schulhof, Doc. No. 52935139.
5. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 768.

KAPOSVÁR

The capital of Somogy Megye County, Kaposvár is located in southwestern Hungary, 156 kilometers (97 miles) southwest of Budapest. The situation of Kaposvár's Jewish community worsened in the wake of the major anti-Jewish laws enacted in the late 1930s. Hundreds of Jews of military age were drafted into labor service companies, many of which were deployed along the frontlines during World War II. According to the

census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 2,346, representing 7.1 percent of the total of 32,982.

Kaposvár was part of Deportation Zone V, Gendarmerie District IV. After the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the Jews of Kaposvár were isolated, marked with the yellow star, and expropriated. As recalled by survivor Judith Magyar Isaacson, a rumor that the Americans were taking over Kaposvár spread at the time.[1] Instead the local ghetto was established in the Jewish quarter of the city during the second half of May, on orders issued by the deputy prefect of Somogy Megye, Pál Stephaich, and the mayor of Kaposvár, György Kaposváry (Vétek). An announcement of the ghetto's pending formation appeared in the local press in early May.[2] The ghettoization drive was led by Police Officer Tamás Pilissy and Gendarmerie Alezredes László Újlaky. The ghetto was administered by its Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*), which was established on May 4 and consisted of Ödön Antl and Janö Mittelman (co-chairs), Miklós Bók, Sándor Hajdú, József Kardos, László Simon, and Kálmán Tarján. Hungarian gendarmes and police guarded the ghetto; 60 Jewish "ghetto policemen" ensured internal order.

At its peak, the ghetto held 5,159 Jews, including local Jews as well as those brought in from the smaller ghettos in the Kaposvár District and in several nearby districts. Among them were the districts of Barcs, Csurgó, Igal, Nagyatád, and Szigetvár, which included the communities of Barcs, Csurgó, Igal, Kadarkút, Nagyatád, Nagybajom, Somogyszil, Szigetvár, and Tab. A few days before their entrainment the Jews were transferred to the local artillery barracks, which were close to a railroad line. There the Jews were subjected to another round of expropriation. They were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in two transports on July 6, 1944.

In 1946, the Kaposvár People's Tribunal tried György Kaposváry (Vétek) and the Kaposvár town clerk and Arrow Cross member, Dr. József Csukly, in connection with the "Aryanization" of Jewish property in the town. Kaposváry received a sentence of one-and-a-half years' imprisonment and a 10-year deprivation of political rights, a sentence that was later vacated on appeal by the National Council of People's Courts (*Népbíróságok Országos Tanácsa*, NOT). By contrast, NOT sentenced Csukly to imprisonment for 5 years and 1 month, in addition to the loss of political rights for 10 years. According to historian Tamás Kovács, the discrepancy in sentencing arose from Csukly's continued service during the Arrow Cross period, at which time, October 17, 1944, Kaposváry was removed from office.[3]

The surviving remnant reestablished Kaposvár Jewish community life after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Kaposvár are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 819–825; and Tamás Kovács, "Ghettoization in Kaposvár," trans. Ralph Berkin, in Judit Molnár, ed., *The Holocaust in Hungary: A European Perspective* (Budapest: Balassi Kiado, 2005), pp. 500–517.

Primary documentation on the Kaposvár ghetto can be found in SML and YVA. The local newspapers in Kaposvár, *SÚj* and *ÚjS*, published antisemitic decrees during the ghettoization process. VHA holds 15 testimonies on the Kaposvár ghetto, including that of Judith Magyar Isaacson, July 23, 1997 (#31353). Isaacson's published testimony is *Seed of Sarah: Memoirs of a Survivor*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Isaacson, *Seed of Sarah*, p. 37.
2. *SÚj*, May 2, 1944, as cited in Kovács, "Ghettoization in Kaposvár," p. 511.
3. SML, XVII Fond, People's Tribunal case records of György Kaposváry (Vétek) and Dr. József Csukly, as cited in ibid., pp. 515–517.

KASSA

Kassa (Slovak: Kosiče) is located approximately 250 kilometers (155 miles) northeast of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, Kassa was awarded to Czechoslovakia after the end of World War I and was then the biggest city in eastern Slovakia. In accordance with the provisions of the First Vienna Award of November 1938, Hungary incorporated the city as the seat of the Kassa District in Abaúj-Torna County. When an unidentified aircraft bombed Kassa on June 26, 1941, the Hungarian government declared war on the Soviet Union the following day. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Kassa District had 718 Jews in outlying areas, but the city of Kassa itself had 10,079 Jews. Between April and June 1944, Kassa was the site of one of the largest ghettos and entrainment centers operating in Hungary. Approximately 12,000 Jews were deported from there.

The Kassa ghetto and entrainment center operated under the purview of Mayor Sándor Pohl and under the direction of Deputy Police Commissioner György Horváth and the ghetto commanders, Tibor Szoó and László Csatáry. A large segment of Kassa's Jewish population had lived in an area encompassing about 11 streets, including Zríní, Lubzsenszky, and Pogány Streets. After the ghettoization decree of April 28, 1944, this area was fenced off to serve as the center of the Jewish ghetto. Kassa's local Jewish population was largely detained in town, whereas most of the Jews from the surrounding areas were forced into two of the city's brickyards. Survivor Magda Beer recalled how gendarmes drove her family members out of their home and onto a truck while neighbors ransacked the house. They were driven to one of the brickyards, where sheds and wooden barracks immediately became overcrowded.[1] Chaotic scenes unfolded as thousands of people were crammed into the

site.[2] Most people slept outside, on the ground, without shelter from the rain.[3] People lacked food and water. Several survivors reported that they only received a thin soup or water about once a day.[4] The sanitary conditions were catastrophic. A medical officer accompanying Adolf Eichmann's special task force to the Kassa ghetto on June 24, 1944, found cases of typhoid. Numerous inmates succumbed to this and other diseases. Several people are known to have committed suicide. Others died as the result of the brutal treatment and abuse at the hands of the guards and city police, who conducted violent raids in an attempt to seize all valuables. Inmates were beaten for the slightest infractions and shot at if they approached the ghetto's fence.

Deportations from Kassa began on May 15, 1944, and proceeded until June 2, 1944.[5] Approximately 12,000 people were deported on four trains. Several thousand members of Kassa's Jewish community survived the war. Most of them had been drafted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) or had otherwise escaped ghettoization and deportation.

SOURCES There are numerous secondary sources describing the Kassa (Kosiče) ghetto. See, among others, Anna Jurová and Pavol Šalamon, *Košice a deportácie Židov v roku 1944: zborník príspevkov z odborného seminára k 50. výročiu deportácií z Košíc* (Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 1994); Artúr Görög et al., *História košických židov=A kassai zsidóság története=A history of Košice Jews* (Dunajská Streda, Slovakia: Lilium Aurum, 2004); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 9–16.

For important primary documentation about Kassa (Kosiče) see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1), reel 7 (box D 5/1), and reel 11 (box D 4/2). USHMMA holds numerous small family collections containing memoirs and photos of Jewish life in Kassa before and during the Holocaust. See, among others, Acc. No. 1995.A.0992 ("A Memoir Relating to Experiences in Kosice, Bor, Auschwitz, Warsaw, Dachau, and Muehlendorf"); Acc. No. 2012.53.1 ("Dinnertime Survivor Tale"); Acc. No. 1997.A.0184 ("Coleman Gross Collection"); Acc. No. 2008.308.1 ("Braf Family Collection"); Acc. No. 2010.398.1 ("Kurz Family Collection"); RG-02.227 ("The gray coat"). One hundred and ninety-three VHA testimonies are indexed for the Kassa ghetto, including Judith Adler, March 18, 1996 (#13433); Edita Alexander, February 14, 1995 (#1001); Magda Beer, June 29, 1998 (#43471); and Jozsef Benedikt, March 28, 1997 (#27476). At USHMMA see also oral history interviews with Leslie Korda (RG-50.617*0053), Helena Faltinová (RG-50.688*0030), and Kate Bernath (RG-50.030*0023), among others. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several thousand natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed in Kassa. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #43471, Magda Beer testimony, June 29, 1998.
2. VHA #1001, Edita Alexander testimony, February 14, 1995.
3. VHA #13433, Judith Adler testimony, March 18, 1996.
4. VHA #43471.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Emil Rubin, Doc. No. 50539425.

KECSKEMÉT

A city in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun Megye County, Kecskemét is located 79 kilometers (49 miles) southeast of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 1,346, representing 1.5 percent of the total population. In addition, there were 174 converts (0.2%), who were identified as Jews under the racial laws then in effect. Between 1916 and 1942, the community was led by Rabbi József Borsodi and, from 1942 through 1950, by Rabbi József Schindler. In 1944, the Neolog community had 1,100 members, led by János Vajda and Rabbi József Schindler; the Orthodox community had 198 members under the leadership of Izidor Kecskeméti.

The lot of the Jewish community, already suffering under the hardships of the major anti-Jewish laws enacted after 1938, became catastrophic after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. Soon after the occupation, the authorities arrested 30 Jews, including the leaders of the Jewish community. They were first held as hostages in the Kistarcsa internment camp and then deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau at the end of April. In April, approximately 60 Jews were ordered to destroy the interior of the local synagogue, which the Germans then used as a stable. The local Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was led by Dezsö Schönberger and included Miksa Gerö and István Markó as members.

Toward the end of May, on instructions from Mayor Béla Liszka, a vocal antisemite, the Jews were ordered into a ghetto

The damaged interior of the synagogue in Kecskemét, 1944.
USHMM WS #69949, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

that was established in and around the Orthodox synagogue and the Jewish communal buildings. In June, the Jews were relocated in an abandoned factory that served as a concentration and entrainment center and held 5,413 Jews—not only the local Jews but also those brought in from the neighboring communities, including those previously concentrated in the ghettos of Abony, Cegléd, Jászkarajenö, Kiskörös, Kiskunfélegyháza, Nagykörös, Soltvadkert, and Törtel. The concentration center was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews in two transports to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on June 27 and 29, 1944. Among the witnesses to the deportations from Kecskemét was László Endre, the State Secretary for Jewish Affairs in the Hungarian Interior Ministry.[1]

Approximately 150 survivors returned to the city after the war. By 1947, when the reorganized community was being led by Rabbi József Schindler, the city had 410 Jews, including many who settled there from other parts of Hungary.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Kecskemét are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 769–771; and János Hornyik, *A kecskeméti zsidók története* (Gyula: Bács-Kiskun Megyei Levéltár, 1988).

Primary sources on the Kecskemét ghetto can be found in USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSL). Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956. Also available at USHMMA (RG-39.006M), is BFL XXV, Records of the Budapest People's Court, 1945 to 1949, which includes the judgment against László Endre. An unpublished survivor's testimony at USHMMA is Magda Klein Dorman, "My Account: The Honest Truth" (Acc. No. 2012.58.1). VHA holds 18 testimonies by Kecskemét survivors. A published testimony is Lea Schnapp, *Hatikvah in Auschwitz* (Haifa: self-published, 1993).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. Trial of Baky, Endre, and Jaross, Nb.X 4419/1945, p. 38, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 748 n. 66.

KESZTHELY

Keszthely (Zala County) was an entrainment center and ghetto and the seat of the Keszthely District in the southwestern part of Hungary on the western shore of Lake Balaton. The city is nearly 161 kilometers (almost 100 miles) southwest of Budapest and more than 144 kilometers (almost 90 miles) northeast of Zagreb. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 755 Jews living in Keszthely or just over 6 percent of the city's population.

The ghettoization of the Jews of Keszthely and of the surrounding villages in the Keszthely District began on May 15, 1944. A total of 768 Jews (319 families) were ghettoized. The Keszthely ghetto included the synagogue and a few blocks around it; it was surrounded by a wooden fence and guarded by the Keszthely gendarmerie and Jewish ghetto police. No one from the town was allowed to come inside the ghetto, but people communicated across the ghetto fence.[1] The housing was very crowded. The ghetto doctor was named Dr. Bartos. Inmate Belane Dabronaki was active in the ghetto's medical facility, administering first aid despite the fact that she lacked formal training.

On June 20, 1944, 719 Jews (excluding about 150 labor servicemen) were transferred from Keszthely to the Zalaegerszeg ghetto. Between May 1944 and April 1945, Imrene Kertesz, originally from Keszthely, was transferred from the Keszthely ghetto to Zalaegerszeg, then to Auschwitz, Bergen-Belsen, and finally to Bremen where she was liberated.[2] Joseph Somogyi, of Nemesbük, followed a different path. Originally interned in the Keszthely ghetto, he was liberated from Mauthausen in May 1945.[3] At the end of the war there were approximately 100 Jews in Keszthely.[4]

SOURCES Further information about the Keszthely ghetto in Hungary can be found in the following secondary sources: "Keszthely," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 615; "Keszthely," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1250–1254; and István Goldschmied and Szarka Lajos, *A Keszthelyi Zsidosag Tortenete 1966–2005* (Keszthely, Hungary: Keszthelyi Izraelita Hitközség, 2005).

Primary source material is available on the Keszthely ghetto at USHMMA. VHA holds three testimonies from Jewish survivors of the ghetto. The testimony featured here is Belane Dabronaki, September 19, 2000 (#51236). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Keszthely ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #51236, Belane Dabronaki testimony, September 19, 2000.
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Imrene Kertesz, Doc. No. 53197831.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Joseph Somogyi, Doc. No. 53343225.
4. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 2: 1254.

KISTARCSA

In the 1930s, the Hungarian authorities established an internment camp in Kistarcsa in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, approximately 20 kilometers (almost 13 miles) northeast of

Budapest. The first inmates included political prisoners, refugees, enemy aliens, and other foreigners who did not have proof of their citizenship. A significant number were Jewish; they received aid from the Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI) and the Public Kitchen of the Orthodox Jewish community. Immediately after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the Nazi authorities and Hungarian collaborators enlarged the Kistarcsa camp population to approximately 2,000, including many Jews. In the summer of 1944, most of the inmates were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. A smaller number of inmates were transferred into the Hungarian Army's forced labor battalions.

According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the village of Kistarcsa had a population of 3,709, including 100 Jews and 30 Christians of Jewish origin. Only 50 Jews remained registered in the village at the time of the German occupation on March 19, 1944. However, Jews constituted the largest group of inmates in the expanded Kistarcsa internment camp. Most had been randomly arrested by Hungarian police or by the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) during sweeps of the area's towns and countryside. They were charged with a variety of offenses, including conspiracy and sabotage, but also making illegal phone calls or failure to wear the yellow star. Other inmates were prominent politicians, professionals, and industrialists arrested as hostages of the German occupation regime. In late March 1944, some 280 inmates were transferred from an internment camp at the National Rabbinical Institute at 26 Rökk-Szilárd Street in Budapest to the Kistarcsa camp. At Kistarcsa they occupied "Pavillon-B," one of five multistory buildings used to house the prisoners. Another building was guarded by the German authorities and housed Wehrmacht and SS personnel accused of various infractions. Socialists, communists, and other political prisoners as well as a number of prostitutes and vagrants were housed in another building. The largest group of inmates comprised between 800 and 1,000 so-called Gestapo internees (*gestaposok*), which included Jews accused of conspiracy or other offenses. Most of them were transferred to Kistarcsa from the Pest County jail. Pearl Amsel was one of many caught up in these early sweeps and dumped at Kistarcsa. According to her postwar recollections, the German and Hungarian police simply snatched people off the streets—from schools, shops, and cafes—confiscating their papers and leaving friends and family without a clue or trace of them.[1]

The deportation of Hungarian Jews began almost immediately after the German occupation. Hungarian experts tended to oversee the technical aspects of the operation, while their German counterparts under Adolf Eichmann organized the transports to concentration camps. The first transport of some 1,800 "Jewish laborers" left Kistarcsa on April 28, 1944.[2] It arrived at Auschwitz on May 2.[3] Only approximately 400 Jews remained at Kistarcsa at the time, but the German and Hungarian police soon transferred new Jewish prisoners to the site. Erika Benesch arrived at Kistarcsa the day after the first transport left for Auschwitz. By that time, she had already been incarcerated in four prisons. According to her, the inmates did not starve at Kistarcsa in part because outside organizations provided extra rations. She was among the prisoners dispatched for random work in the village, such as cleaning and work in the fields. According to Benesch, it was common knowledge among inmates that they were slated for deportation to Auschwitz.[4]

The deportations of Hungarian Jews were temporarily halted after the regent, Miklós Horthy, ordered their suspension on July 7, 1944. Disregarding the order, Eichmann demanded the deportation of some 1,000 Jews from Kistarcsa on July 14, 1944, and a deportation train did leave the camp. However, the event caused massive outrage, and the Jewish Council and Hungarian political officials all the way up the chain of command to the regent intervened. Ultimately, Horthy's office ordered a gendarmerie unit to stop the train and return the deportees to Kistarcsa. On July 17, approximately 280 of the returned Jews were transferred from Kistarcsa to the camp at Sávár. On July 24, some 1,500 inmates were then deported from Sávár under circumstances similar to the Kistarcsa operation.[5]

Eichmann devised a new plan to continue the deportations to Auschwitz. On July 19, 1944, he held the Jewish Council incommunicado at his office in the Majestic Hotel in Budapest. He also cut the lines of communication between Kistarcsa and Budapest. At the same time, he dispatched to Kistarcsa a Gestapo unit headed by his transportation expert, Hauptsturmführer Franz Novak, as well as a Hungarian dejewification squad. Assistant Police Counselor Pál Ubrizsi then informed the camp commander István Vasdényei that he was authorized by State Secretary Baky to evacuate the camp. Vasdényei challenged the legitimacy of the order and negotiated the release of a few prisoners. However, three Eichmann Kommando platoons armed with machine guns rounded up the inmates and, amid brutal beatings, loaded them onto waiting trucks. The trucks carried 1,220 Jews from Kistarcsa to Rákoscsaba, where they were then loaded onto freight cars. The transport arrived at Auschwitz on July 22, and most of the Jews were gassed that same day. According to Yad Vashem, another 350 Hungarian Jews from the Kistarcsa camp arrived at Auschwitz on August 14, 1944.[6]

The fate of the Kistarcsa Jewish community is not entirely clear. Native Jews may have been deported to Auschwitz in mid-June 1944 during the deportations from Zone III or in early July 1944 during deportations from Zone IV. Fourteen survivors returned to the city after the end of the war.[7]

SOURCES The history of the Kistarcsa internment camp is covered in several secondary sources, including Randolph L. Braham, *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 778–781; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); and Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977). See also

Theodore Lavi, ed. *Pinkas ha'kehilot. Hungaria* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1975).

Important primary sources include MZSML, I-7/7, Vasdényei István visszaemlékezése. Yad Vashem has recognized Vasdényei as a Righteous Among the Nations. See also MZSML, DEGOB collection, record 3627; and YVA, M-20/47. The Kistarcsa index in VHA contains a useful synthesis of background information on the camp. There are 109 testimonies indexed for Kistarcsa. Important eyewitness testimonies from camp survivors include Eva Aitay, October 7, 1996 (#20598); Pearl Amsel, May 14, 1996 (#15088); Erika Benesch, December 27, 1995 (#10568); and Sidonie Bennett, December 18, 1995 (#10307). The CNI collections of the ITS contain inquiries about numerous Jews of various national origins registered at Kistarcsa before deportation to Auschwitz or other camps; there are also several IRO CM/1 files of survivors in ITS 3.2.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMPA also holds numerous images of Kistarcsa inmates, letters written from the camps, and other related artifacts. A published eyewitness account of the July deportation from Kistarcsa is available in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Tragedy of Hungarian Jewry: Essays, Documents, Depositions* (New York: Institute for Holocaust Studies of the City University of New York, 1986), pp. 271–273. An excerpt from Vasdényei's recollections is available in Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013), pp. 140–141.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #15088, Pearl Amsel testimony, May 14, 1996.
2. VHA #20598, Eva Aitay testimony, October 7, 1996.
3. Rosso Rudolph Kastner affidavit, 1945, 2605-PS, ITS, 1.2.7.1, folder 7/I337, pp. 31–36.
4. VHA #10568, Erika Benesch testimony, December 27, 1995.
5. ICRC, "Notiz über die Situation der Juden in Ungarn," November 14, 1944, YVA M20/47, as cited by Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 892–893.
6. Kastner affidavit, 1945, 2605-PS, ITS, 1.2.7.1, fol. 7/I337, pp. 31–36.
7. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 2: 780–781.

KISVÁRDA

Kisvárda (Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County), a regional ghetto and entrainment center in northeastern Hungary, was located approximately 237 kilometers (approximately 148 miles) northeast of Budapest and more than 75 kilometers (nearly 47 miles) northwest of Satu Mare, Romania. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Kisvárda District had a population of 4,865 Jews. Of those, 3,770 Jews lived in the city of Kisvárda, making up almost 26 percent of the total population of 14,782.

Ghettoization in Kisvárda began on April 16, 1944, with the roundup of Jews in the district's villages. The process was completed by the end of April with the confinement of 7,000 Jews. The ghetto was administered by an unarmed Jewish police force. Wealthy Jews were interrogated about hidden valuables. Some people, particularly doctors and lawyers, who knew about the killing centers committed suicide.[1]

As part of Deportation Zone I, the entrainment and deportation of the ghetto's Jews began on May 25, 1944. The first transport left for Csap (today: Chop, Zakarpattia oblast', Ukraine), and after it left there was a wave of suicides in the ghetto. The second transport left for Auschwitz II-Birkenau. From Auschwitz some Jews from the Kisvárda ghetto were later dispatched to other Nazi concentration camps, including Gross-Rosen and Bergen-Belsen.[2]

SOURCES Further information about the Kisvárda ghetto can be found in these secondary sources: "Kisvárda," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 874–877; and "Kisvárda," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 631.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Kisvárda Jews can be found at USHMMA, including RG-39.013M, Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities (1944–1956 (MZSML), boxes D 8/1, H 7/5, GB 1/32, and TB B/308. USHMMA holds several oral interviews by survivors of the Kisvárda ghetto, including Aranka Tóth (RG-50.670*0047, September 9, 2012); Leslie Schwartz (RG-50.486*0094, September 22, 2011); and Alexander Karp (RG-50.155*0027, September 14, 1995). VHA holds 90 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Kisvárda ghetto. The testimony featured here is Erzsébet Becker, April 11, 2000 (#50827). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Kisvárda ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #50827, Erzsébet Becker, April 11, 2000.
2. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Ignacz Fulop, Doc. No. 53628833, and Elizabeth Eichler, Doc. No. 50841990.

KOLOZSVÁR

The seat of Kolozs County, Kolozsvár (Romanian: Cluj-Napoca; German: Klausenburg) was part of Hungary before 1918 and from 1940 to 1944; it is located 353 kilometers (219 miles) southeast of Budapest and 325 kilometers (202 miles) northwest of Bucharest. During the interwar period, the city was the center of Zionist activities in Transylvania. The various branches of the Zionist movement attracted adherents largely in response to the anti-Jewish activities of the Romanian Iron Guard and other ultra-rightist parties and movements. According to the Hungarian census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 16,763, representing 15.1 percent of its 110,956 inhabitants.

Under the terms of the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940, Northern Transylvania came under Hungarian jurisdiction. The Jews of Kolozsvár were immediately subjected to the anti-Jewish laws already in effect in Hungary: a large number of Jewish men of military age were drafted into the forced labor service; the publication of Jewish newspapers, such as the local *Új Kelet (New East*), was prohibited; Jews were largely deprived of their livelihood; the licenses of many Jewish professionals were revoked; and Jewish students were prohibited from attending secondary and higher educational institutions. Under the leadership of Antal Márk, the Jewish community established a coeducational high school to serve the educational needs of Jewish students in Northern Transylvania as a whole. Those Jews who could not prove their citizenship were rounded up and deported—together with approximately 18,000 other "alien" Jews picked up all over Hungary—to near Kamenets-Podolsk in German-occupied Ukraine, where they were murdered in late August 1941.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, imperiled the Jews of Kolozsvár. They were subjected to an additional series of anti-Jewish measures designed to bring about their isolation, expropriation, ghettoization, and deportation. They were compelled to wear the yellow star starting on April 5 and soon thereafter were required to surrender all their property. The details of the ghettoization and deportation drive were spelled out in a decree issued on April 7, 1944.[1] According to the plan, Kolozs and several other counties in Northern Transylvania encompassing Gendarmerie District IX were identified as Deportation Zone II in the "Final Solution." The details relating to the implementation of the decree in Kolozs and elsewhere in Gendarmerie District IX were worked out at a conference held in Szatmárnémeti on April 26.[2] The conference was chaired by László Endre, the Secretary of State for Jewish Affairs in the Interior Ministry, and attended by the leading civilian and military officials of the respective counties.

The specifics of the roundup operation in Kolozsvár and Kolozs Country were worked out at a meeting held on May 2 under the leadership of László Vásárhelyi, the mayor of Kolozsvár. Among the approximately 250 officials who attended the meeting were László Urbán, the police chief, and Gendarmerie Ezredes Tibor Paksy-Kiss, who was in charge of the anti-Jewish operations in the gendarmerie district. The Hungarian officials in charge of the anti-Jewish drive in Kolozsvár and Kolozs County acted in cooperation with SS-Obersturmführer Walter Strohschneider, the local Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) commander. The anti-Jewish drive in Kolozs County was planned and implemented under the leadership of a group that included József Forgács, the secretary general of Kolozs County, representing the deputy prefect; Lajos Hollóssy-Kuthy, the deputy police chief; Géza Papp, a high-ranking police official; and Kázmér Taar, a top official in the mayor's office. Overall command of the ghettoization process in Kolozs County, outside of Kolozsvár, was exercised by Ferenc Szász, the deputy prefect of the county, and by József Székely, the mayor of Bánffyhunyad.

The ghettoization in Northern Transylvania began early on May 3, preceded by an announcement posted all over Kolozsvár the day before and issued under the signature of Lajos Hollóssy-Kuthy, the deputy police chief. The Jews of Kolozsvár were concentrated in a ghetto established in the Iris Brickyard, in the northern part of the city, together with Jews brought in from the other communities in Kolozs County. The Kolozsvár ghetto was one of the largest in the region.

By May 10 the ghetto population reached 12,000. At its peak, just before the deportations began, it was close to 18,000. Among the Jews transferred to the ghetto of Kolozsvár were those from the communities in the county's five districts: Kolozsborsa, Kolozsvár, Hidalmás, Bánffyhunyad, and Nádasment. The Kolozsvár ghetto also included the Jews of Szamosújvár, a town in Szolnok-Doboka County, who were originally supposed to have been concentrated in the ghetto of Dés. The brickyard ghetto of Szamosújvár had included close to 1,600 Jews, of whom nearly 400 were from the town itself; the others had been brought in from neighboring communities in Szamosújvár District. The transfer of these Jews into the Kolozsvár ghetto was carried out under the command of Lajos Tamási, the mayor of Szamosújvár, and Ernö Berecki and András Iványi, the chief police officers of the town.

The conditions in the Kolozsvár ghetto were inhumane. Most of the Jews had to sleep in the open brick-drying sheds of the brickyard. Water and food supplies were minimal and sanitary facilities all but nonexistent. The Jews suspected of being wealthy were subjected to torture by the investigative gendarmes and policemen to force them to reveal their hidden valuables.

The Kolozsvár ghetto was under the direct command of Police Chief Urbán. The ghetto's internal administration was entrusted to its Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) consisting of the traditional leaders of the local Jewish community. It was headed by József Fischer, the head of the city's Neolog community, and included Rabbi Akiba Glasner as the representative of the Orthodox community; other members were József Fenichel; Gyula Klein, former editor-in-chief of the *Új Kelet*; Ernö Marton; Zsigmond Léb; and Rabbi Mózes Weinberger. The secretary general of the council was József Moskovits, whereas Deszö Hermann served as secretary. In contrast to other Jewish Councils of Northern Transylvania, Kolozsvár's Council members were fully aware of the realities of Auschwitz and the "Final Solution." Almost all managed to escape deportation, the subject of much postwar contention among survivors. Fischer and his family were among the 388 Jews who were removed from the ghetto of Kolozsvár and taken to Budapest—and eventually to freedom—on June 10, 1944, as part of Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner's controversial deal with the SS. Many of the other members escaped to Romania.

The ghetto was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews in six transports that left the city between May 25 and June 9. The dates of the transports and the number of deportees were as follows: May 25: 3,130; May 29: 3,417; May 31: 3,270; June 2: 3,100; June 8: 1,784; and June 9: 1,447.

Soviet and Romanian troops liberated Kolozsvár on October 11, 1944. Among the first Jewish returnees were 50 to 60 survivors, mostly labor servicemen who were liberated in the area. By March 1945, the Neolog community was reorganized with approximately 100 members. By 1947, Kolozsvár had a Jewish population of 6,600, consisting of local survivors and mostly people who had moved there from other parts of Romania.

Kolozsvár was the setting for a people's tribunal that tried perpetrators for crimes committed against Jews in Northern Transylvania. Among the convicted, some in absentia, were officials tied to the ghettoization of Kolozsvár: Forgács, Paksy-Kiss, Papp, Székely, Urbán, and Vásárhelyi.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kolozsvár ghetto are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 505–523.

Primary sources on the Kolozsvár ghetto can be found in ANR, Cluj Branch, microcopied to USHMMA as RG-25.017M. The ITS Postwar collection holds a list of 938 returnees to Cluj-Napoca, effective July 15, 1945, furnished by WJC. The local Kolozsvár press, such as *Ell*, contains archives of contemporaneous documentation of anti-Jewish persecution. USHMMA holds two interviews by Kolozsvár survivors, Magdalena Farkas Berkovics (RG-50.106*0177) and Barbara Marton Farkas (RG-50.030*0070). VHA holds 220 interviews by survivors of the Kolozsvár ghetto, under its Romanian name. Among a great number of personal narratives on Kolozsvár, see Olga Lengyel, *Five Chimneys: The Story of Auschwitz* (Chicago: Ziff-Davis, 1947); Oliver Lustig, *Dicţionar de lagăr* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1982); and Oliver Lustig, *Atunci, acolo . . . la Auschwitz* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1977).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Decree No. 6163 / 1944.
2. Szatmárnémeti conference summarized in Nagybánya mayor's office to Interior Ministry, Doc. 30/44, cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 652 n. 4.
3. For sentences related to these defendants, see Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, pp. 216, 220–221.

KOMÁROM

The city of Komárom is situated on both banks of the Danube River, approximately 75 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, Komárom was divided into two separate towns after the end of World War I. The 1920 Treaty of Trianon formally ceded the city's northern half to Czechoslovakia and assigned the southern half to Hungary. Renamed Komárno, the Czechoslovakian city retained an ethnic Hungarian majority and became the center of cultural and social life of the Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. The First Vienna Award of 1938 returned Komárno to Hungary. The town was reincorporated into Komárom, which served as the seat of Komárom District and Komárom County. With the onset of World War II, Komárom became an important center for Hungarian and German military operations. In 1941, it had a native population of 30,858, including 2,713 Jews.

Between 1939 and 1945, Komárom's historic fort and military compound, Monostori Fortress, served as a locale for the persecution and detention of Jews and Roma. After the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) system went into effect on July 1, 1939, Labor Battalion No. 2 was headquartered in Fort No. II in Komárom. By 1943, the forced laborers were sleeping in the filthy stables with the animals. They suffered physical abuse and torture at the hands of camp commander László Ágh and his henchmen. Jewish labor servicemen were being registered in Komárom as late as 1944.[1]

In the spring of 1944, the mayor of Komárom designated the area between Hajnal, Eötvös, and Király Streets as a ghetto. Beginning on May 16, 1944, the city's military compound around Monostori Fortress served this function. The area was enclosed by high walls and fences. According to survivor testimony, the Nazi SS acted as supervisors to the Hungarian police, who served as guards.[2] Altogether 5,040 Jews were detained at the ghetto at Komárom. Approximately 2,000 of them were residents of the city, and the rest came from 22 surrounding communities. Most survivor testimony emphasizes the squalor and overcrowding these inmates had to endure. Many were forced to sleep in dark, damp cellars without beds and blankets.[3] Others occupied barracks without basic accommodations, such as sanitary facilities.[4] Inmates suffered from hunger. Survivor Jonas Bruck witnessed harrowing scenes of children starving and crying from hunger. He also witnessed the suicide of one inmate who jumped out of a window to his death.[5] Other survivors also testify to the abject terror and despair felt by many inmates.[6] The ghetto at Monostori Fortress was liquidated when the inmates were deported to Auschwitz in two transports on June 13 and June 16, 1944.

After the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) coup of October 15, 1944, Arrow Cross members under the leadership of Richárd Wojtowicz terrorized Komárom County. The Arrow Cross operated a prison and internment camp at the fort in Komárom. Jews, Roma, and political opponents were among the hundreds of inmates detained and abused at the site. Prisoners were later deported from there to different Nazi concentration camps, including Dachau, Neuengamme, and Mauthausen. Jewish survivor Aniko Whealy was among those detained at the Arrow Cross prison in Komárom. She had escaped from a forced march from Budapest, but was soon discovered hiding in November 1944 at a farm near Komárom. She recalled being

taken to the "Nazi headquarters" at Komárom where hundreds of Jews and Roma were imprisoned. In late November 1944, prisoners were put on closed rail cars. Whealy was transported to Ravensbrück and survived the war.[7] The Arrow Cross was still killing Jews and others in Komárom as late as January 1945. After liberation, the city was divided once more.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the ghetto, prison, and KMOF at Komárom include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 534–538; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977).

Important primary sources on the ghetto, prison, and KMOF at Komárom are available in the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML) and RG-39.010M (MOL K 149 BM res.). VHA testimonies indexed for the ghetto at Komárom include testimony of Jonas Bruck, July 11, 1996 (#17137); Joseph Eckstein, October 20, 1995 (#7827); Serena Feldman, May 19, 1996 (#15248); Georg Gottlieb, September 24, 1996 (#20035); and Lilia Guttmann, December 21, 1995 (#8707). For VHA testimony about the Csillag prison at Komárom, see the testimony of Aniko Whealy, April 13, 1995 (#1968). USHMMPA contains numerous photos documenting Jewish life in Komárom, including the Lilian Rosenthal Collection (CD No. 0777) and the Georg and Ivan Kalmar Collection (CD No. 1047). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 1,100 residents of Komárom, as well as ghetto inmates, prison inmates, and KMOF men registered there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. CNI card for Gabriel Lövinger, Doc. No. 50562818.
2. VHA #20035, Georg Gottlieb testimony, September 24, 1996.
3. VHA #7827, Joseph Eckstein testimony, October 20, 1995.
4. VHA #20035.
5. VHA #17137, Jonas Bruck testimony, July 11, 1996.
6. VHA #15248, Serena Feldman testimony, May 19, 1996.
7. VHA #1968, Aniko Whealy testimony, April 13, 1995.

LÉVA

Léva (Slovak: Levice) is located approximately 87 kilometers (54 miles) north-northwest of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, the town was incorporated into Czechoslovakia after the end of World War I. Following the breakup of Czechoslovakia with the First Vienna Award of 1938, Léva came under Hungarian administration and became the seat of Hungary's Bars and Hont County and of the Léva District. In 1941, the town had over 12,758 inhabitants, including 1,271 Jews and 59 Christians of Jewish descent.

Léva became the site of a ghetto after May 10, 1944, when the Hungarian authorities forced the local Jewish population out of their homes and into buildings on a designated street in the town. Léva also housed another ghetto for Jews from the Léva District, who occupied one of the town's military barracks and possibly the surrounding buildings as well. The Léva ghettos were not fenced in, although Hungarian gendarmes enforced a curfew. According to several survivor testimonies, many inhabitants of the Léva ghettos knew of the fate of other Jews in Europe from listening to the radio, and some went underground to escape their own impending deportation.[1] Indeed, survivor testimony suggests a rigorous movement and human trafficking across the Hungarian-Slovakian border at the time. For example, the family of survivor Georg Gertler paid a smuggler to take them from Léva into Slovakia in late May 1944.[2] Survivor Edith Hofbauer testified that her family hired a guard to lead them across the border into Slovakia, where he left them in the woods.[3]

In early June 1944, the local authorities liquidated both Léva ghettos when they transferred the inhabitants to a tobacco factory on the outskirts of town.[4] The Léva tobacco factory was one of six major transit centers in Gendarmerie District II, in which close to 24,000 Jews were concentrated in preparation for deportation. According to a report by Gendarmerie Alezredes László Ferenczy, on June 13, 1944, some 3,000 Jews were deported from Léva to Auschwitz, where they arrived on June 16, 1944.[5] Eyewitness testimony and scarce documentation suggest the possibility that deportations from Léva began as early as June 12, 1944.[6] Among those deported was Magda Deutsch, who had been born in Levice in 1930; after Auschwitz, she was later transferred to Kurzbach, where she was liberated.[7] Jolana Mechurova, born in Stary Tekov in 1903, was deported from Léva to Auschwitz and then to Ravensbrück and Neustadt, where she was liberated. Many others perished. Among them was Edit Kovac, born 1928 in Levice and deported from there in June 1944. She was declared dead on December 12, 1944, at Auschwitz.[8] Several Jewish survivors returned to Léva after 1945, when the town was reincorporated into Czechoslovakia.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Léva (Levice) ghetto and transit center include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 117–119.

Primary sources documenting the Léva (Levice) ghetto and transit center can be found in USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1), reel 7 (box D 5/1), and reel 24 (box 10). There are 21 VHA testimonies indexed for the "Levice ghetto," including Lilla Bleich, October 3, 1996 (#20385); George Gertler, February 22, 1996 (#10138); Martha Golan, April 20, 1995 (#2373); Edith Hofbauer, June 30,

1996 (#17074); and Karl Kalisch, December 22, 1996 (#24417). The CNI of the ITS contains several hundred inquiries about Léva or Levice natives and ghetto inmates. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #2373, Martha Golan testimony, April 20, 1995.
2. VHA #10138, George Gertler testimony, February 22, 1996.
3. VHA #17074, Edith Hofbauer testimony, June 30, 1996.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alzbeta Vitekova, Doc. No. 50652355.
5. Among others, see also CNI card for Jolana Mechurova, Doc. No. 50559565.
6. VHA #20385, Lilla Bleich testimony, October 3, 1996.
7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Magda Deutsch, Doc. No. 50563993.
8. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Edit Kovac, Doc. No. 50605098.

MÁRAMAROSSZIGET

Máramarossziget (Romanian: Sighet and Sighetul Marmației) was a ghetto and entrainment center located in Maramureș County in northwestern Transylvania, in the eastern part of Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania. Máramarossziget is located approximately 39 kilometers (24 miles) east of Baia Mare and more than 131 kilometers (almost 82 miles) northwest of Cluj, Romania. During the interwar period, the Jewish population of Sighet was approximately 11,000. The town is best known as the birthplace of Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel, whose long list of works includes *Night*, a book that documents life in the ghetto before his deportation to Auschwitz.

The Jewish population of 15,000 (including Jews from the surrounding villages) was ghettoized on April 20, 1944; they were forced to wear the yellow star for two to three weeks beforehand.[1] Two ghettos (a large one in the center of town and a small one on the outskirts) for the Jewish population were erected in Máramarossziget seemingly overnight by the Hungarian authorities in April 1944. The ghettos were surrounded by barbed wire 3 meters high (almost 10 feet), and a curfew was enforced.[2] The Roma were relocated to the Bandzalgo section of the city.

A Jewish Council and Jewish police force were appointed. The Jewish internal government also consisted of a health agency, social welfare agency, and labor committee. The ghetto had a makeshift hospital (with 15 to 20 beds), and some internees were trained as nurses; babies were born in the ghetto. The commander of the ghetto was the chief of police, Lajos Toth. The head of the local firefighters, Jozsef Konyuk, served as Toth's deputy. The behavior of the Germans and gendarmes was particularly cruel. At the end of April, SS officers Adolf Eichmann and Dieter Wisliceny visited the ghetto. According to Wiesel, "The ghetto was ruled by neither German nor Jew; it was ruled by delusion."[3]

All Jews were moved into the Great Synagogue before being deported to Auschwitz; they stayed there for one day and one night.[4] There they were guarded by Hungarian gendarmes and were searched for gold and jewelry in body cavities by midwives. Some Jews were badly beaten, and everyone slept on the floor.[5] The Jewish population was deported in four transports to Auschwitz from May 16 to 21, 1944, where most were killed. When the ghetto was liquidated, Jews who had been hiding were discovered. Some were transferred to Aknaszlatina and subsequently deported.

If they did not perish in Auschwitz, the inmates of the ghetto had various persecution paths. Fani Dascal was transferred from Auschwitz to Bergen-Belsen and then Dachau.[6] Judith Davidovich instead was sent from Auschwitz to Gelsenkirchen and then on to Esen, Bergen-Belsen, and finally Buchenwald.[7]

SOURCES Further information about the Máramarossziget ghetto and Jewish life in the ghetto can be found in these secondary sources: "Sighet," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 601–605; "Sighet," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1181–1183; and "Sighet Marmatiei," in Gershon David Hundert, ed., *The Yivo Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 2: 1744–1746.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Máramarossziget Jews can be found at USHMMA, Acc.

Jews bound for the railroad station during the deportation action that cleared the ghetto in Máramarossziget, May 18, 1944.
USHMM WS #10471, COURTESY OF ALBERT ROSENTHAL.

No. 2005.166.1, "Dora Apsan Collection"; and RG-25.004M (SRI). VHA holds many testimonies from Jewish survivors of the ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Eva Chava Perl (#21881), Luiza Kovacs (#31963), and Terezia Eizikovits (#19893). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Máramarossziget ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Two published testimonies are Hindi Rothbart with P'nenah Goldstein, *The Girl from Sighet: A Memoir* (Xlibris, 2009); and Elie Wiesel, *Night* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972).

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #31963, Luiza Kovacs testimony, May 29, 1997.
2. VHA #21881, Eva Chava Perl testimony, October 30, 1996.
3. Wiesel, *Night*, p. 12.
4. VHA #19893, Terezia Eizikovits testimony, September 17, 1996.
5. VHA #21881.
6. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Fani Dascal, Doc. No. 50841778.
7. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Judith Davidovich, Doc. No. 53827175.

MAROSVÁSÁRHELY

Marosvásárhely (Romanian: Târgu Mureș), a ghetto and deportation center located in eastern Hungary in Maros-Torda County in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania, is almost 78 kilometers (49 miles) southeast of Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) and approximately 241 kilometers (150 miles) southwest of Iasi, Romania. According to the Hungarian census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the population of Marosvásárhely included 5,693 Jews. German troops arrived in Marosvásárhely on March 2, 1944.

The roundup and ghettoization of the Marosvásárhely area's Jews, including the Jews of Udvarhely County, began on May 3, 1944. The ghetto was established in a brickyard on the outskirts of the city. The ghetto residents were interrogated and beaten as the gendarmerie searched them for jewelry and other valuables. A total of 7,549 Jews were deported to Auschwitz in three transports via Kassa (Košiče) on May 27, May 30, and June 8 as part of Deportation Zone II. Some of the deportees from Marosvásárhely were dispatched from Auschwitz to Stutthof/Thorn, Dachau, Krakau-Płaszów, and Bergen-Belsen.[1]

Those responsible for the ghettoization of Marosvásárhely's Jews were tried at the 1946 Kolozsvár People's Tribunal. Those accused of crimes perpetrated at the Marosvásárhely ghetto included Andor Joos, the prefect of Maros-Torda County (sentenced in absentia to 25 years of forced labor); Zsigmond Marton, the deputy prefect of Maros-Torda County (sentenced in absentia to 25 years of forced labor); and Ferenc Majay, mayor of Marosvásárhely (sentenced to 10 years of prison with hard labor).[2] Only 1,200 of the Jews of the Marosvásárhely ghetto survived the Holocaust.

SOURCES Further information about the Marosvásárhely ghetto in Hungary can be found in the following secondary sources: "Târgu Mureș," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1289; "Marosvásárhely," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 651–664; and Radu Balas and Francisko Kocsis, *370 de zile de teroare* (Târgu Mureș: Fundația Cronos, 2003).

Primary source material documenting the fate of Marosvásárhely's Jews is available digitally in USHMMA, collection RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 41; and "Selected records relating to the Holocaust in Romania" as RG-25.021M (FCER). VHA holds 59 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Marosvásárhely ghetto. The CNI of the ITS contains numerous search inquiries for Jews deported from the Marosvásárhely ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. The judgment of the Kolozsvár People's Tribunal is reproduced in Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983).

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Agnes Mendel Mittelman, Doc. No. 50549550; Seren Rosenfeld Wacchsman, Doc. No. 50542087; Jozsef Salamon, Doc. No. 50541578; and Olga Strasser, Doc. No. 50541789.
2. Judgment, August 31, 1946, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, p. 207.

MISKOLC

The seat of Borsod County, Miskolc is located 148 kilometers (92 miles) northeast of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 10,428, representing 13.5 percent of the total of 77,362 inhabitants. The Jews' situation worsened in the wake of the Great Depression, when they were subjected to a number of increasingly severe restrictions affecting their livelihoods. Their status grew even worse as a result of several major anti-Jewish laws that were enacted beginning in May 1938. The anti-Jewish laws and regulations brought about the closing of many religious, cultural, and social organizations and communal institutions, including women's organizations and the local branch of the Pro-Palestine League. Starting in 1939 many Jewish males of military age were drafted into the Hungarian labor service. In the summer of 1941, several hundred Jews unable to prove their Hungarian citizenship were rounded up and deported to Kamenets-Podolsk, where most of them were murdered in late August. The head of the Jewish community before and during the Holocaust was Mór Feldman. Among the spiritual leaders of the community were Rabbis Simon Neufeld, Adolf Ehrenfeld, and Juda Gottliebb.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, marked the beginning of the end of this once flourishing Jewish community. The anti-Jewish drive in Borsod County was spearheaded by Prefect Emil Borbély Maczky and Deputy Prefect Gyula Mikuleczky. In Miskolc, the anti-Jewish drive was led by Mayor László Szlávy and Deputy Mayor Béla Honti. (In the late spring of 1944, Szlávy was appointed prefect of Szilágy County; he was succeeded by Imre Gálffy.) The Jews were expropriated, isolated, made to wear the yellow star, and placed in a ghetto in accordance with Decree No. 10160 / a.i.1944 issued by Deputy Prefect Mikuleczky. A ghetto was established in the Jewish section of the city, as part of Deportation Zone II, Gendarmerie District VII. Internally it was led by a Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) headed by Mór Feldman; his closest collaborator was Elemér Banet.

The ghetto held approximately 13,500 Jews, of whom more than 7,500 were from Miskolc.[1] The others were brought in from communities in the following districts of Borsod County: Edelény (821), Mezöcsát (892), Mezökeresztes (511), Mezökövesd (931), Miskolc (1,083), Ózd (1,008), and Sajószentpéter (1,116). Among the largest Jewish communities concentrated in the ghetto of Miskolc were those of Abaújszántó, Bánréve, Diósgyör, Edelény, Encs, Gönc, Hejócsaba, Hidasnémeti, Mád, Mezöcsát, Mezökeresztes, Mezökövesd, Monok, Ózd, Putnok, Sajószentpéter, Szrencs, Szikszó, Tállya, Tiszaeszlár, Tiszaluc, and Vilmány.

Conditions in the ghetto were deplorable. Particularly horrendous was the situation of the well-to-do Jews who were tortured by gendarmes and detectives searching for hidden valuables. Gendarmerie officers András Oláh, József Bata, and Imre Sashalmi headed the squad of investigators. An Allied bombing attack on June 2, 1944, which damaged many buildings and caused more than 600 casualties, hardened non-Jewish Hungarian attitudes toward the ghetto's inhabitants because many blamed Jews for the bombing. On June 5, the Hungarian gendarmerie started to empty the ghetto, forcing the Jews to move to a brickyard on Tatár Street. The deportation of the Jews of the Miskolc ghetto took place in five transports between June 12 and June 15, 1944. Some of these transports were loaded at nearby Diósgyör.

During their retreat from the Miskolc area in the late fall of 1944, Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) gangs murdered a large number of labor servicemen and other hostages in and around Létrástetö. The survivors reestablished the community in February 1945 under the leadership of Alfréd Züszmann and Rabbi Károly Klein, who was succeeded by Rabbi Sándor (Shlomo) Paszternák. By 1946, the city's Jewish population, including those who moved in from the neighboring communities, increased to 2,350.

A People's Court condemned András Oláh to death after the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Miskolc are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 261–270; and Shlomo Paszternák, ed., *Miskolc és környeke emlékkönyve* (Tel Aviv: self-published, 1970).

Primary sources documenting the ghetto at Miskolc can be found in MOL. People's Tribunal documentation for Miskolc perpetrators and suspects can be found in BML. The Miskolc newspaper, *MÉ*, regularly reported on antisemitic measures and the Jews' ghettoization. VHA holds 129 survivor testimonies mentioning Miskolc. Published testimonies on the Miskolc ghetto include Erika Jakoby, *I Held the Sun in My Hands: A Memoir* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2004); David Fridman, *Kunṭres ha-Sho'ah: Yoman ishi ve-toldot hayim* (Bene Barak: self-published, 2001); György Fazekas, *Miskolc—Nyizsnyij-Tagil—Miskolc* (Budapest: Magvető, 1979); and Yosef Ziv (Zisman), *Kaftorim be'marak: Sipuro shel nitzol me'Buchenwald* (Tel Aviv: Milo, 1992).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. On population figures, MOL, reel 122, as cited by Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 708 n. 49.

MOHÁCS

The seat of Mohács District, the town of Mohács (Baranya County) is located on the right bank of the Danube River, approximately 170 kilometers (106 miles) south-southwest of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Mohács District had a total population of 38,891, including 108 Jews in outlying areas. The town of Mohács had a total population of 18,128, including 707 Jewish inhabitants.

On May 6, 1944, the mayor of Mohács received orders from Deputy Prefect István Horvát to establish a ghetto and concentrate all local Jews there by May 9. The local authorities designated an area on Baron Eötvös Street between Szent Háromság and Vörösmarty Streets. Five hundred sixty-seven local Jews were detained there. Another area near Kígyo Street and Kálvin Lane was designated for Jews from surrounding communities. After an inspection by Horvát, the local authorities began the ghettoization of Jews in the county on May 15, 1944. Altogether 607 Jews from rural communities in Mohács District and Baranya County were sent to the Mohács ghetto.

Life in the ghettos of Mohács was marked by overcrowding, fear, and uncertainty. The ghettos of Mohács were partially enclosed and fenced in. Survivor Livia Frim recalls being forced out of her family's home in Mohács and into the ghetto on May 29, 1944. According to her, each person was allowed to take 5 kilograms (11 pounds) of belongings. Many packed as much food as they could. According to her testimony, some locals occasionally threw food over the fence to help the ghetto population. However, others reinforced the ghetto fence with extra wooden planks so they did not have to look at the inhabitants.[1] One part of the ghetto bordered the Danube

River. Survivor Julia Stern, who was detained there as a young girl, later gave testimony that Yugoslav Partisans crossed the river at night and offered to take children from the ghetto to hide them. The Sterns declined the offer, preferring that the family stay together.[2] At least some of the ghettos' inmates were conscripted for forced labor. Livia Frim, for example, testified that she and other younger women had to do housework for German officers.[3]

The ghettos of Mohács were liquidated between June 28 and 29, 1944. Gendarmerie Százados Ferenc Declava led a special detachment of gendarmes from Pécs to organize the transfer of the Jews from Mohács to the transit center at Pécs. The inmates were driven out of their rooms and onto the streets, where many underwent humiliating body searches for hidden valuables. Survivor Klara Swimmer remembered the ordeal as a "gynecological examination."[4] Livia Frim recalled how, during the roundup, her father was beaten by a Hungarian officer for carrying a leather briefcase. The officer called her father a "rotten, dirty Jew" and accused him of stealing from the Hungarian people. Frim and several other survivors recalled that locals lined the streets, clapping and cheering as the Jews were marched to the train station.[5] Most of the Jews of Mohács were deported from Pécs to Auschwitz, where they arrived on July 6, 1944.

Some documentation suggests that numerous Jewish labor battalions of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) were stationed in and around Mohács between 1942 and 1944.[6] In mid-September 1944, Mohács briefly became a way station for several thousand Jewish labor servicemen who were forced-marched by the German authorities from Bor in occupied Yugoslavia. From Mohács the survivors were then transferred to Szentkirályszabadja and finally deported to various concentration camps in Germany.[7]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Mohács ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 80–83. See also Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977). The volume includes transcripts of testimonies by KMOF members Tibor Groner and Sándor Guttmann, who survived a death march to Mohács (pp. 95–105).

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 112 (box TB B/158) and reel 135 (box TL/241). Nine VHA testimonies are indexed for the Mohács ghetto, including Livia Frim, September 18, 1996 (#19935); Julia Stern, February 28, 1996 (#12507); and Klara Swimmer, December 17, 1995 (#10226). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 400 Mohács natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital format at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #19935, Livia Frim testimony, September 18, 1996.
2. VHA #12507, Julia Stern testimony, February 28, 1996.
3. VHA #19935.
4. VHA #10226, Klara Swimmer testimony, December 17, 1995.
5. VHA #19935.
6. Among others, CNI cards for Jichak Markusz, Doc. No. 50563829; Mosche Grossman, Doc. No. 50583504; and Bela Fülöp, Doc. No. 51254776.
7. Testimony by Tibor Groner, n.d., YIVO, archives file 768/3583, reproduced in Braham, *Hungarian Labor Service System*, pp. 95–97.

MONOR

Located 34 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Budapest, Monor was the seat of the Monor District in Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County. In 1941, it had a population of 13,103, which included 344 Jews. Scarce documentation suggests that Jewish labor servicemen were stationed in and around Monor as early as 1941.[1] Some records refer to one or more labor camps for Jews in the vicinity.[2]

Under the direction of Kálmán Egedy, the Hungarian district chief administrative officer, Hungarian authorities began organizing the roundup and ghettoization of the Jews of Monor and surrounding areas in early May 1944. On May 5, Monor's chief notary issued a plan for a ghetto for the internment of the local Jewish population. The designated buildings included Verbőczy Street No. 4, 8, and 11; Pesti Street No. 57 and 59; Deák Ferenc Street No. 10, 11, 12, and 13; and Gőzmalom Street No. 8, 11, 14, and 15. Subsequent amendments to the plan listed additional buildings at Verbőczy Street No. 13, Deák Ferenc Street No. 6, Gőzmalom Street No. 24, and Mátyás Király Street No. 11. The original ghettoization plan also identified areas for the internment of Jews from communities surrounding Monor. They included a building at Kölcsey Ferenc Street No. 26 and the Polacsek lumberyard. Subsequently, authorities also designated buildings at Pesti Street No. 15, Balassi Street No. 19, and Kölcsey Street No. 25 as ghetto areas.

Gendarme Örnagy Bajor organized the ghettoization of the Jews of Monor between May 22 and May 30, 1944. In addition to the local Jews, some 7,500 Jews from communities in the vicinity of Monor and Budapest were detained in the Monor ghetto. As in Budakalász, the Monor brickyard served as a major entrainment center for the Jews of communities surrounding Budapest. Among those detained there was Johanna Barta, who was brought to Monor from a "yellow-star house" near Budapest. As a trained nurse, she tried to alleviate the suffering of inmates who endured hunger, overcrowding, and despair. According to her postwar testimony, many inmates at the brickyard had no shelter at all and were forced to sleep outdoors.[3] Several inmates who were old and sick

died from a lack of basic care.[4] Some committed suicide, and many suffered abuse at the hands of the guards searching for valuables. Johanna Barta, in contrast, remembers that a guard warned her that she should try to escape from the ghetto before the deportations commenced. Her mother ruled against it, however, and Barta was among the inmates deported to Auschwitz.[5] Deportations from Monor began on July 6, 1944, and continued through July 8, despite Regent Miklós Horthy's order halting the deportations of Jews from Hungary.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Monor ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 783–784.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 10 (box D 9/4) and reel 28 (box D 5/6). Thirty-three VHA testimonies are indexed for the Monor ghetto, including Johanna Barta, November 24, 1995 (#9209); Anna Carmon, March 17, 1995 (#1367); Martha Grunwald, November 18, 1996 (#22940); Alice Halasz, February 1, 1997 (#40521); and Rosa Hoffmann, January 12, 1997 (#25597). See also the following oral history interviews at USHMMA: Irma Nemenyi (RG-50.583*0095) and Eugen Turkl (RG-50.244*0146). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 370 Monor natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. CNI card for Georg Hilvert, Doc. No. 50563163.
2. CNI card for Marcel Pal, Doc. No. 50885173.
3. VHA #9209, Johanna Barta testimony, November 24, 1995.
4. VHA #1367, Anna Carmon testimony, March 17, 1995.
5. VHA #9209.

MUNKÁCS

Munkács (Czech: Mukačevo; Ukrainian: Mukachevo) in Bereg Megye (County) of Subcarpathian Rus' (today: Zakarpats'ka oblast' in western Ukraine), was home to almost 13,500 Jews in 1941, nearly half of the town's population at the time. Located 292 kilometers (181 miles) northeast of Budapest and 185 kilometers (115 miles) southwest of Lviv, Munkács came under Hungarian occupation in November 1938 after the First Vienna Award. Although Hungarian rule brought with it severe anti-Jewish measures, including economic persecution, plunder, violence, forced labor in the Hungarian labor battalions, and partial deportations, the annihilation of the town's Jewish community took place only after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944.

The German authorities set up the first Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) in town, headed by the former community leader, Dr. Péter Zoltán, an assimilated Jew. The Germans soon deposed two members of this first council, due to disobedience, and placed another leading figure, Dr. Sándor Steiner, as head of a second Jewish Council. A person by the name of Siegelstein served as liaison with the German authorities. The members of the second Jewish Council included Oszkár Klein, Ferenc Áron, János Morvai, and Mendel Eisenstätter. Jewish police helped maintain order inside the ghettos.

The members of the Jewish Council met with much abuse by the German authorities, but nevertheless strove to meet the many demands of the German and Hungarian authorities. For every task accomplished, numerous other exigencies filled their days: having to satisfy endless material demands mixed with the robbery of Jews, forced labor quotas, and a flow of decrees that turned the lives of Jews into a series of endless restrictions. Indeed, anticipating decrees from Budapest, the Hungarian authorities in Munkács, under the newly appointed mayor, István Engelbrecht, decided that Jews must wear a round yellow patch on their clothes even before the regime issued its decree of April 5, 1944, that stipulated wearing the yellow star.

During the first month of the German occupation of Subcarpathian Rus', the Hungarian authorities deported Jews from the small towns and villages surrounding Munkács—20,000 women, men, and children—to the Kallus and Sajovits brickyards at the outskirts of the town. Those imprisoned Jews suffered from acute overcrowding, robbery, torture, humiliation, and the lack of sanitation, food, and water.

A special meeting convened in Munkács on April 12 dealt with the details of ghettoization in Subcarpathian Rus'. Immediately after Passover, on April 18, street placards issued in the name of the Jewish Council announced the creation of three ghetto areas in Munkács.[1] In response to requests by local residents, the ghetto area was modified to consist of only two small areas, housing just over 8,500 people. On the first Saturday in the ghettos, the German authorities, together with Hungarian gendarmes, forced many Jews to destroy the local synagogues and Jewish study houses in what became known as "the Black Sabbath." Ghetto life entailed further hardships: overcrowding, filth, and food shortages. A typhus epidemic that broke out during the first days of the ghettos' existence exacerbated these horrendous conditions.

Despite this situation, very few Jews tried to escape from the ghettos and brickyards or go into hiding, but not for a lack of opportunity. On the contrary, many survivors described the possibilities open to those seeking to flee, and the many instances of food smuggled into the ghettos show that they were not sealed. Three factors explain why most Jews chose not to flee. First, most people refused to leave behind relatives unable to make it beyond the ghettos' walls. Second, rather than believe the stories of mass murder, people clung to hopes about the imminent arrival of the Red Army and to rumors about deportation to labor camps in Hungary. Unfortunately, there were no plans for using Jewish labor in Hungary at the time, and the Red Army entered Munkács only in October 1944. Finally,

Guards check identification papers at the entrance to the ghetto in Munkács, 1944.
USHMM WS #74260, COURTESY OF BEIT LOHAMEI HAGHETAOT (GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE MUSEUM).

survival outside the ghettos depended on non-Jewish assistance, usually in exchange for payment. Jews had little reason to expect much assistance from their erstwhile neighbors, and most Jews at this stage had little to offer in return. A few people, however, did try to flee in the direction of Budapest, Romania, and Slovakia, where survival seemed more feasible at the time.

The brief existence of the ghettos and the harsh daily life in them explain why Jewish public life did not develop. However, Jews and non-Jews smuggled food into the ghettos and brickyards, and some Jews also destroyed their valuables instead of handing them over to the German and Hungarian authorities. In view of the obsessive and violent campaign in Hungary to rob Jews of their possessions, such acts could be considered within the framework of defiance.

The non-Jewish population of Munkács responded to the destruction of the Jewish community in various ways. The Magyar and German residents for the most part rejoiced at the prospect of Munkács without Jews. Although most Carpatho-Ruthenians did not express such jubilation, and many provided food to Jews in the ghettos and brickyards, they remained indifferent to the daily and very public violence that marked the demise of Jewish life in Munkács.

The Hungarian gendarmes enthusiastically implemented the deportations in Munkács. The Nazi SS contingent in town—a small force of 8 officers and 40 soldiers—had good collaborators in these gendarmes. The expulsions, as was "the Black Sabbath," were public acts of cruelty, humiliation, and killing. The deportations of Jews from the brickyards to Auschwitz II-Birkenau began on May 11, as part of Deportation Zone I, Gendarmerie District VIII.[2] In one week the Hungarian authorities sent 20,000 people in six trains to their deaths. On May 15, Hungarian gendarmes began to expel the Jews in the town's ghettos to the brickyards. On the way, they beat and heaped scorn on the victims, as non-Jews looked on. Several people lay dead along that path by the end of the day. More agony awaited the deportees in the brickyards, as the Hungarian authorities robbed the Jews of their few remaining possessions before deportation. Two hundred years of Jewish life in Munkács came to a horrible end between May 19 and May 23.

A list of expellees who returned to Munkács in the summer of 1945 included more than 1,500 Jews who had originally lived in the town.[3] However, not all survivors returned to Munkács, and some of those who arrived in the town preferred not to register with local authorities and relief organizations. Possibly as many as 2,000 Jews from Munkács survived the Holocaust.

In an affidavit at the International Military Tribunal (IMT) at Nuremberg, Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner, one of the

leaders of the Zionist Aid and Rescue Committee in Budapest (*Va'adat ha-'ezrah veha-hatsalah be-Budapesht*, Vaada) during World War II, claimed that an uprising took place in the Munkács ghetto. He further asserted that the German authorities put it down by murdering 27 resisters, including all of the community's leaders. However, such an event, although it has been incorporated into subsequent scholarship, did not leave any traces in other sources of Jews, Germans, and Hungarians.[4] Not one Munkács ghetto survivor recounted any acts of active resistance, and certainly not a large-scale uprising.

Two postwar trials mentioned the Munkács ghetto: the Yugoslav war crimes trial of Százados Márton Zöldi and a brief testimony by Ze'ev Sapir at the trial of SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann.[5] A Hungarian gendarme who played a central part in the deportations from Subcarpathian Rus' in the spring of 1944, Zöldi was executed for participation in mass murder perpetrated by Hungarian-occupied Yugoslav territory in the spring of 1941. Sapir's testimony on Eichmann's visit to Munkács demonstrated that Eichmann hardly acted as a "desk murderer."

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghettos and brickyards at Munkács are Raz Segal, *Yeme hurban: Ha-merkaz ha-Yehudi be-Munkats' bi-tekufat ha-sho'ah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Ilana Rosen, *Be-Oshvits takanu ba-shofar: Yotse Karpatoros mesaprim 'al ha-sho'ah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Hebrew University, 2004); Ilana Rosen, *Ma'aśeh she-hayah—Ha-siporet ha-'amamit shel Yehude Karpatorus* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1999); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 178–186. On Zöldi, see Eugene Levai, "The War Crimes Trials Relating to Hungary," in Randolph L. Braham ed., *Hungarian-Jewish Studies*, 3 vols. (New York: World Federation of Hungarian Jews, 1966–1973), 2: 275, 289.

Primary sources on the ghettos and brickyards at Munkács can be found in YVA, under collections O.3, O.33, O.15H, and M.52. MA and DEGOB hold additional testimonies. Other Munkács-related documentation can be found in HJM and PIA. Translated Hungarian police reports on Munkács from PIA can be found in Mária Schmidt, "Provincial Police Reports: New Insights into Hungarian Jewish History, 1941–1944," *YVS* 19 (1988): 233–267. VHA holds 627 oral history interviews that mention the Munkács ghetto. Published testimonies on Munkács include Gabriella Ausptiz Labson, *My Righteous Gentile: Lord Wedgwood and Other Memories* (Jersey City, NJ: KTAV Publishing House, 2004); Valerie Jakober Furth, *Cabbages and Geraniums: Memories of the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989); Naomi Kramer and Ronald Headland, *The Fallacy of Race and the Shoah* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1998); Mel Mermelstein, *By Bread Alone: The Story of A-4685* (Los Angeles: Crescent Publications, 1979); and László Gerend, "Expelled from Our Town," in Andrew Handler, ed., *The Holocaust in Hungary: An Anthology of Jewish Response* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982), pp. 91–109.

Raz Segal

NOTES

1. For a copy of the ghetto order, see HJM, H.472.00031.
2. Munkács gendarmerie report, May 1944, PIA, 641.f.2/1941–1944, 651.f.2/1941-7-6000, quoted in Schmidt, "Provincial Police Reports," p. 264.
3. YVA, M.52/571.
4. Kasztner testimony, 2605-PS, MA A. 1378.
5. Testimony of Ze'ev Sapir, Eichmann trial, YVA, TR.3/1052.

NAGYBÁNYA

Nagybánya (Romanian: Baia-Mare) is a mining and industrial town in the Transylvanian region of Romania that was part of Hungary until 1918 and between 1940 and 1944. Located nearly 408 kilometers (254 miles) northwest of Bucharest and about 337 kilometers (209 miles) east of Budapest, it was part of Szatmár County under Hungarian rule. The Jewish population numbered 3,623 in 1941, out of 21,399 inhabitants. At the time of the Holocaust, the community was under the leadership of Rabbi Moses Aaron Krausz (1886–1944). Between 1941 and 1944, the headquarters of Labor Service Battalion No. 10—the recruitment center for many of the Jewish men of military age in Northern Transylvania—was in Nagybánya. The labor service companies that were established as part of this battalion were deployed both within Hungary and along the frontlines in Ukraine. From 1943, the battalion was under the command of Alezredes Imre Reviczky, a decent Hungarian officer. During the German occupation he ordered the recruitment for labor service of Jewish males who were already in the ghettos, thereby saving them from deportation. In recognition of his rescue activities, supported by many of the labor servicemen he saved, Reviczky was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Among the Nations in 1962.

The anti-Jewish drive in Nagybánya and in the other communities in Szatmár County was based on guidelines adopted by officials involved in the "Final Solution" at a conference held in Szatmárnémeti on April 26, 1944.[1] The ghettoization and deportation took place under the auspices of Deportation Zone II, Gendarmerie District IX. The specifics of the drive in Nagybánya were worked out at a meeting held at the local headquarters of the Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) Party. The meeting was reportedly attended by László Endre, the State Secretary for Jewish Affairs at the Interior Ministry and one of the leading architects of the "Final Solution" in Hungary. The city was at first represented by Károly Tamás, the deputy mayor, but he was soon replaced by István Rosner, an assistant police chief, who proved more pliable. Among the others present were Jenö Nagy, the police chief; Sándor Vajai, the former secretary general of the mayor's office; Tibor Várhelyi, the

Members of a Hungarian labor battalion in Nagybánya, 1943.
USHMM WS #99677, COURTESY OF LIVIU VANAU.

commander of the local gendarmerie unit; Gyula Gergely, the head of the Arrow Cross in Northern Transylvania; and József Haracsek, the president of the Baross Association, the antisemitic association of Christian businessmen. Overall responsibility for the administration of Szatmár County at the time rested with Barnabás Endrödi, who had been appointed prefect on April 25, 1944.

The Jews of Nagybánya were rounded up by the Hungarian authorities in the early morning hours of May 3, 1944, and placed into one of the two ghettos set up in and nearby the town. The roundup and expropriation of the Jews took place under the command of Nagy and Gergely, with the involvement of SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Abromeit. The ghetto for the Jews of Nagybánya was originally supposed to be established in the vacant lots of the König Glass Factory, but instead was located in the Bernáth Iron and Metal Works. At its peak, it held approximately 3,500 Jews. The approximately 2,000 Jews who were rounded up in the various communities in the districts of Nagybánya, Nagysomkút, and Kápolnokmonostor, including Alsóferenezely, Hagymáslápos, Kapnikbánya, Láposbánya, Misztófalu, Nagysikárló, Tomány, and Zazár, were concentrated in and around a stable and a barn in Borpatak (Romanian: Valea Burcutului) at the outskirts of the city.[2] Only 200 of these Jews could be accommodated within the stable and the barn; the others had to be quartered outdoors.

The commander of the ghettos was Várhelyi. The Jews in the ghettos of Nagybánya were subjected to interrogation and torture. Among those involved in the investigations conducted under the leadership of Nagy and Várhelyi were Károly Balogh and László Berentes, employees of the Phőnix Factory of Nagybánya, as well as Haracsek, Péter Czeisberger, Zoltán Osváth, and police detectives József Orgoványi, Imre Vajai, and István Bertalan.[3] The 5,917 Jews concentrated in the two ghettos in Nagybánya were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau in two transports between May 31 and June 5, 1944.

The first survivors to return to the city were labor servicemen liberated by the Red Army and the Romanian Army in the fall of 1944; they were followed by survivors of concentration camps, who returned in the spring and summer of 1945.

SOURCES The following secondary sources describe the ghetto at Nagybánya: Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 941–946; and Ichák Joszéf Kohén, ed., *Emlékkönyv: Nagybánya, Felsőbánya, Kápolnok Monostor és környéke zsidóságának tragédiájáról* (Herzlia: Irgun Jocze Baia Mare, 1996).

Primary sources on the Nagybánya ghetto can be found in Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, as cited in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*. USHMMA holds the Jewish Community of Baia Mare collection, which consists of religious artifacts from the Baia Mare synagogue (Acc. No. 2000.530). USHMMPA also holds a collection of more than 400 studio portraits of Jews from Baia Mare, 1935 to 1940 (Courtesy of Liviu Vanau). There are 49 VHA testimonies on the Nagybánya ghetto, listed under its Romanian name. A published testimony from the Nagybánya ghetto is Ioan Gottlieb, *Euch werde ich's noch zeigen: vom Ghetto Baia Mare durch Auschwitz, Mauthausen, Melk und zurück: 1929–1945*, edited by Erhard Roy Wiehn, translated by Sigrun Andree (Constance: Hartung-Gorre, 2006). The memoir by rescuer Adam Reviczky is *Wars Lost, Battles Won*, translated by Jerry Payne (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1992).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTES

1. Szatmárnémeti conference summarized in Nagybánya mayor's office to Interior Ministry, Doc. 30/44, cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 1: 652 n. 4.
2. VHA #22502, Friderica David testimony, February 4, 1997.
3. On Nagybánya, see the judgment in Minierul Afacerilor Interne, Dosar No. 40029, Ancheta Abraham Josif şi alţii, reproduced in Braham, *Genocide and Retribution*, pp. 113–123.

NAGYKANIZSA

A city in Zala County and the seat of the Nagykanizsa District, Nagykanizsa is located in southwestern Hungary, some 44 kilometers (27 miles) south of the county capital Zalaegerszeg and 193 kilometers (approximately 120 miles) southwest of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city's Jewish population was 2,091, representing 6.8 percent of the total of 30,792. There were also 250 converts or Christians who were identified as Jews under the racial laws then in effect. Among the rabbis serving the Neolog community was Ernő Winkler (1919–1944).

The situation of the Jews of Nagykanizsa began to deteriorate in 1938 following the adoption of a series of anti-Jewish laws that adversely affected their livelihood. Men of military

age were drafted into labor service, and many among them died or were killed along the frontlines in Ukraine and Serbia either by their overseers or by the crossfire. In 1942, the central authorities established a major detention camp in Nagykanizsa. Designed to hold political prisoners, the camp also included a large number of Jews arrested in all parts of Hungary. These Jews were among the first to be deported to Auschwitz in late April 1944. The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, marked the beginning of the end of the once flourishing Jewish community of Nagykanizsa. According to data collected by the Central Jewish Council of Budapest, the local community at the time had 1,830 members, led by President Jenő Halphen and Rabbi Winkler.

The drive against the Jews of Nagykanizsa began earlier than in most other parts of Hungary because the city and its adjacent areas bordered Serbia—an area in which Serb partisans were waging a relentless struggle against the Nazi occupiers. Shortly after the area was identified as a military operational zone in early April 1944, the German and Hungarian authorities launched a concerted drive to first relocate and then deport the Jews. In accordance with a decision made by the authorities on April 19, the Jews of Nagykanizsa were rounded up on April 26 in an operation assisted by policemen brought in for this purpose from Szombathely. In addition to the Jews of Nagykanizsa, the roundup also targeted the Jews of the Muraköz area and of the districts of Alsólendva, Csáktornya, Délsomogy, Nagykanizsa, and Perlak—a total of 8,740 Jews. The anti-Jewish operations took place under the command of an SS officer named Hörnicke and of several local and county officials, including Deputy Mayor Lajos Hegyi, Police Chief Jenő Bükky, Deputy Prefect László Hunyadi, and a gendarme named Bertényi. The Nagykanizsa ghetto was part of Deportation Zone V, Gendarmerie District III.

The ghetto of Nagykanizsa was established in and around the synagogue and the communal buildings. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was headed by Halphen. There were two mass deportations from the city. The first, which took place on April 28–29, deported approximately 800 Jewish detainees from the local internment camp, most of whom were able-bodied men aged 16 to 60. The second mass deportation affected the Jews in the local ghetto. They were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on May 17 and 18, 1944.

The exact number of survivors from the community cannot be determined.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Nagykanizsa are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1258–1263; and Noemi Munkácsi, "A nagykanizsai gettó története," *Hatikva* (Buenos Aires), September 1, 1950, and September 15, 1950.

Primary sources on the ghetto at Nagykanizsa can be found in ZAML and MOL. The local press (*Zalai Közlöny*) regularly published anti-Jewish decrees and information on the disposal of Jewish property. VHA holds 19 testimonies by survivors of the Nagykanizsa ghetto. A published testimony is Elizabeth Jaranyi, *The Flowers from My Mother's Garden* (Glenwood Springs, CO: self-published, 1989).

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NAGYKANIZSA/INTERNMENT CAMP

Nagykanizsa is the seat of the Nagykanizsa District in Zala County. It is located in southwestern Hungary, some 44 kilometers (27 miles) south of the county capital Zalaegerszeg and 193 kilometers (120 miles) southwest of Budapest. In 1941, the town had a native population of 30,792, including 2,091 Jews.

In 1939, the Hungarian authorities established a prisoner of war (POW) and refugee camp for Poles in Nagykanizsa. Up to 3,000 military detainees and their families were registered there. By October 1939, nearly 100 of the camp's children were receiving instruction by camp inmates at a local school. Eventually, the Polish civilian detainees were transferred from Nagykanizsa to Dunamocs, where they also ran their own school.

Nagykanizsa was also the site of an internment camp for resident aliens, political prisoners, Jews without Hungarian citizenship papers, and individuals accused of economic transgressions such as black marketeering. Some authors refer to two sites, Nagykanizsa I and Nagykanizsa II, as being operational in the spring of 1944. It is not clear whether they are referring to two internment camps or one internment camp and the town's ghetto. Postwar documentation from the CNI of the ITS frequently refers to the site as an "internment camp" or simply "camp."[1] It is possible that the camp was located on the grounds of a brick factory.[2] Several records also refer to a labor camp for Jews (ZALfJ) in Nagykanizsa.[3] There are also indications that Jehovah's Witnesses rounded up in Budapest as early as 1939 were interned at Nagykanizsa. It is similarly unclear whether they were held at two separate internment camps or at a single camp and the ghetto in the town.

On April 29, 1944, the local SS unit conducted a selection of inmates of the Nagykanizsa ghetto and the internment camp. Men between the ages of 16 and 60 were deported to Auschwitz where they arrived on May 2, 1944. Among those likely onboard this transport was Alexandre Hirsch, who was deported from a "camp" in Nagykanizsa to Auschwitz in April 1944.[4] Other inmates may have been deported subsequently, possibly in conjunction with the liquidation of the ghetto of Nagykanizsa in May 1944.[5]

SOURCES The history of the Nagykanizsa internment camp is relatively undocumented and under-researched. See, especially, these secondary sources: Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 9: *Arbeitserziehungslager*, *Ghettos*, *Jugendschutzlager*, *Polizeihaftlager*, *Sonderlager*, *Zigeunerlager*, *Zwangsarbeiterlager* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2008); Gerhard Besier, ed., *Zwischen "nationaler Revolution" und militärischer Aggression: Transformation in Kirche und Gesellschaft*

während der konsolidierten NS-Gewaltherrschaft (1934–1939) (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2001); and Károly Kapronczay, *Refugees in Hungary: Shelter from the Storm during World War II* (Toronto: Matthias Corvinus Publishing, 1999). See also Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1261–1262; Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); and Elek Karsai, ed., *Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezökön: Dokumentumok a mundaszolgá lat történetéhez Magyarországon*, 2 vols. (Budapest: Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képviselete, 1962).

Relevant primary documentation can be found in the following collections: MOL (Z 936), available in microform at USHMMA as Records of the 8th Gendarmerie District, Kassa, Hungary 1944–1945 (RG-39.005M, reel 6); and Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956 (RG-39.013, reel 6) available at USHMMA. VHA has six testimonies indexed for the Nagykanizsa internment camp, including Irene Berkowitz, May 22, 1996 (#15450); Gizela Eisner, July 16, 1996 (#17690); and Franziska Heuberger, March 23, 1997 (#29166). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Hungarian and foreign Jews registered at an internment camp or concentration camp in Nagykanizsa. The cards document various paths of persecution and are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Jicchak Moskovicz, Doc. No. 52067203; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alexandre Hirsch, Doc. No. 52641867. Fewer CNI cards refer to the site as a concentration camp (e.g., ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Herta Laufer, Doc. No. 53002768).
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Kornelia Kasztl, Doc. No. 5275166; CNI card for Hary Laufer, Doc. No. 53159820.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Menachim Lorber, Doc. No. 53087968; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Benjamin Vogel, Doc. No. 53002299.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Alexandre Hirsch.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Samuel Laufner, Doc. No. 5060318.

NAGYSURÁNY

Nagysurány (Slovak: Šurany) was a ghetto in the town of Nagysurány and a railroad hub in the Nové Zámky (Érsekújvár) District, Nyitra and Pozrom County, in present-day southern Slovakia. Nagysurány is located more than 93 kilometers (58 miles) northwest of Budapest and almost 80 kilometers (over 49 miles) due east of Bratislava. The town of Nagysurány was part of Hungary until 1920 and again from 1938 to 1945 as a consequence of the First Vienna Award. According to the Hungarian census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, of the 6,273 inhabitants of Nagysurány there were 563 Jews and 18 other people of Jewish origin, comprising approximately 9 percent of the population.

At the end of May 1944 a ghetto at Nagysurány was set up a good distance from the town's train station in the neighborhood of the synagogue and the Jewish school. The ghetto held some 1,115 Jews from Nagysurány, as well as Jewish residents of villages in the Érsekújvár District. Marta Messingerova and her family were originally detained in the Kolta synagogue and from there sent to Nagysurány, where they stayed for three weeks. While living in the ghetto they were put to work on a nearby sugar beet field that belonged to the sugar refinery. At the same time, all of their belongings were taken away.[1]

The emptying of the Nagysurány ghetto took place on June 10, 1944, when the inmates were dispatched to the entrainment center, the Kurzweil brickyard (Érsekújvár District). From there they were deported to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp on June 14, 1944.

There were a variety of persecution paths taken by the residents of the Nagysurány ghetto, who were interned for quite different amounts of time. Eva Gregusova was only held at the Nagysurány ghetto for one night—between being discovered hiding in Ungvar (Uzhhorod, Ukraine) and then being deported with the Jews of Komárom from the military camp at the Monostori Fortress directly to Auschwitz.[2] Many perished there, although some were transferred from Auschwitz to other camps, notably Bergen-Belsen and Theresienstadt.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Nagysurány ghetto in Hungary can be found in "Nagysurány," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 715–716.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Nagysurány Jews can be found at USHMMA. VHA holds 11 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Nagysurány ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Eva Gregusova, March 15, 1997 (#29177) and Marta Messingerova, May 7, 1997 (#31005). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Nagysurány ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #31005, Marta Messingerova testimony, May 7, 1997.
2. VHA #29177, Eva Gregusova testimony, March 15, 1997.

NAGYSZŐLLŐS

Nagyszőllős (or Nagyszőlős, Ukrainian: Vynohradiv; Czech: Sevluš; Slovak: Vinohradov; Romanian: Seleuşu Mare) is located in the Transcarpathian region (today: Ukraine, Zakarpats'ka oblast' in Ugocsa County). Until the end of

World War I, the town was part of Hungary, and the Jews of Nagyszőllős simply called the town Szelis. The region has historically been a multicultural cosmos, characterized by acceptance and absorbing tens of thousands of immigrants from the West and East, including Jews escaping pogroms. There were at least five different religions and religious denominations in Transcarpathia: Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Reformed (Presbyterian), Ukrainian Orthodox, and Jewish. Several languages were spoken: Rusyn, spoken by the majority Rusyn population, in addition to Hungarian, Yiddish, Russian, Slovak, Polish, Romanian, and German. The immigrants learned each other's languages and alphabets.

In 1920, the region became part of the newly formed state of Czechoslovakia. In 1939, Nagyszőllős once again became part of Hungary through the First Vienna Award. As such, Nagyszőllős's local Jewish community was subjected to anti-Jewish legislation. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Jewish community of Nagyszőllős numbered 4,264 of the total population of 13,334, or roughly one-third of the town.

On March 19, 1944, the German Army occupied Hungary. Adolf Eichmann arrived in Budapest to take charge of the "Final Solution." Soon afterward, Jews in Hungary were ordered to wear the yellow star, and Jewish Councils were formed in each community.

The ghettoization of the Jews of the Transcarpathian region began on April 16, 1944, when the orders were given by a German officer, but implemented by Hungarian gendarmes. The ghetto in Nagyszőllős was created by cordoning off five streets around the synagogue, a neighborhood called the Magyar Sor. This ghetto held the Jews in Ugocsa County and its smaller towns and villages, including Avaspatak, Fancsika, Feketepatak, Mátéfalva, Salánk, Szőllősvégardó, Tekeháza, Tiszaújlak, and Verbőc. The order to pack up and leave was given with little notice. Jewish families were allowed to bring only 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of personal belongings. The entire process usually took place in a very short time, all under the watchful eye of the gendarmes. Whether Jews were decorated veterans of World War I, deemed essential to the war effort, or had converted to Christianity, they were all, in the end, herded off to the ghetto. All the exemptions that had previously been accepted were to no avail.

By the time the Jews from the neighboring communities were gathered at the synagogue in Nagyszőllős, there were more than 12,000 Jews crammed into the ghetto. The houses were terribly overcrowded, with three to four families in each room. There were no beds or furniture, so people slept on the floor.

The local authorities provided only bread for those held captive in the ghetto. When Baron Zsigmond Perényi, the president of the Upper House of Parliament who owned a nearby estate, learned of the miserable conditions in the ghetto, his family sent cartloads of food.[1] Tibor Schroeder, in charge of the yeast concession in town, sent supplies of yeast and flour. Schroeder, a Christian, who was in love with Hedy Weisz, a Jewish woman, paid off the night guards so that he could spirit her out of the ghetto. After one night away from her family, however, Hedy Weisz decided she could not leave her family behind to their certain death and returned to the hardships of the ghetto.

The community attempted to create some sense of normality, especially for the children. The teachers in the ghetto organized classes. On Friday evenings, women and girls did the traditional lighting of candles. Dr. Leszmann cared for the sick and the injured; his home became the temporary hospital inside the ghetto. The SS ordered that a 24-member Jewish police force be established to maintain order.

The German and Hungarian search for personal valuables was ceaseless. In early May the Gestapo set up a torture chamber in the synagogue on Király Street. The Gestapo and the gendarmes rounded up the wealthiest members of the community, believing that torture would make them reveal any secret trove of valuables they had buried. The gendarmes' brutality and greed are common themes in survivor testimony. Sara Adler testified that she was beaten "black and blue" by policemen immediately after her arrival at the site.[2] Esther Basch recalled gendarmes violently rifling through people's possessions, ripping and shredding bedding in the search of hidden valuables. According to her testimony, the gendarmes also delighted in humiliating their victims. Her father was traumatized when gendarmes cut off his beard, for example.[3]

Beginning on May 19, 1944, the Jews in the Nagyszőllős ghetto were deported to Auschwitz in three transports as part of Deportation Zone I. Sándor Weisz, who was 14 at the time, remembers that they were told they were going to a place with the pleasant name of Waldsee. The name, meaning "forest" and "sea," evoked an image of calm beauty.[4]

But the real destination was the killing center: Auschwitz II-Birkenau. On the first transport, 3,500 Jews were crammed into train cars; the final such load of human cargo departed on June 3. Seventy to eighty people were forced into each rail car and were given one bucket of water and one empty bucket for human waste. Sándor Weisz remembered that there was hardly any room to sit, let alone lie down, and there was no fresh air in the foul-smelling car. The trip took more than three days, due to long waits when the train stood for interminable hours on the tracks. Several elderly individuals in the car in which he was traveling died en route.

By the end of May and early June, some 86,000 Jews from Transcarpathia had been deported to the Auschwitz killing center. Sándor Weisz was among the few to return home. He and two sisters survived, but his father and younger sister Icuka were killed. When he returned to Nagyszőllős in July 1945, Weisz was given a card documenting that he was the 145th Jew to return to the town.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Nagyszőllős ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1099–1103; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed.

(Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Csilla Fedinec and Mikola Vehesh, eds., *Kárpátalja: 1919–2009: Történelem, politika, kultura* (Budapest: Argumentum, 2010); Viktoria Bányai, Csilla Fedinec, and Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy, eds., *Zsidók Kárpátalján: Történelem és Örökség: A Dualizmus Korától Napjainkig* (Budapest: Aposztrof, 2013); and Susan M. Papp, *Outcasts: A Love Story* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009).

Primary sources documenting the Nagyszőllős ghetto include USHMMA, "Kehilot Salish," Acc. No. 2005.262; and USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1), reel 7 (box D 5/1), reel 57 (box I 1/1), and reel 68 (box L 4/2). VHA has indexed 173 testimonies for the Nagyszőllős ghetto, including Sara Adler, February 15, 1995 (#1010); Judith Auerbacher, November 27, 1996 (#23414); Esther Basch, February 19, 1996 (#12236); Judith Berg, May 29, 1996 (#14238); and Kornelie Berger, September 8, 1995 (#4338). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several dozen Nagyszőlős natives, ghetto inmates, and forced laborers stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse and Susan M. Papp

NOTES

1. VHA #23414, Judith Auerbacher testimony, November 27, 1996.
2. VHA #1010, Sara Adler testimony, February 15, 1995.
3. VHA #12236, Esther Basch testimony, February 19, 1996.
4. Weisz testimony summarized in Papp, *Outcasts*, p. 148.

NAGYVÁRAD

The seat of Bihar County, Nagyvárad was in the central part of Greater Hungary, in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania (today: Oradea, Romania). Situated along the banks of the Körös River (Romanian: Crişu Repede), it lies 132 kilometers (82 miles) northwest of Cluj-Napoca and 223 kilometers (139 miles) east-southeast of Budapest. Nagyvárad was part of Hungary until the end of World War I and then part of Greater Romania until 1940 (under the name Oradea or Oradea Mare); the city was reannexed to Hungary as a result of the Second Vienna Award in August 30, 1940. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 21,333 Jews, representing 22.95 percent of the total population of 92,942, in Nagyvárad.

The Jewish community of Nagyvárad consisted of both Orthodox (including Hasidic) and Reform (Neolog) Jews, each group having its respective large synagogues and social and educational centers. The community suffered persecution under the Romanian regime in the interwar years, beginning with the attack by the Christian National Student Association (*Asociaţia Naţională a Studenţilor Creştini*, ANSC) on its synagogues and Jewish businesses in 1927. A number of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in the late 1930s that restricted employment for Jews and the practice of Jewish life; for example, the kosher butchering of animals was banned in 1938 and the official observance of the Jewish Sabbath in 1939. The regime of Miklós Horthy that controlled Nagyvárad from 1940 to 1944 not only maintained these restrictions but also added a few more, among them the banning of all Jewish newspapers, the abolition of Jewish athletic clubs and organizations, and the introduction of a *numerus clausus* at the secondary school level. Many institutions of higher learning introduced *numerus nullus* (none allowed) for Jewish students.

In the summer of 1941, 500 "alien" Jews (namely, Jews whose Hungarian citizenship was questioned and revoked) were deported to Kamenets-Podolsk, in Reichskommissariat Ukraine (RKU), and handed over to the German authorities. The Nazi SS shot them all in August 1941. Miraculously a few Jews survived the shooting, among them Rabbi Rabinovits of Munkács, who returned to Nagyvárad and spoke about the murder of his fellow Jews. Beginning in 1942, Jewish men of military age were recruited for forced labor battalions. Five hundred Jews were conscripted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF), Company No. 110 / 66, based in Nagyvárad; they came from the city as well as its immediate surroundings.[1] This company and its subcompanies were gradually sent eastward for work, first to the territory controlled by Hungary and then (from 1943 onward) crossing into the area under RKU's control. After being moved to the Eastern Front to support the German and Hungarian armies, many labor servicemen died of hunger, exposure, and wounds; some were taken prisoner, along with regular soldiers, and held in Soviet camps as prisoners of war (POWs).[2]

Shortly after the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, pro-German Hungarian representatives marched into Nagyvárad and instituted a much stricter anti-Jewish regime. Many valuable Jewish properties and institutions (the Jewish hospital, for example) were immediately expropriated by the Gestapo SS-Hauptsturmführer Erich Wennholz, and only a few days later, the Hungarian Army officials joined in the seizure of Jewish property. The mandatory wearing of a yellow star was introduced on April 5, 1944. Secretly informed of the plan to deport Hungary's Jews, the local Hungarian authorities set up two fenced-in ghettos in Nagyvárad, beginning on May 3, 1944. This was a day after the arrival in the city of a large Hungarian gendarmerie unit brought from the Trans-Danubian region. That unit was notorious for its cruel treatment of civilians.

The larger of the two ghettos encompassed a number of streets in the city's Jewish quarter near to and including the Great (Orthodox) Synagogue. The first to be ghettoized were the city's Jews, nearly 27,000 people in total. The second and smaller ghetto was near the Mezey Lumberyard. An additional 8,000 Jews from Bihar County's towns and rural communities were brought to this second ghetto. These people came from the towns of Nogyszalonta (Romanian: Salonta), Margitta (Romanian: Marghita), Szalárd (Romanian: Sălard), Érmihályfalva (Romanian: Valea lui Mihai), and many other villages in between and around these towns (including Bihardiószeg, Székelyhíd, and Élesd). Police Councilor Imre Németh com-

A Jewish member of the Hungarian labor service poses on a street in Nagyvárad with his two sisters, c. 1940–1945.
USHMM WS #14259, COURTESY OF IRENE BRYKS.

manded the larger ghetto, whereas Police Captain István Kovács-Nagy commanded the second ghetto.

Life inside the ghetto in the Jewish quarter was characterized by overcrowding and insanitary living conditions. Jews were allowed to take into the ghetto only what they could carry, which mostly consisted of food, clothes, and valuables. A black market supplied additional food items. Although a curfew was introduced in the ghetto at nighttime, people were free to move about within the ghetto limits during the day. Sneaking in and out of the ghetto was very risky, because the gendarmes and the police guarding the ghettos were instructed to shoot anyone caught trying to escape.[3] A Jewish Council was formed to coordinate the organization of the ghettoized community, and various social institutions were created, including a ghetto hospital that was set up in the Orthodox synagogue.[4] A Jewish police force maintained order in the ghetto.[5] The task of "unearthing" Jewish wealth was assigned to a group of gendarmes who established a torture facility in the Dreher-Haggenmacher brewery adjacent to the ghetto. Survivors vividly remember hearing unbearable screaming covered by music played and amplified through a megaphone.[6] The news about the beginning of deportations (which were described by the authorities as "relocation" for labor or to protect against aerial bombing) led to panic among some of the ghetto residents; a few committed suicide by drinking concentrated nicotine extracted from tobacco.[7]

The deportations began on May 22 (or 23) and continued regularly until June 27. A handful obtained permission to remain in Nagyvárad, and another small number of Jews faked symptoms of typhus fever and were quarantined in the ghetto; a few other small groups were able to escape from the ghetto and crossed illegally into Romania (among them the Hayyim Meir Hager, the Vizhnitzer rabbi), thanks to the efforts of charitable non-Jews who aided them.

Embarkation took place in the industrial train station, located in the Rhédey Garden, as opposed to the city's main train station. The Jews were loaded onto freight cars, up to 90 people in a car, receiving only a bucket of water per car. After days of travel through Hungary, trains exited the country at Kassa (today: Košice, Slovakia), heading to the Auschwitz concentration camp, where a large proportion of the deportees perished.

Nagyvárad's ghettos were dismantled in July 1944. The city was captured by the Red Army and its allied Romanian Army on October 12, 1944. A fraction of the deported Jews survived the war, and about 3,000 returned to Nagyvárad after 1945. Beginning in 1946, the People's Tribunal in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) tried many of the city's civilian and military officials responsible for the cruel abuses committed against the city's Jews before and during their ghettoization and deportation.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the fate of Nagyvárad's Jews during the Holocaust in Hungary can be found in the following publications: "Oradea Mare," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2 :940–943; "Nagyvárad," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 233–245; Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Zoltán Vági, László Csősz, and Gábor Kádár, eds., *The Holocaust in Hungary: Evolution of a Genocide* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press in association with USHMM, 2013); Moshe Carmilly-Weinberg, *Istoria Evreilor din Transilvania, 1623–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1944); and Tim Cole, *Traces of the Holocaust: Journeying in and out of the Ghettos* (London: Continuum, 2011).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Nagyvárad's Jews are available at USHMMA, records SRI (RG-25.004M); Randolph Braham Collection (RG-52.003M); Records of the WJC-R (RG-25.051M and RG-68.028M), Selected Records of the Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs (RG-39.010M), Records of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Political Department (MOL K63) (RG-39.012M); Records related

to the Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956 (RG-39.013M); and ANR-Bi (RG-25.042M). Under RG-50, USHMMA also holds a number of oral history interviews with witnesses to the Nagyvárad ghetto. VHA holds 609 testimonies (in 15 languages) from Jewish survivors and rescuers of Jews from the Nagyvárad ghetto. The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Nagyvárad ghettos. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. The following publications contain personal recollections about the Jewish community of Nagyvárad and of neighboring communities: Téreza Mózes, *Evreii din Oradea* (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1997) and by the same author, *Decalog Însângerat* (Bucharest: Editura Ara, 1995); Téreza Mózes, *Staying Human throughout the Holocaust* (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press); and Eva Heyman, *The Diary of Éva Heyman*, edited by Ágnes Zsolt and translated by Moshe M. Kohn (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1974).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See photos of Jews in KMOF in Nagyvárad, USHMMPA, WS #14259 and WS #66089.
2. VHA #50189, Ioan Fazekas testimony, August 20, 1990; VHA #49959, Ladislau Blum testimony, June 4, 1999.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.106*0011, Anna Vollner, oral history interview, December 18, 1994.
4. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0070, Barbara Marton Farkas, oral history interview, April 27, 1990.
5. VHA #49772, Vasile Dan testimony, April 18, 1999.
6. VHA #49497, Gheorghe Ene testimony, February 21, 1999.
7. USHMMA, RG-50.583*0196, Hedvig Hunter, oral history interview, April 24, 1990.

NYÍREGYHÁZA AND VARJÚLAPOS

The capital of Szabolcs County, Nyíregyháza, is located in the eastern part of Hungary, just over 207 kilometers (more than 129 miles) northeast of Budapest. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 4,993, representing 8.4 percent of the total of 59,156.

Following the adoption of a series of anti-Jewish measures starting in 1938, the Jews in Nyíregyháza were deprived of many of their economic and civic rights. Those unable to prove their Hungarian citizenship to the satisfaction of the authorities were rounded up in the summer of 1941 and deported to Kamenets-Podolsk, in German-occupied Ukraine, where most were murdered in August. Jewish males of military age were recruited into special labor service units, many of which were deployed along the frontlines in the Soviet Union.

The status of the Jews changed drastically after the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. According to reports prepared by the Jewish leadership in April 1944, the Nyíregyháza Jewish community at the time consisted of 2,125 Jews who belonged to the Orthodox congregation led by President Sándor Németi and Rabbis Shulem Wider and Náthán Wider. The Status Quo Ante congregation had 2,628 members; it was led by President Gábor Fischbein and Rabbis Béla Bernstein, Aladár Wax, and Károly Jólesz.

The Jews were compelled to wear the yellow star on April 5. Between April 23 and 29, they were placed in a ghetto located in the Jewish section of the city. The anti-Jewish drive was led by Pál Nyíregyházy, the rabidly antisemitic mayor of the city. He was assisted by SS-Hauptsturmführer Siegfried Seidl, Gendarmerie Alezredes István Nagy, and Dr. Vastagh. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was established on April 15; it was headed by Fischbein and included Ignác Böhm, Zsigmond Freund, Ernő Landau, Ernő Láng, Kálmám Rosenwasser, Béla Ungár, Samu Weinstock, and Mór Weisz as members. Supreme police command over the ghetto was exercised by Zoltán Horváth. Internal order within the ghetto was maintained by a 92-member Jewish police led by Béla Faragó.

In addition to the ghetto for its local Jews, a second ghetto was set up in Nyíregyháza for Jews brought in from the many smaller neighboring communities, including Apagy, Báj, Balkány, Balsa, Büdszentmihály, Buj, Csobaj, Demecser, Gelse, Ibrány, Kék, Kiskálló, Nyiracsád, Nyirbátor, Nyirbogát, Polgar, Prügy, Rakamaz, Tét, Tiszaeszlár, Tiszaladány, Újfehértó, and Vencsellö. By May 10, the ghetto population of the city had swelled to 17,500, of whom close to 5,000 were from the city itself. Starting on May 5, in preparation for their deportation, the Jews were transferred to three nearby deserted areas (*puszta*): Sima, Nyirjes, and Harangod. Most of the Jews from Nyíregyháza proper were sent to Harangod. In the deserted areas, as well as in the two ghettos in Nyíregyháza, many of the wealthier Jews were subjected to physical torture by a special squad led by József Trencsényi that was searching for hidden valuables. Some of the Jews, including Sándor Németi and Béla Bernstein died as a result of this torture.

A temporary ghetto operated at the Dessewffy Estate, a former tobacco plant in Varjúlapos, only 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Nyíregyháza. The site opened on April 16, 1944, as the first Jewish detention center in the area and well ahead of the Interior Ministry's Ghettoization Decree 1610/1944. It was guarded by SS and Hungarian gendarmes. According to survivor testimony, some 200 people were crammed into a barn intended for drying tobacco leaves.[1] By April 20, 1944, the detainees at Varjúlapos were left without food and even basic provisions. Beginning in late April and May 1944, most were deported from Dessewffy Estate to the Nyíregyháza ghetto, although some were deported directly to Auschwitz. The ghetto at Varjúlapos closed in late May 1944.

As part of Deportation Zone I, Gendarmerie Járás VIII, the deportations from Szabolcs County began on May 17, with the entrainment at Nyíregyháza of the first transport from Nyirjes. This was followed by a transport from Harangod on May 23, and a third from Sima on May 25. The fourth and fifth transports were from Nyirjes on May 26 and June 4. Some of the Jews left from the railway station in neighboring Nagykálló. About two weeks after the deportations, approximately 160 exempted Jews, including those who had converted de-

cades earlier, were also rounded up and taken to an unknown destination; none of them returned.

The survivors reestablished communal life under the leadership of József Kádár. In 1946, the community consisted of 1,210 Jews, including those who moved into the city from the neighboring smaller communities.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Nyíregyháza are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 890–895; Aladár Király, *A nyíregyházi gettó története* (Nyíregyháza: self-published, 1946); Sándor Gervai, *Nyíregyháza zsidósága élete* (Jerusalem, 1963); and Tim Cole, *Traces of the Holocaust: Journeying in and out of the Ghettos* (London: Continuum, 2011).

Primary sources on the ghetto at Nyíregyháza can be found in SZSZBML and MOL. Several relevant MOL collections are available at USHMMA, including MOL Z 53 (RG-39.020M), MOL K 150 (RG-39.008M), MOL Z 91–93 (RG-39.026M), and MOL Z 936 (RG-39.005M). Two published testimonies are Rivke Lea Bleier-Leitner, *15 éves voltam: A Nácik poklában* (B'nei B'rak: Lipe Friedman, 1990); and Ebi Gabor, *The Blood Tattoo* (Dallas, TX: Monument Press, 1987). VHA has 150 oral testimonies indexed for Nyíregyháza and Varjúlapos. See among others the testimonies of Eva Adams, June 19, 1995 (#3359); Clara Adler, April 25, 1997 (#28439); and Gisella Barabas, November 27, 1996 (#23649). See the VHA testimony of Gabor Altmann, March 10, 1997 (#26994), who was detained at Varjúlapos. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about detainees of the Nyíregyháza and Varjúlapos ghettos that document different paths of persecution. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. VHA #26994, Gabor Altmann testimony, March 10, 1997.

PAKS

Paks (Tolna County), a ghetto and entrainment center for the Jews of the town and the surrounding villages in central Hungary, was located nearly 98 kilometers (approximately 61 miles) due south of Budapest and more than 124 kilometers (over 77 miles) due east of Keszthely. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 730 Jews in Paks.

The Germans arrived in March 1944 and institutionalized the persecution of the Jews and the expropriation of their property. A closed ghetto was set up at the start of May and initially included 756 Jews from Paks and 125 from various villages in Tolna County (excluding Nagydorog), making a total of 881. The Jews of Fadd were transferred to Paks on May 22, as were a number of Jews from the county seat of Szekszárd on June 9. Just before the liquidation of the ghetto, it held a total of 1,082 Jews, including an unknown number from Tolna County.

The ghetto was set up in existing houses. The conditions were bearable: there was food to eat, and the children were able to play games, such as chess. The parents had to work in the fields. The Jews in the ghetto were searched for gold and some were tortured. Before being deported by train they were transferred to a local school.[1]

The entrainment of the ghetto's Jews took place on July 7, 1944, as part of Deportation Zone V. All of the Jews in the Paks ghetto were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. From Auschwitz some were dispatched to other camps. For example, Paks inmate Nathan Kramer was transferred from Auschwitz to Buchenwald/Magdeburg-Rothensee and was liberated at Theresienstadt.[2]

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Paks ghetto can be found in "Paks," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1058–1060; and "Paks," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 964.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Paks Jews can be found at USHMMA, RG-39.013M, Records relating to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956, including box D 8/3, an undated list of deportees. VHA holds nine testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Paks ghetto. The testimony featured here is Elizabeth Haas, March 27, 1995 (#1591). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Paks ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #1591, Elizabeth Haas testimony, March 27, 1995.
2. See ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Nathan Kramer, Doc. No. 53874941.

PÁPA

Pápa (Veszprém County), a ghetto and entrainment center in northwestern Hungary, was located 123 kilometers (over 76 miles) west of Budapest and 65 kilometers (more than 40 miles) northeast of Keszthely. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 2,613 Jews living in Pápa. By this time Pápa was already a mobilization point for the forced labor of Jews.

The German authorities arrived in the town in March 1944 and institutionalized the persecution of the Jews and the expropriation of their property. By June 1, 1944, the Jews of Pápa were confined under the threat of force to a ghetto, along with another 2,800 Jews from neighboring villages. The stay for

Members of a Jewish labor battalion unit in Pápa.
USHMM WS #97500, COURTESY OF THE CENTRE DE DOCUMENTATION JUIVE CONTEMPORAINE.

most ghetto inhabitants lasted one month. The ghetto was guarded by Hungarian gendarmes and the local police. Survivor Teresa Birnbaum recalled that the chief of police was a nice person and that he claimed he would quit as soon as he could no longer stand what was going on. Some professionals were allowed to complete their daily work outside the ghetto, such as the baker who was escorted daily to his bakery in town.[1] Before the ghetto inhabitants were deported, midwives searched the bodily cavities of interned women for hidden jewelry.[2]

The ghetto was liquidated between June 30 and July 4, 1944, as part of Deportation Zone V. A train transported 2,565 Jews from the Pápa ghetto to Auschwitz II-Birkenau along the Budapest–Hatvan–Kassa (Kosiče) route. Auschwitz was not the final destination for all the Jews: some from the Pápa ghetto were sent from there to Dachau, Dachau/Mühldorf, and one of the Stutthof/Thorn subcamps, among other detention sites.[3]

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Pápa ghetto can be found in "Pápa," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1220–1224; and "Pápa," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 967.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Pápa Jews can be found at USHMMA, RG-39.013M, Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities 1944–1956, including box E 7/2 (Documents of the Pápa Jewish Community). VHA holds 18 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Pápa ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Teresa Birnbaum, January 2, 1996 (#10634), and Erzsébet Groszmann, April 17, 2000 (#50910). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Pápa ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #10634, Teresa Birnbaum testimony, January 2, 1996.
2. VHA #50910, Erzsébet Groszmann testimony, April 17, 2000.
3. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Emil Grosz, Doc. No. 50993673; and Trude Gertrude Friedmann, Doc. No. 53044953.

PÉCS

Pécs is located approximately 173 kilometers (104 miles) southwest of Budapest. In 1941, it was the largest city in Baranya County with a population of 72,625, including 3,486 Jews and 534 Christians of Jewish descent. It was the seat of Pécs District, which had a total population of 40,794, including an additional 64 Jews. Pécs was the site of a major ghetto and entrainment center that operated in conjunction with the ghettos at Mohács between May and June 1944.

After the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the German authorities established their headquarters in a Jewish retirement home in Pécs. The Hungarian authorities also participated in anti-Jewish campaigns, including the arrest of wealthy local Jews who were detained at the police headquarters in Pécs and subsequently deported to Mauthausen in Austria. Beginning on April 26, 1944, Hungarian authorities began a large-scale "cleansing campaign" targeting Jews living near Hungary's southern border. First they temporarily detained many of the Jews of southern Baranya County at the Unió Mill in Barcs. Next, Hungarian authorities opened two large ghettos for the detention of several thousand remaining Jews in the county. The ghetto at Pécs housed Jews from the city and from the villages of the surrounding district. Jews from the town of Mohács and from the districts of Mohács, Hegyhát, Pécsvárad, and Szentlőrinc were detained in two ghettos in Mohács.

Officials in Pécs designated an area between Báró Bánffy, Dezső, Kassa, Ispitaalja, and Vas Gereben Streets for the ghetto. According to survivor Emmy Collin, the area was located in the blue-collar district of Pécs. It included at least 50 detached houses and 90 apartments owned by the Hungarian State Railway. On May 9, 1944, Police Chief Borbola issued the official ghettoization order, giving local Jews three days to comply. After several deadline extensions, the ghetto was closed on May 20, 1944, with Jewish men of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF), Company No. 104 / 301, building a fence around the site. According to Emmy Collin, the ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire, but traffic of people and goods continued across the fence. Locals brought food and other goods to alleviate the plight of the inmates who suffered from overcrowding and hunger. Collin was among a group of inmates selected for forced labor on the farms surrounding Pécs. She welcomed the opportunity to leave the ghetto during the days and earn an extra meal.[1] Survivor Jeanne Fabian, who also worked on one of the farms, recalled her nerve-wracking efforts to smuggle vegetables into the ghetto.[2]

A group of Hungarian Jews, some wearing the yellow star, pose on the steps of a building in Pécs, 1944.
USHMM WS #41288, COURTESY OF SUZAN DEVAI DOCZI (ZSUZSA DEUTSCH).

In late June 1944, Hungarian authorities began preparing for the deportation of Jews from the area. The Lakits military barracks at Pécs were designated a concentration and entrainment center for the operation. The liquidation of the Mohács ghettos proceeded between June 28 and June 29, 1944. Captain Ferenc Declava led a special detachment of gendarmes to transfer the Jews from Mohács to Pécs. Between June 29 and 30, 1944, the Jews of Pécs ghetto were also transferred to the Lakits military barracks. Finally, Jews from the ghetto at Bonyhád arrived there between July 1 and 2, 1944.

Thousands of people were crowded in the barracks and horse stables under unbearable conditions. Officials from different authorities, health care workers, and police collaborated in a final search for valuables. Gendarmes abused and tortured Jews to force them to divulge locations of hidden possessions. For example, Emmy Collin's uncle suffered brutal beatings to the soles of his feet.[3] Women endured particularly humiliating body searches for hidden valuables. Survivor Vera Brent testified that a female nurse or midwife conducted her "examination," which left her bleeding and traumatized. She recalled her mother hysterically crying after the ordeal. The following day, the family boarded cattle cars.[4] Shortly before the departure of the transports, the gendarmes also brought Jewish patients from hospitals to the train station. The first train was filled almost entirely with Jews from Pécs and left the station on July 4, 1944. A second train departed Pécs for Auschwitz on July 6, 1944. Both trains briefly stopped at Kassa, where the German authorities took over. According to estimates, altogether nearly 5,000 Jews were deported from Pécs.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Pécs ghetto and entrainment center include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 84–89.

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-68.064M and RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1) and reel 28 (box D 5/6). USHMMPA contains relevant images, including images of several of the George Mandel-Mantello El Salvadoran certificates issued to Jews who were registered at Pécs; see among others: WS #88187, #88816, and #91633. Forty VHA testimonies are indexed for the "Pécs ghetto," including Livia Frim, September 18, 1996 (#19935); Vera Brent, March 23, 2001 (#51535); Emmy Collin, March 20, 1998 (#39700); and Jeanne Fabian, April 12, 1995 (#19540). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Pécs natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital format at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #39700, Emmy Collin testimony, March 20, 1998.
2. VHA #19540, Jeanne Fabian testimony, April 12, 1995.
3. VHA #39700.
4. VHA #51535, Vera Brent testimony, March 23, 2001.

PESTSZENTERZSÉBET

Pestszenterzsébet was a city 5.4 kilometers (3.4 miles) southeast of Budapest (today: Budapest District XX). From 1900 to 1950, the Jewish community was under the leadership of Rabbi B. Krishaber. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the city had a Jewish population of 3,978, representing 5.2 percent of the city's total population. In addition there were 650 (0.8%) converts or Christians who were identified as Jews under the racial laws then in effect. A Jewish elementary school operated in the city between 1922 and 1944.

After the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, approximately 4,600 Jews in the city were subjected to

increasingly harsh anti-Jewish measures, issued by the officials of Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, including Prefect László Mérey and Deputy Prefect József Sági. The Jews were ordered into a ghetto under a decree issued on May 12 over the signature of András Géczy, the county's chief notary.[1] The local ghetto consisted of several noncontiguous buildings guarded by Hungarian police and was part of Deportation Zone VI, Gendarmerie District I. On July 1, the Jews were transferred to the Monor concentration and entrainment center, from which they were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between July 6 and July 8, 1944. The deportation of the Jews of Pestszenterzsébet took place two days after Miklós Horthy, Hungary's head of state, had ordered the halting of the deportations.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Pestszenterzsébet are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 788–789.

Primary sources on the Pestszenterzsébet can be found in MOL and MZSL (DEGOB collection). VHA holds 12 testimonies by survivors of the Pestszenterzsébet ghetto.

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. 27409/1944.Kig.

RICSE

The village of Ricse was located in the Bodrogköz District of Zemplén County near the Hungary-Czechoslovakia border. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Ricse had a native population of 3,441. It included a small Jewish community, the target of repeated antisemitic campaigns and attacks, including a series of vicious assaults and robberies in 1939. After the German annexation of Austria, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, and the invasion of Poland, Hungary became the destination of thousands of refugees escaping from Nazi persecution. Aliens entering Hungary had to register with the National Central Alien Control Office (*Külföldieket Ellenőrző Országos Központi Hatóság*, KEOKH), and many of them were interned in camps established by the Hungarian Interior Ministry.

The camp at Ricse became Zemplén County's largest internment camp. Prisoners included Hungarian, Polish, Slovak, Austrian, and other refugees rounded up by the Hungarian authorities. Political prisoners and Jews who were unable to prove their Hungarian citizenship were also interned there. The inmates included men, women, and children. The Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (*Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája*, MIPI), the Benevolent Society of Hungarian Jews, and the Protestants of Jewish Origin of the Good Shepherd Committee (*Jó Pásztor Bizottság*) provided food and other aid to the inmates. In the summer of 1941, most of the internees were transferred from Ricse to Kőrösmező and then to Kamenets-Podolsk in German-occupied Ukraine, where they were murdered at the end of August 1941.

Fred Baron, a Jewish refugee from Austria, arrived at the Ricse camp in mid-1941. He remained until the end of 1943, when he was transferred to Garany. According to his description, the site consisted of military barracks containing sleeping quarters with cots and blankets. The camp was fenced in and guarded by armed Hungarians, possibly soldiers. However, inmates frequently managed to escape, and others moved around town freely. They were sometimes made to work for local businesses or farmers, but day-to-day life was also marked by idleness and boredom.[1] Olga Bleier, a survivor, was also interned at Ricse in August 1941. She was able to secure a position working for a local pharmacist, which allowed her to earn extra food to supplement the camp's sparse rations. According to her postwar testimony, Bleier and her mother were released from Ricse at the end of 1941.[2] This is corroborated by the testimony of survivor Anton Davidovics. He also spent six months at Ricse before being released in late 1941.[3] According to survivor Oscar Kirshner, Risce was emptied of young people at that time to make room for families and new groups of refugees.[4]

Ricse's native Jewish community was nearly decimated over the course of the war. Sixteen of the younger men are known to have been drafted into the Hungarian labor service. The rest were rounded up on April 16, 1944, and moved to the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto, the transfer point for some 15,000 Jews of Zemplén County. From there, they were deported to Auschwitz on transports leaving on May 16, May 22, and May 25, 1944.

SOURCES The history of the Ricse internment camp is detailed in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1297–1298; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994).

Important primary sources can be found in the following collections: MOL (Z 936), available in microform at USHMMA as Records of the 8th Gendarmerie District, Kassa, Hungary, 1944–1945 (RG-39.005M, reel 5); and the Records related to Hungarian Jewish Communities, 1944–1956 (RG-39.013M, reel 58, box I 1/3, and reel 69, box A 5/1) at USHMMA. VHA has 27 testimonies indexed for the Ricse internment camp, including Fred Baron, February 18, 1996 (#12162); Olga Bleier, May 5, 1995 (#2472); Magda Bloom, August 4, 1998 (#44439); Anton Davidovics, March 20, 1996 (#13337); Samuel Falk, August 27, 1996 (#19022); and Oscar Kirshner, August 17, 1995 (#5574). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about more than 100 Ricse camp inmates and village residents.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #12162, Fred Baron testimony, February 18, 1996.
2. VHA #2472, Olga Bleier testimony, May 5, 1995.
3. VHA #13337, Anton Davidovics testimony, March 20, 1996.
4. VHA #5574, Oscar Kirshner testimony, August 17, 1995.

SÁRVÁR

Sárvár (Vas County) is located in western Hungary, some 26 kilometers (16 miles) east of Szombathely and 163 kilometers (101 miles) west of Budapest. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the town had a population of 11,678, including 780 Jews. Between 1941 and 1944, Sárvár was the site of a major internment camp and assembly center. Sárvár also contained a large ghetto in 1944. By one estimate, some 10,000 victims were deported from Sárvár to Auschwitz in the spring and summer of 1944.

The Sárvár internment camp housed prisoners of war (POWs), political prisoners, and other "undesirables." They were detained in buildings belonging to the Sárvár synthetic silk plant and possibly other industrial structures. Many of the able-bodied inmates were conscripted into the labor service. Beginning in May 1944, Police Inspector György Gribovszky also used the site as an auxiliary detention camp. In addition to political prisoners, "delinquent" Jews were detained there. Their offenses ranged from hoarding to loafing to failure to wear the yellow star. Men, women, and even children were among the inmates.[1] Children were particularly adversely affected by the very difficult conditions at the camp. Outside organizations such as the Serbian Orthodox Church tried to alleviate their suffering by providing extra rations. Survivor Bogdan Krajnović, who was eight years old when he arrived in Sárvár in the winter of 1941, recalled later that many of the Serbian children interned with him died of cold and hunger before the church managed to negotiate their release.[2]

The inmate population was in constant flux and ranged from about 800 to 2,500.

Prisoners of this internment camp were deported on two separate transports leaving Sárvár on May 19 and June 26, 1944. After Regent Miklós Horthy's suspension of deportations on July 7, 1944, German authorities abducted Sárvár prisoners in a clandestine operation similar to the one that took place at Kistarcsa on July 19, 1944. Two transports with some 3,000 abducted prisoners left Sárvár on July 24 and August 4, 1944.

The Sárvár internment camp continued operating in a reduced capacity after the deportations. Some 100 prisoners, Jews and political detainees, were registered before their transfer to Parád on October 7, 1944. By early March 1945, 509 Dobrovolyatz refugees were still interned at the silk plant alongside 123 Jews from Zala County. At the end of the month, with Soviet forces approaching Sárvár, the Jewish inmates were driven on a forced march toward Austria.

Inmates in the camp at Sárvár, 1941–1944.
USHMM WS #85793, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

On May 9, 1944, the chief sheriff of Sárvár ordered the ghettoization of Jews in the area in accordance with Interior Ministry Decree 1610 / 1944. The initial process was completed by May 12, when at least 650 Jews from Sárvár and the surrounding district were forced to move into the Sárvár ghetto. The site spanned the synagogue, the rabbi's residence, and other Jewish residences and community buildings. The ghetto was subsequently expanded to include the workers' quarters of the local sugar factory. The site was fenced in and guarded by Hungarian police, although inmates had to provide the necessary materials and build the fence themselves. There was a gate near the sugar plant at Rákoczi Street and another at Deák Ferenc Street. The ghetto contained a maternity ward, an infirmary, and a quarantine room. Guards enforced a 7 P.M. curfew. Initially, the inmates were allowed to leave the ghetto during certain daytime hours, but after June 10, 1944, they needed special permits to leave. Survivor Joseph Kovesi later recalled that inmates suffered from hunger and exhaustion as they were made to work very hard in ghetto maintenance. They also routinely endured physical beatings and verbal abuse by the guards.[3] On June 12, 1944, many of the able-bodied men were formally conscripted for labor service.

The Sárvár ghetto was liquidated on June 29, 1944. In preparation for the deportation proceedings, Hungarian authorities transferred hundreds of additional Jews into the area in accordance with a plan developed by Gendarmerie Alezredes László Ferenczy. According to Ferenczy's estimates, some 5,621 Jews were registered at Sárvár by the beginning of the deportations. On June 1944, they were subjected to thorough body searches. Survivor Ben Halpert later recalled how, during this search, he lost his most treasured possession, a watch that had been a Bar Mitzvah gift from his parents. Joseph Kovesi also recalled that inmates were robbed of all their money and even clothing at this point.[4] The following day they had to surrender their identity papers.[5] The Jews of the Sárvár ghetto were deported to Auschwitz on July 4 and July 6,

1944. Subsequently, Hungarian authorities found a number of Jewish infants and children hidden in the ghetto, whom they turned over to the Germans. After the end of the war 120 survivors returned to Sárvár.[6]

SOURCES The history of the Sárvár internment camp and ghetto is extensively covered in the following publications: Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1192–1197; Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and especially Zvonimir Golubović, *Šarvarska golgota: Proterivanje I logorisanje Srba Bačke I Baranje, 1941–1945* (Novy Sad: Matica srpska, 1995).

Important primary documentation is available in the following locations: VAML, IV: 1 / k; IV: 405/3, 2272 / 2 / 1944; VI: 2, b, 1162/1944; VI: 3, 2. D.; and XXIV: 101, 144 / 1945. The CNI of the ITS contains more than 1,300 inquiries about the fate of inmates of the Sárvár internment camp and ghetto, as well as Sárvár residents. VHA contains 20 testimonies indexed for the Sárvár internment camp, including Judith Einhorn, May 26, 1996 (#14548), and Shulamit Lack, May 15, 1997 (#28885). VHA also holds 22 testimonies indexed for the Sárvár ghetto, including Alice Craig, August 20, 1998 (#44258); Ben Halpert, May 4, 1996 (#40823); Joseph Kovesi, September 29, 1996 (#20277); Steve Laufer, January 10, 1995 (#00535); and Magda Linden, July 13, 1997 (#32985). Additional testimonies are available at USHMMA, including time-coded interview notes for some: Bogdan Krajnović, July 28, 2006, (RG-50.585*0003); Elizabeth Lubell, March 2, 1992, RG-50.233*0077; oral history interview with Mira Aršinov, July 28, 2006, (RG-50.585*0001); and Magda Malik, July 3, 1990 (RG-50.583*0094). See also Records relating to Hungarian Jewish communities, 1944–1956 (RG-39.013), reel 6, box D8/1.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Vojin Vukobratović (Doc. No. 50761890), who was seven years old when he was admitted to the camp in May 1941.
2. RG-50.585*0003, USHMMA, Bogdan Krajnović, oral history interview, July 28, 2006.
3. VHA #20277, Joseph Kovesi testimony, September 29, 1996.
4. Ibid.
5. VHA #40823, Ben Halpert testimony, May 4, 1996.
6. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 2: 1196.

SÁTORALJAÚJHELY

The capital of Zemplén County, Sátoraljaújhely is located in northeastern Hungary, almost 217 kilometers (approximately 135 miles) northeast of Budapest. During the interwar period the city was led by Mayor Reichard Salamon, a Jewish lawyer. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust, Sátoraljaújhely had a Jewish population of 4,160, representing 22.57 percent of the city's 18,427 inhabitants.

During the late 1930s, a relatively large number of Jewish refugees from Poland and Slovakia found refuge in Sátoraljaújhely, strengthening the small Sephardic congregation. Approximately 90 of these refugees were rounded up in the summer of 1941 and deported to near Kamenets-Podolsk, in German-occupied Ukraine, where they were murdered in August. A similar fate awaited the other Jews following the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944. The Jews of Sátoraljaújhely were isolated into ghettos. The anti-Jewish drive in the city was led by Mayor Indár Váró and his deputy, Pál Szentandrássy.

The ghetto was established in the slums of the Roma ("Gypsy") quarter. It held not only the local Jews but also those brought in from the neighboring communities, including Bekecs, Bodrogkeresztúr, Cigánd, Erdöbénye, Gesztely, Mád, Olaszliszka, Sárospatak, Tállya, Tarcal, Tiszalúc, Tokaj, and Tolcsva. The Jews of these localities were rounded up by gendarmes and other law enforcement authorities under the leadership of Miklós Bornemissza, the deputy prefect of Zemplén County. At its peak, the ghetto, which was surrounded by boards and barbed wire, was inhabited by approximately 15,000 Jews. They were nominally under the leadership of the Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) headed by Lajos Rosenberg, with Sándor Glück, Sámuel Eisenberger, Henrik Szmuck, and Mór Szofer serving as members. Before entrainment, the Jews were taken to the main synagogue of the Status Quo Ante congregation and robbed of their last valuables. The deportation began on May 16; the next three transports left on May 22, May 25, and June 3.

The survivors reestablished the community, organizing a number of religious, social, and educational institutions—all lasting only a relatively short period of time due to anti-Jewish incidents in the late 1940s.

Indár Váró was sentenced to death in connection with the persecution of Jews in Sátoraljaújhely.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Sátoraljaújhely are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1299–1301; and Meir Sas, ed., *Vanished Communities in Hungary: The History and Tragic Fate of Jews in Újhely and Zemplén County* (Willowdale, Ontario: Memorial Book Committee, 1986).

Primary sources on the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto can be found in MOL. USHMMA holds several accounts and testimonies related to the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto: Magda Haluska, "A memoir relating to experiences in Sátoraljaújhely and Auschwitz" (Acc. No. 1995.A.789); Miklosne Sipos, oral history interview, Acc. January 2001 (RG-50.536*0001); and Zipora Vardy, oral history interview, February 11, 1992 (RG-50.120*0161). VHA holds 198 interviews by survivors of the Sátoraljaújhely ghetto. Two published testimonies are Lily Glück Lerner, *The Silence*

(Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, 1980); and Theodore Fendrich, *So Goes* (self-published, 1997).

Randolph L. Braham

SEPSISZENTGYÖRGY

Sepsiszentgyörgy (or Szentgyörgy; Romanian: Sfântu Gheorghe) was a transit center and ghetto and the capital of Covasna County, in the eastern part of Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania. The city is more than 195 kilometers (121 miles) southeast of Cluj-Napoca (Hungarian: Kolozsvár). According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 400 Jews living in Sepsiszentgyörgy or just under 3 percent of the population.

The roundup of the Sepsiszentgyörgy Jews began on May 3, 1944.[1] The ghetto, located in an abandoned school, held the local Jewish community as well as the Jews from the nearby districts of Ciuc, Trei Scaune, and Odorhei. In the ghetto the 700 to 900 Jews were treated inhumanely: they lacked food and were forced to live in poor accommodations. They were also subjected to harsh discipline from members of the gendarmerie, who conducted excessively intrusive searches of women's bodies, including cavity searches, for hidden valuables.[2]

The Jews interned at Sepsiszentgyörgy were transferred on May 10 to the Szászrégen ghetto. Fifteen-year-old Hainalca Cristea of Zăbala believed that the local population of Sepsiszentgyörgy was sympathetic to the Jews when they were initially imprisoned. She saw people crying as the authorities took her and her community's Jews to the train station. The children never knew where they were going at any step of the journey and were ultimately lied to by their parents, who had reason to believe that the final destination was Auschwitz.[3]

Only a handful of survivors returned to Sepsiszentgyörgy after the war ended, and none settled there. Those responsible for the ghettoization of Sepsiszentgyörgy's Jews were tried at the 1946 Kolozsvár People's Tribunal. The list of those accused of perpetrating crimes in the Sepsiszentgyörgy ghetto included Gabril Szentivanyi, Andrei Barabas, Andrei Viranyi, Stefan Vincze, and Alzreda Bella.[4] On March 23, 1946, the tribunal ordered the release of prisoner Gabril Szentivanyi.[5]

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Sepsiszentgyörgy ghetto in Hungary can be found in the following publications: "Sfântul Gheorghe," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1166; "Sepsiszentgyörgy," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 441–444; and Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Retribution: The Holocaust in Hungarian-Ruled Northern Transylvania* (Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983).

A primary source documenting the fate of Sepsiszentgyörgy's Jews is available digitally at SRI, in USHMMA as RG-25.004M, reel 89. VHA holds three testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Sepsiszentgyörgy ghetto. The testimony featured here is Hainalca Cristea, November 25, 1998 (#47778). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Sepsiszentgyörgy ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Edith Feder, Doc. No. 51209669.
2. "Sipos Desideriu, Procès-Verbal," September 11, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI) reel 89, fond 40029, vol. 7, pp. 1–3.
3. VHA #47778, Hainalca Cristea testimony, November 25, 1998.
4. "Lista acusatilor din dosarul ghetoului Sft. Gheorghe," n.d., USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 89, fond 40029, vol. 7, n.p.
5. "Domnule Administrator," March 23, 1946, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 89, fond 40029, vol. 7, n.p.

SIKLÓS

Siklós is located near Hungary's southern border, approximately 195 kilometers (120 miles) southwest of Budapest. It served as the seat of the Siklós District in Baranya County. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Siklós District had a total population of 38,537, which included 412 Jews. The town had a population of 5,927, including 266 Jews.

In the prewar era, Siklós was a thriving country town with weekly peasant markets and a small, vibrant Jewish community.[1] Rabbi Henry Kraus successfully maintained Jewish religious and cultural life in the town, even after the German occupation of Hungary in March 1944.[2] On April 19, 1944, the Hungarian Interior Ministry instructed the police and administrative authorities in southern Hungary to implement a "cleansing campaign" against Jews residing in the border areas. Gendarmerie Ezredes László Hajnácskőy commanded the gendarmes from Mágocs, who swiftly rounded up Jews from the southern districts of Baranya County. Altogether approximately 800 Jews from the Siklós, Szentlőrinc, and Villány Districts were concentrated in a seed storage facility on the outskirts of Siklós between April 26 and April 28, 1944. The German authorities supervised the site. On May 12, 1944, the inmates were transferred from Siklós to the Unió Mill in Barcs. On May 27, they were deported from Barcs to Auschwitz alongside most of the Jews from southern Baranya County. Yet even after the liquidation of the Siklós ghetto, at least one battalion of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) remained stationed in town through October 1944.[3]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Siklós ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University

Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 93–94.

For important primary documentation see USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 28 (box D 5/6) and reel 113 (box TA 10/4/2). Nine VHA testimonies are indexed for Siklós, including Susan King, July 13, 1995 (#3938); Tibor Kleinmann, January 17, 1995 (#657); Magda Morgenstern, December 7, 1995 (#9785); and Henry Kraus, January 17, 1995 (#674). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Siklós natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital format at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #3938, Susan King testimony, July 13, 1995.
2. VHA #674, Henry Kraus testimony, January 17, 1995.
3. VHA #657, Tibor Kleinmann testimony, January 17, 1995.

SOPRON

The capital of Sopron County (today: Győr-Moson-Sopron County), Sopron is located in western Hungary, 187 kilometers (116 miles) west of Budapest. Given its close proximity to the Austrian border, Sopron was once known by its German name, Ödenburg. According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, the Jewish population numbered 1,861, representing 4.4 percent of the total of 42,255.

The Sopron Jewish community was subjected to ever harsher anti-Jewish measures starting in 1938. Many Jewish men of military age were recruited into the forced labor service system, and an unidentified number among them were killed along the Soviet frontlines between 1942 and 1944.

After the German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, the Jews were deprived of their property, marked with the yellow star, placed in a ghetto, and deported. The anti-Jewish drive was led by Prefect Antal Rupprecht, Deputy Prefect József Czillinger, Mayor Árpád Kamenszky, police officer Lajos Zolyomi, and the top administrative officers of the districts. The Jewish communities in town were dissolved on April 7, and the Jews were placed under the leadership of a Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) consisting of Zsigmond Rosenheim (president) and these members: Salamon Paschkusz, Sándor Goldschmied, Viktor Krammer, Béla Krausz, Manó Léderer, József Rosenberg, and Emil Steiner. The Jewish converts to Christianity were represented by Béla Hacker. As part of Deportation Zone V, Gendarmerie District III, the ghettoization drive in Sopron began on June 1. The nearly 1,900 local Jews were concentrated in three locations. Some were placed in a ghetto established on Új Street in the medieval Jewish quarter of Sopron. Others were taken to a ghetto set up in the Paprét area; this site was surrounded by wooden planks. A third group was concentrated in the Jakobi factory. On June 13 to 14, a number of Jewish males considered fit for labor service were recruited into the labor service system and thereby saved from imminent deportation.

Hungarian workmen wall up the entrance to a building in the Sopron ghetto, 1944.
USHMM WS #68675, COURTESY OF MAGYAR NEMZETI MUZEUM TORTENETI FENYKEPTAR.

On the orders of Prefect Rupprecht, the Jews concentrated in the district seats of Csepreg, Csorna, and Kapuvár were transferred to Sopron and placed in the residence halls of the Evangelical Teacher-Training Institute (*Evangelikus Tanitóképzö Intézet*), near the southern railway station of the city.[1] On June 29, 1944, the local Jews were transferred to the half-completed student canteen facilities of the technical university. The combined number of Jews concentrated in these locations was 3,305. Among them were the Jews of Ágfalva, Beled, Csepreg, Csorna, Fertöszentmiklós, Kapuvár, Lövö, Nemeskér, Parád, and Sorponbánfalva.

The ghetto dwellers suffered from inadequate food and sanitary facilities, and many of the wealthier Jews were subjected to torture by Hungarian gendarmes and other officials during the search for hidden valuables. The Jews concentrated in the ghetto of Sopron were entrained and deported under the command of Gendarmerie Százados Béla Drégelyi on July 5, 1944. The transport arrived in Auschwitz II-Birkenau three days later. Sopron was also the scene of many atrocities committed against Jewish labor servicemen in late March 1945.

In 1946, 274 surviving Jews returned to the city. Among them were 42 who had been included in the Kasztner transport and an indeterminant number who moved there from other parts of the country.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Sopron are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press

in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 846–851; and Johannes Reiss and Katalin G. Szende, *Jüdisches Eisenstadt: Jüdisches Sopron/Ödenburg; Ein Exkursionsführer* (Linz: Österreichischer Arbeitskreis für Stadtgeschichtsforschung, 1997).

Primary sources on the ghetto at Sopron can be found in MOL. The *Sopron Press*, *SHí*, also provides some documentation for the persecution and ghettoization of Sopron's Jews. USHMMA has a testimony by survivor Helen Lowinger (RG-50.583*0092, May 13, 1992); and USHMMPA has an extensive photographic collection relating to the Sopron ghetto, including WS #68676 (Courtesy of MNZ-TF), which shows a walled-up entrance to the ghetto. VHA holds 28 testimonies by survivors from Sopron. A published testimony is Rachel Joel, *Ze be'emet haya* (Jerusalem: self-published, 1998).

Randolph L. Braham

NOTE

1. Rupprecht order, June 15, 1944, Decree #68/eln. 1944, as cited in Braham, *The Politics of Genocide*, 2: 770.

SZÁSZRÉGEN

Located in Maros-Torda County (Romanian: Mureș District), Szászrégen (Romanian: Reghin) was a transit center located in the eastern part of Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania. The city is nearly 84 kilometers (52 miles) due east of Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár). According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 1,635 Jews, who comprised just over 16 percent of the city's population of 10,179.

The roundup of the city's Jews began on the night of May 2, 1944, when the Jews were first gathered in the local school. By May 4, 4,000 Jews, including those from the Topolita and Csik Districts, were forced into the Szászrégen ghetto in the brickyard on the town's outskirts.[1] The Jews were subjected to vicious treatment by the Hungarian gendarmes, including cavity searches, torture, and other violence. Exceptions occurred when the guards recognized an inmate. Such was the case for Helen Salamon of Topolita, who was not beaten at Szászrégen.[2] Teresa Malek of Gyergyószentmiklós recalled that some Jews took care of the ghetto's children, reading books to them and singing songs.[3]

Dr. Alexandru Belteki, the head doctor of Szászrégen, was appointed the doctor of the ghetto.[4] Blanka Hersko of Gyergyószentmiklós recalled that several prisoners set up a makeshift hospital to care for those tortured. When the day of deportation came, the prisoners were lied to and told they would be transferred to work in a factory at Kenyermezo.[5] On June 4, 1944, 3,149 Jews (all of the remaining Jews in the ghetto) were deported to Auschwitz.

Those responsible for the persecution of Szászrégen's Jews were tried at the 1946 Kolozsvár People's Tribunal. Mayor Imre Schmidt testified that he knew of the brutal treatment of the Jews in the ghetto (including the body cavity searches performed by midwives) and that he had unsuccessfully lobbied for improved conditions.[6] Yet regarding Schmidt's culpability in the horror, Bodor Ignat testified that he had said to him, "All those [Jews] who marry a Christian deserve to be exterminated."[7]

SOURCES Secondary source material about the fate of Szászrégen's Jews during the Holocaust in Hungary can be found in the following publications: "Reghin," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1067; and "Szászrégen," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 668–674.

A primary source documenting the fate of Szászrégen's Jews is at SRI, available at USHMMA as RG-25.004M, reel 89. The following unpublished memoir contains personal recollections about the Jewish community of Szászrégen: "Laszlo Eros Memoir 1940–1945," USHMMA, RG-10.253. VHA holds 68 testimonies from Jewish survivors and rescuers of Jews from the Szászrégen ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Helen Salamon, February 15, 1995 (#1004), and Teresa Malek, November 5, 1998 (#48160). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Szászrégen ghetto; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. "Irina Szmuk, Procès-Verbal," February 5, 1946, USHMMA, RG25.004M (SRI), fond 40029, vol. 7, reel 89, p. 1.
2. VHA #1004, Helen Salamon testimony, February 15, 1995.
3. VHA #48160, Teresa Malek testimony, November 5, 1998.
4. "Alexandru Belteki, Procès-Verbal," January 31, 1946, RG-25.004M, fond 40029, vol. 7, reel 89, n.p.
5. "Szászrégen," in "Laszlo Eros Memoir 1940–1945," USHMMA, RG-10.253, pp. 1–2.
6. "Imre Schmidt, Procès-Verbal," January 30, 1946, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, fond 40029, vol. 7, reel 89, p. 5.
7. "Declaratie," April 5, 1946, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, fond 40029, vol. 7, reel 89, n.p.

SZATMÁRNÉMETI

Szatmárnémeti (Romanian: Satu Mare), a ghetto and deportation center, was located in eastern Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania, 180 kilometers (112 miles) northwest of Cluj-Napoca, Romania (Kolozsvár), and approximately 326 kilometers (almost 203 miles) southeast of Budapest. According to the 1941 Hungarian census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Szatmárnémeti had 12,960 Jews.

At the end of April 1944, roughly 19,000 Jewish inhabitants of Szatmárnémeti and refugees from the Szatmárnémeti district (Szatmár County) were placed in the city's ghetto. The inhabitants were tricked into thinking they were moving to bigger quarters by gendarmes, who asked each day for volunteers to

measure the existing rooms in the ghetto.[1] The Szatmárnémeti ghetto was liquidated with the deportation of the Jews to Auschwitz II-Birkenau between May 19 and June 3, 1944, in six transports.

Those responsible for the ghettoization of Szatmárnémeti Jews were tried at the 1946 Kolozsvár People's Tribunal. Among those convicted and sentenced were László Szoka, mayor of Szatmárnémeti, who was imprisoned for life at hard labor; Ernő Pirkler, Szatmárnémeti's secretary general, who received 10 years' imprisonment; and Zoltán Rogozi Papp, the deputy mayor of Szatmárnémeti, who was imprisoned for life at hard labor.

SOURCES Relevant secondary source material about the Szatmárnémeti ghetto in Hungary can be found in the following publications: "Satu Mare," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigodor, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1143–1144; and "Szatmárnémeti," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press published in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 958–966.

A primary source documenting the fate of Szatmárnémeti's Jews is available at USHMMA, RG-25.043M (ANR), "Selected records from collections of the Satu Mare branch of the Romanian National Archives"; RG-25.021M (ANR), "Selected records relating to the Holocaust in Romania; and RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 89. VHA holds 189 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Szatmárnémeti ghetto. The testimony featured here is Elizabeth Frank, July 19, 1995 (#4129). Another primary source available at USHMMA is Joseph Fischer's memoir, "My Life Story" (Acc. Nr. 2006.177). Two published testimonies are Eva Olsson, *Unlocking the Doors: A Woman's Struggle against Intolerance* (Bracebridge, Ontario: self-published, 2001); and Rose Farkas, *Ruchele: Sixty Years from Szatmar to Los Angeles* (Santa Barbara, CA: Fithian Press, 1998).

Cristina Bejan

NOTE

1. VHA #4129, Elizabeth Frank testimony, July 19, 1995.

SZÉCSÉNY

Szécsény is located approximately 78 kilometers (48 miles) northeast of Budapest. The seat of the Szécsény District in Nógrád County, the town had a population of 3,912, including 280 Jews in 1941. Between early May and early June 1944, Szécsény was the site of one of the major ghettos operating in Nógrád County.

The drive to create ghettos in Nógrád County began after Deputy Prefect Sándor Horváth briefed the mayors and sheriffs of his county on May 2, 1944. The county officials designated Salgótarján, Balassagyarmat, and Losonc as the main concentration centers. Originally, Jews from the Losonc and Szécsény Districts were slated for ghettoization in Losonc. However, when Szécsény's Jews were rounded up between May 5 and May 10, 1944, they were detained in Szécsény instead.

The Szécsény ghetto extended over a small area located between two streets near the synagogue. The site immediately became overcrowded. Survivor Katherine Bleier recalled that her family rode in a horse carriage to the ghetto, where they were crammed into a single room.[1] Others had to share a room with several families, and some rooms held up to 20 occupants. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence and guarded by gendarmes. According to survivor Rosie Ungar, inmates were only allowed to leave the ghetto accompanied by gendarmes to buy food or to complete forced labor assignments. Ungar and several other younger women were conscripted to clean buildings.[2] Jewish labor battalions of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) had been stationed in and around Szécsény for much of the duration of the war.[3] In late May and early June 1944, KMOF drafted most able-bodied men from the Szécsény ghetto, leaving predominantly women, children, and the elderly to be deported from there.

As part of Gendarmerie District VII, Nógrád County was included in Deportation Zone III. In early June 1944, the area's Jews were transferred from ghettos to the four concentration centers. According to survivor Katalin Loffler, the gendarmes woke up the residents of the Szécsény ghetto one morning in the predawn hours and forced them out of their houses and into the streets. They locked up the buildings to prevent the residents from returning. While they waited for hours, inmates were subjected to brutal and humiliating searches for valuables.[4] Midwives and gendarmes conducted full body searches for hidden jewelry on women.[5] This round of searches followed the ongoing house and body searches, interrogations, and torture that the inmates had endured during their stay in the ghetto. Survivor Laszlo Sokoly testified that the gendarmes had set up an interrogation center in the ghetto, where they devised sadistic methods to force inmates to divulge the locations of their hidden valuables. He knew of gendarmes beating inmates and torturing them with hot irons and other instruments. According to Sokoly, the gendarmes wanted to secure all assets and prevent them from leaving the country when the Jews were deported.[6]

After concluding the final searches, gendarmes marched the inmates to the railway station. The local population lined the streets of Szécsény, some of them clapping and cheering as the Jews left town.[7] They were first transported to the Velics farmstead on the outskirts of Szécsény. Postwar testimony and some documentation also suggest the possibility that Jews were transferred from Szécsény to Illéspuszta, the concentration center on the outskirts of Balassagyarmat.[8] According to Katalin Loffler, the inmates of Szécsény ghetto stayed at a farm for several days. Many of the younger people did fieldwork during this period, earning a few extra rations.[9] After several days at the farm, the Jews of Szécsény were loaded onto train cars between June 10 and June 12, 1944, and their transports joined the deportation transports dispatched from Balassagyarmat to Auschwitz.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szécsény ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 697–698.

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1) and reel 135 (box TC/512). Seven VHA testimonies are indexed for the Szécsény ghetto, including Katherine Bleier, December 8, 1997 (#38036); Katalin Loffler, September 22, 1997 (#35910); Laszlo Sokoly, May 18, 1997 (#29155); and Rosie Ungar, September 9, 1997 (#33430). At USHMMA, see also oral history interviews with Rozália Kelemen Csábi (RG-50.670*0085) and Tibor Kolosi (RG-50.670*0084). Unpublished and published testimonies are Dina Davidovich De Unikel, "Return to Life" (USHMMA, RG-02.128); and Irén Ács, *Keep It Safe: Jewish Life in a Hungarian Town* (Oxford: Boulevard, 2004). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Szécsény natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #38036, Katherine Bleier testimony, December 8, 1997.
2. VHA #33430, Rosie Ungar testimony, September 9, 1997.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Shimon Iczkovits, Doc. No. 51479324; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Zalman Rezmüves, Doc. No. 5237512.
4. VHA #35910, Katalin Loffler testimony, September 22, 1997.
5. VHA #33430.
6. VHA #29155, Laszlo Sokoly testimony, May 18, 1997.
7. VHA #35910.
8. VHA #38036; see also, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Edith Friedmann, Doc. No. 52417024.
9. VHA #35910.

SZEGED

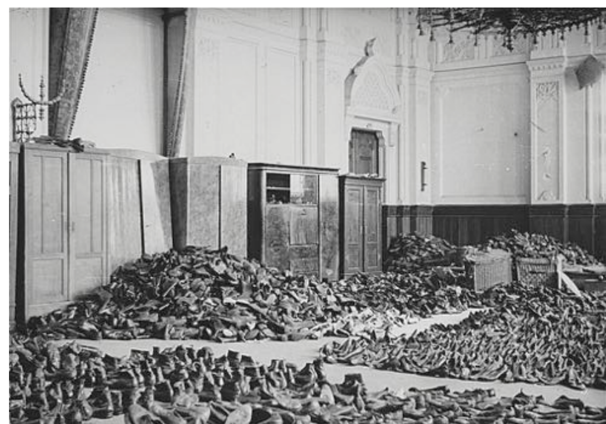
Szeged (Csongrád County) was a town located in southwestern Hungary, approximately 161 kilometers (nearly 100 miles) southeast of Budapest and nearly 63 kilometers (39 miles) northeast of Bačka Topola, Serbia (Hungarian: Topolya). According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, there were 4,161 Jews (3%) and 781 Christians of Jewish descent (0.6%) living in Szeged. A ghetto was set up in Szeged.

German troops occupied Szeged in March 1944. Between April 3 and 22, 170 prominent Jews and suspected communists from Szeged were interned in the Topolya camp. Preparations for the establishment of the Szeged ghetto began at the start of May 1944, and the ghettoization of Szeged's Jews took place on May 31. Some 3,827 Jews and 500 Christians of Jewish descent were ordered to move into the ghetto. The Catholic Church managed to save approximately 200 Szeged Jews from ghettoization. Four to five families lived in each apartment. A Jewish Council and a ghetto police force were set up to ensure order in the ghetto.

The ghetto was located around the famous Szeged Synagogue, encircled by a high fence made up of wooden planks. In the ghetto every family got one room. Survivor Judit Balkányi was only 11 years old when she learned that she and her family had to move into the Szeged ghetto. The Balkányi family had two beds for the four family members. They spent only a few days in the ghetto when they were told they had to go. According to Judit they were under so much pressure to leave that no one felt that they could say, "I am not going."[1]

The Szeged ghetto was active for only two weeks, because every ghetto across Hungary was forced to close by June 16. At this point the Jews were herded into the synagogue where they were subjected to body searches for gold and jewelry; some Jews were beaten.[2] Then the 3,095 Jews were transferred to the assembly camp established at the athletic fields of the Szeged Railway Athletic Association. Hungarian Jewish survivor Zoltán Hirsch reports that he and his family were transferred to the Szeged assembly camp from the Mako ghetto by Hungarian gendarmes.[3] From the assembly camp all prisoners were transferred to the Szeged brickyard for entrainment.

The deportation of the Szeged ghetto prisoners took place on June 25–28, 1944, in three train transports. Most were deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau.[4] Others were bound for the Strasshof camp outside Vienna, and from there many were sent to Theresienstadt.[5] Transfer to Strasshof was part of the "Blood for Goods" agreement between SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann and the leaders of the Relief and Rescue



The shoes of the Jewish community of Szeged fill a room in the city synagogue. Troops of the Red Army discovered them there after liberating the city, 1945.
USHMM WS #18749, COURTESY OF BELA LIEBMANN.

Committee of Budapest established in mid-June 1944. In at least one case the victim was transferred from Szeged to Bergen-Belsen and then to Theresienstadt.[6] Sixty-six Jews from the final freight car of the third transport were taken to the Budapest ghetto located in the Arenai Street synagogue.

Szeged's 2,519 Holocaust victims represented 50 percent of the local Jewish population.

SOURCES Relevant secondary source material about the Szeged ghetto can be found in "Szeged," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 329–335; "Szeged," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1277–1278; and Tim Cole, *Traces of the Holocaust: Journeying in and out of the Ghettos* (London: Continuum, 2011).

Primary source material documenting the fate of Szeged Jews can be found in hard copy at USHMMA, RG-52.006M (Randolph Braham collection); and RG-14.101M (ZdL). VHA holds 70 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Szeged ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Judit Balkányi, October 9, 2001 (#51810), and Zoltán Hirsch, May 31, 2000 (#50959). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Szeged ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #51810, Judit Balkányi testimony, October 9, 2001.
2. VHA #50959, Zoltán Hirsch testimony, May 31, 2000.
3. Ibid.
4. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Schoechana Blaier, Doc. No. 51964038.
5. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Susan Braver, Doc. No. 52703000; and ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Theresa Braver, Doc. No. 52192666.
6. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Eva A. Adler, Doc. No. 52566997.

SZÉKESFEHÉRVÁR

The city of Székesfehérvár is located in Fejér County in central Hungary, approximately 65 kilometers (40 miles) southwest of Budapest. In 1941, the city had a total population of 47,968, including 2,075 Jews, and Székesfehérvár District had a total population of 59,929, including an additional 461 Jews. The Jewish residents of the city proper and of surrounding communities were detained in a large ghetto that operated in Székesfehérvár between late May and early June 1944. Documentation suggests that 2,743 Jews were deported from Székesfehérvár to Auschwitz on June 14, 1944.

The ghetto at Székesfehérvár was one of eight large detention centers operating in Fejér County in May and June 1944. The Jews of Fejér County were rounded up between May 16 and May 20, 1944, and the Jews of the city of Székesfehérvár several days later. In an attempt to minimize the displacement of non-Jewish households, Székesfehérvár's Mayor Lajos Kerekes ordered numerous houses in town to be marked with a yellow star. According to survivor Vera Kovesi, her family received official notice of impending resettlement in late May 1944. They packed some belongings and moved into a designated house nearby.[1] Designated buildings were located on Horthy Miklós and Ferenc József Squares and on Távírda, Ősz, Sütő, Palotai, Ybl Miklós, Kígyó Ally, Jókai, Kígyó, Basa, Lövölde, and Simor Streets. Local police guarded the houses. Survivor George Keller, who was conscripted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF), testified that he was able to visit his parents in Székesfehérvár. Their house was designated as part of the ghetto, and some 10 to 12 families lived there in addition to his parents.[2]

Preparations for deportations began almost immediately after the Jews' ghettoization. Gendarmes repeatedly searched the designated houses for valuables and conducted interrogations in the hope of uncovering hiding places. On June 6, 1944, the gendarmerie was made responsible for all Jews in the area. That same day, the ghetto inmates were rounded up and detained at so-called assembly houses located at Miklós Street, 9–13 Ősz Street, 9 Horthy Miklós Square, 21 Távírda Street, 10 Jókai Street, 18 Lövölde Street, and 10 József Square. Vera Kovesi recalled waiting outside in the rain while ghetto inmates endured yet another search for valuables. Midwives conducted body searches on women, looking for hidden valuables. The Jews of Székesfehérvár and surrounding communities were then moved to the Szabó Brickyard and the cavalry barracks on the outskirts of town. Kovesi remembered traveling to the site by truck.[3] Survivor Josef Brust, who recalled the city by its German name, Stuhlweissenburg, also traveled by truck, although most others marched in a column. According to Brust, locals lined the streets and spit at the Jews as they walked by. Conditions at the brickyard were catastrophic. The site lacked even basic hygienic facilities; there were no latrines. Most people slept on straw on the ground, exposed to the elements, and food was scarce. On June 14, 1944, the Jews were driven up the railway ramp at the site and loaded aboard freight cars headed for Auschwitz.[4]

Jewish labor battalions of the KMOF had been stationed in and around Székesfehérvár for much of the duration of the war, and some were stationed there as late as the fall of 1944.[5] Though the circumstances are not clear, a massacre of more than 10 Jewish labor servicemen occurred at Székesfehérvár after the Soviet Army retreated during its occupation of the city. Some records suggest that fewer than 300 Jews from Székesfehérvár survived the war.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Székesfehérvár ghetto include Anna Gergely, *A Szeìkesfeheìrvaìri eìs Fejeìr Megyei zsidoìsaìg trageìdiaìja (1938–1944)* (Budapest: Vince, 2003); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Sci-

ence Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 360–363.

For important primary documentation see the following collections: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 11 (box D 4/2) and reel 12 (box D 8/3); and RG-14.101M (B162/9582). Twenty-seven VHA testimonies are indexed for the Székesfehérvár ghetto, including Vera Kovesi, September 29, 1996 (#20275); George Keller, April 7, 1997 (#27886); Josef Brust, November 20, 1996 (#22937); Mary Elias, August 12, 1996 (#18504); Mary Gathy, February 21, 1996 (#10073); Eva Gross, February 9, 1995 (#836); and Ruth Hoffman, May 7, 1996 (#14969). At USHMMA, see also the oral history interviews with Attila Csernok (RG-50.670*0049), Margit Sinkáné Juhasz-Buday (RG-50.670*0058), and Nicholas Halmay (RG-50.583*0019). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Székesfehérvár natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #20275, Vera Kovesi testimony, September 29, 1996.
2. VHA #27886, George Keller testimony, April 7, 1997.
3. VHA #20275.
4. VHA #22937, Josef Brust testimony, November 20, 1996.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Eliahu Gatz, Doc. No. 50580608; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Sander Spitz, Doc. No. 50610053.

SZEKLENCE

The village of Szeklence (Slovak: Sekernice) was located approximately 380 kilometers (236 miles) northeast of Budapest. After World War I, it was part of the territory assigned to the newly formed Czechoslovakia. According to the stipulations of the First Vienna Award, Hungary reannexed the area in March 1939 as the Máramos Administrative Agency, with Huszt, located 14 kilometers (almost 9 miles) northwest of Szeklence, as its seat. Between April and May 1944, the village was the site of a ghetto.

In 1941, Szeklence had a Jewish population of 685. Local Jews and Jewish residents from small nearby communities were detained in its ghetto. Scarce documentation suggests the possibility that it housed several thousand inmates. According to survivor testimony, the Jews occupied numerous buildings in town, including a school.[1] The site was overcrowded, with three or four families crammed into every room. The ghetto lacked sufficient sanitary accommodations, forcing the inmates to dig holes in the ground for latrines.[2] Neither German nor Hungarian authorities provided food for the inmates, leaving the Jewish Council to organize a soup kitchen.[3] The ghetto was not fenced in, but armed Hungarian police guarded the site. In addition, a number of Jewish men served as ghetto police.[4] Survivor Harry Braun recalled slipping out of the ghetto with his brother to bring back extra food supplies from their home in a nearby village.[5] Both male and female inmates completed daytime forced labor assignments, which took them outside of the ghetto.

The gendarmes repeatedly subjected the inmates to brutal searches for valuables. The final search took place on May 15, 1944, when the ghetto population was rounded up at a school building before being marched to a railway station in nearby Száldobos. From there they were deported to Auschwitz.[6] In 1944 Szeklence was overrun by Soviet forces and was later integrated into Ukraine.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szeklence ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 620–621.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1), reel 7 (box D 5/1), and reel 69 (box A 5/1). Thirty-eight VHA testimonies are indexed for the Szeklence ghetto, including Rachel Abramovitz, February 20, 1996 (#12319); Jack Abramovitz, January 22, 2001 (#51371); Marton Adler, June 30, 1995 (#3703); and Harry Braun, March 21, 1995 (#1650). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Szeklence natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #12319, Rachel Abramovitz testimony, February 20, 1996.
2. VHA #51371, Jack Abramovitz testimony, January 22, 2001.
3. VHA #3703, Marton Adler testimony, June 30, 1995.
4. VHA #12319.
5. VHA #1650, Harry Braun testimony, March 21, 1995.
6. VHA #12319.

SZILÁGYSOMLYÓ AND SOMLYÓCSEHI

Szilágysomlyó (Romanian: Șimleul-Silvaniei) was the district seat of Szilágysomlyó District in Szilágy County in eastern Hungary in the annexed territory of Northern Transylvania. It is located approximately 360 kilometers (224 miles) southeast of Budapest. After the end of World War I, Szilágysomlyó was assigned to Romania. Hungary annexed the area under the terms of the Second Vienna Award of August 30, 1940. The town of Szilágysomlyó had 1,496 Jews, and the surrounding district included an additional 700. In May 1944,

Szilágysomlyó briefly had a concentration and detention center for the town's Jews. Although Szilágysomlyó was originally planned as the location of the ghetto, the Jews were transferred from its detention center to the ghetto and entrainment center in the village of Somlyócsehi (Romanian: Cehei), located on the outskirts of Szilágysomlyó but within its administrative area.

The Jews of Szilágysomlyó were rounded up beginning on May 3, 1944. The operation was supervised by a German Gestapo officer and a German soldier, and it was carried out by the police chief of Szilágysomlyó, István Pethes, as well as by local police, gendarmes, and volunteers. They roused the Jews in the early morning hours without advance notice. Then they herded them to the Jewish school and to a distillery in Szilágysomlyó. According to eyewitness testimony, the town's people cheered and clapped as Jews were removed from their homes. The following morning, armed gendarmes and police marched the Jews to the outskirts of Szilágysomlyó and from there to Somlyócsehi, approximately three kilometers (nearly two miles) northwest of town. They were detained in the brickyard of the Klein Brickworks alongside Jews from various small villages in the Szilágysomlyó District.[1] By May 6, 1944, some 7,200 Jews were crowded into the Somlyócsehi entrainment center, a number that soon rose to 8,500.

The site lacked even basic accommodations. Most people slept outdoors in makeshift tents that did not protect them from rain and mud. They endured hunger, and many depended on the few rations that local Jews and others brought to the site.[2] The inmates also suffered abuse at the hands of the gendarmes, who searched for valuables and conducted brutal interrogations and even torture sessions.[3] Survivor Eta Berg recalled that gendarmes subjected inmates to cruel humiliations, such as cutting the men's beards. She also recalled that there were rumors of many rapes of young girls committed by the gendarmes.[4] The entrainment center at Somlyócsehi was liquidated after 7,851 detainees were deported to Auschwitz via Kassa on May 31, June 3, and June 6, 1944.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szilágysomlyó ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1003–1007.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1) and reel 135 (box TC/512). VHA has 56 oral testimonies indexed for the Cehei ghetto. See among others the testimonies of Sheva Berger, January 22, 1996 (#11307); Eta Berg, April 25, 1997 (#28441); and Ella Ehrmann, June 19, 1996 (#16398). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries from detainees of the ghetto at Szilágysomlyó. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #16398, Ella Ehrmann testimony, June 19, 1996.
2. VHA #28441, Eta Berg testimony, April 25, 1997.
3. VHA #11307, Sheva Berger testimony, January 22, 1996.
4. VHA #28441.

SZOLNOK

Szolnok is the seat of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County, located approximately 110 kilometers (68 miles) southeast of Budapest. In 1941, Szolnok had a total population of 42,011, including 2,590 Jews. Various Jewish labor battalions of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) were stationed there between 1940 and 1944.[1] In addition, from April to June 1944, Szolnok was the site of a large ghetto and of one of four major entrainment centers in Deportation Zone IV, Gendarmerie District V.

The main Szolnok ghetto was located around the synagogue, Jewish school, and nearby Jewish community buildings and included buildings on Csarnok, Horávszky Nándor, and Pillangró Streets. On April 16, 1944, Hungarian authorities ordered local Jews to move into these buildings. Ghettoization was completed by May 22, 1944. The site was immediately overcrowded, holding more than 1,000 people. Another 150 local Jews were forced to move into the attic of a barn in Szandapuszta, a farmstead within the city limits. Some of the ghetto's inmates were conscripted for farmwork during this period. In addition to overcrowding, hunger, and disastrous sanitary conditions, the inmates endured repeated interrogations and searches for valuables, including brutal body searches.

In the early morning hours of June 16, 1944, Szolnok's ghetto population was transferred to the grounds of a local sugar factory and to the adjacent workers' quarters. At the same time, the ghetto inhabitants of more than 16 ghettos in neighboring communities were also transferred to the factory. Survivor Paul Arato testified that the sugar factory was located right next to a brick factory. He recalled the site as hot and overcrowded. Many people did not have a place to rest or seek shelter from the rain. According to him, several of the older inmates died or committed suicide.[2] Survivor Kathleen Barber also testified that, when she arrived at the site, she saw numerous dead people lying on the ground. According to her, some of them had swallowed poison to avoid the impending deportations. Barber, Arato, and other eyewitnesses testified that German soldiers were among those guarding the site and abusing the inmates. Hungarian gendarmes also terrorized the inmates during their searches for valuables.[3] Survivor Mordechai Berkowitz testified that members of the Hungarian Arrow Cross tormented the inmates as well. He witnessed them torturing a young boy who was repeatedly strung up by his hands until he passed out.[4]

Barber testified that Jewish leaders in the camp were forced to make a selection in preparation for the deportations. Group One consisted predominantly of the healthy, able-bodied,

and wealthy Jews. Group Two consisted predominantly of the old, the sick, and children.[5] According to Berkowitz, the selection led to harrowing scenes as families were split up and children were separated from their parents.[6] Scarce official documentation suggests that 4,666 Jews were registered at the Szolnok entrainment center when deportations began on June 25, 1944. That day, a transport with 2,567 Jews left Szolnok for Strasshof in Austria, as part of Rudolf (Rezső) Kasztner's negotiations with SS-Obersturmbannführer Adolf Eichmann. The train contained inmates selected for Group One, Barber among them, who were then funneled into Austrian labor camps.[7] The other transport with the remaining Jews left Szolnok on June 28, 1944, for Auschwitz. Approximately 800 returned after the end of the war.[8]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szolnok ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 489–490.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1) and reel 7 (box D 5/11). Sixty-one VHA testimonies are indexed for the Szolnok ghetto, including Oscar Arato, June 26, 1995 (#3451); Paul Arato, July 20, 1995 (#4220); Kathleen Barber, March 23, 1995 (#1682); Clara Berger, February 12, 1996 (#11938); and Mordechai Berkowitz, November 22, 1998 (#48204). See also USHMMA oral history interviews with Mária Sárközi (RG-50.670*0023) and Yehuda Adam (RG-50.106*0062) and the memoirs of Márta Balázs (RG-10.207). The CNI of the ITS contains more than 1,000 inquiries about Szolnok natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Zwie Lebovitz, Doc. No. 50605137; and for Pal Schwarz, Doc. No. 50611871.
2. VHA #4220, Paul Arato testimony, July 20, 1995.
3. VHA #11938, Clara Berger testimony, February 12, 1996.
4. VHA #48204, Mordechai Berkowitz testimony, November 22, 1998.
5. VHA #1682, Kathleen Barber testimony, March 23, 1995.
6. VHA #48204.
7. See also ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Tibor Ritter, Doc. No. 50541955.
8. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 490.

SZOMBATHELY

Szombathely is located approximately 240 kilometers (149 miles) southwest of Budapest near the Austrian-Hungarian border, where it served as the administrative seat of Szombathely District and Vas County. In 1941, the county town (*megyeváros*) of Szombathely had a population of 3,088 Jews, and an additional 101 Jews lived in the Szombathely District. Szombathely was the site of a ghetto and entrainment center that operated between May 12 and July 4, 1944. Approximately 3,600 Jews were deported from Szombathely to Auschwitz.

After the German occupation of Szombathely by a Nazi SS regiment on March 19, 1944, the German and Hungarian authorities immediately escalated Jewish persecution and concentration efforts. Beginning on May 3, 1944, the Jews were put under a strict police curfew and were forbidden from leaving the town. On May 8, 1944, Hugó Mészáros, the mayor of Szombathely, ordered the establishment of a ghetto for the detention of the Jewish population of the town and district. The Szombathely ghetto extended over several city blocks around Thököly and Rákóczi Ferenc II Streets. It included the town's synagogues and other Jewish community buildings and nearly 2,000 rooms in 780 apartments hastily vacated by town residents. Survivor Maida Pollock recalled that her aunt owned a big house in the part of the town assigned to the ghetto. When her family received notice to vacate their home, the family members moved into the aunt's house along with several other Jewish families.[1]

Parts of the ghetto were enclosed by walls and others by a high wooden fence. Several guarded gates served as entrance points. The Jewish Council was tasked with moving nearly 1,200 families into the ghetto, which became immediately overcrowded. The inmates lacked basic supplies and food; these shortages became more severe after tax agents repeatedly raided the site and confiscated goods, valuables, and even food. The inmates were also subject to repeated brutal searches for valuables at the hands of the gendarmes. The ghetto population was in constant flux as inmates were transferred to and from other ghettos in the vicinity. Able-bodied male inmates were conscripted into battalions of the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF). The female inmates were drafted to perform heavy menial labor in and around Szombathely.

In preparation for deportations from Vas County, the Hungarian administration and the Nazi SS organized a mass transfer of Jews from ghettos in Körmend, Kőszeg, Szentgotthárd, Vasvár, and Beled to an entrainment center set up in the Mayer Machine Works in Szombathely.[2] The transfer began on June 29 and ended on July 3, 1944. In the early morning hours of June 29, Gendarmerie Alezredes Ferenc Zsidegh, Gendarmerie Százados József Csáki, and Police Chief Kálmán Fördős led armed units consisting of several dozen gendarmes and policemen to begin the liquidation of the Szombathely ghetto. The inmates were told to pack a few belongings before being escorted to checkpoints, where their parcels were searched for valuables. Survivor Margareth Benedig testified that the gendarmes tortured people with hot irons on their bare feet to force them to divulge the hiding places of their

Jews with bundles and bags walk along the streets of Szombathely under guard, June 30, 1944.
USHMM WS #79109, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

valuables. She also recalled the screams and cries of women who underwent brutal and humiliating body searches at the hands of midwives.[3] The Jews of Szombathely were then marched to the Mayer Machine Works on the outskirts of town.

The site lacked even basic facilities, but had a railway connection. There were no provisions, and catastrophic conditions prevailed as thousands of people were crammed onto the factory grounds. Most people slept outside without protection from the elements.[4] On July 3, 1944, the first group of 400 to 500 Jews was deported from Szombathely to Auschwitz via Sopron. The remaining Jews were deported to Auschwitz via Kassa (Slovak: Košiče) on July 4, 1944.

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Szombathely ghetto and entrainment center include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1198–1206.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1), reel 11 (box D 4/3), and reel 27 (box D 10/6). Twenty-six VHA testimonies are indexed for the Szombathely ghetto, including Margareth Benedig, June 2, 1998 (#42429); Sari Baron, November 5, 1996 (#22391); Morris Buchinger, June 29, 1998 (#46147); Trude Levi, December 7, 1996 (#7093); and Maida Pollock, December 19, 1996 (#24261). At USHMMA, see also the oral history interview with Avraham Blubshtein, June 1, 1995 (RG-50.120*0236). USHMMPA contains images documenting Jewish detention in the Szombathely ghetto and deportation including WS #98990. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Szombathely natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #24261, Maida Pollock testimony, December 19, 1996.
2. For the evacuation of Jews in Körmend to Szombathely, see USHMMPA, WS #98990, "Jews march from the ghetto to the train station in Körmend, Hungary," 1944 (Courtesy of YVA).
3. VHA #42429, Margareth Benedig testimony, June 2, 1998.
4. VHA #24261.

TÉCSŐ

Técső (Ukrainian: Tiachiv; Slovak: Tacovo or Tyachovo; Romanian: Teceu Mare) is located approximately 400 kilometers (249 miles) northeast of Budapest. After World War I, it was part of an area of Carpathian Ruthenia assigned to the newly formed Czechoslovakia. In March 1939, Hungary annexed the area according to the stipulations of the First Vienna Award and reestablished Técső as the seat of the Técső and Taravölgy Districts in Máramaros County. In 1941, the Técső District had 4,080 Jews, and the Taravölgy District had 12,096 Jews. The city of Técső was home to 2,150 Jews of its district. Técső was the site of two major ghettos that were in operation between mid-April 1944 and late May 1944. Nearly 10,000 Jewish residents of Técső and of communities in the Técső and Taravölgy Districts were deported from these ghettos to Auschwitz.

On April 16, 1944, Hungarian authorities began concentrating Técső's Jewish population in the predominantly Jewish part of town near the synagogue. In addition, they opened a camp on the outskirts of town for the detention of Jews from neighboring communities. Both sites were overcrowded, and the inmates endured catastrophic conditions.[1] The ghetto's communal kitchen could not alleviate the mass starvation in Técső. The Hungarian authorities often assigned ghetto inmates to humiliating menial labor. Furthermore, inmates suffered abuse and torture at the hands of gendarmes searching for valuables.

The ghettos of Técső were liquidated after the inmates were deported to Auschwitz in two transports. The first transport departed either on May 22 or May 24, 1944, carrying mostly provincial Jews. The second transport departed on May 26, carrying Técső's local Jewish population.[2] Soviet forces liberated Técső in the fall of 1944. The town then briefly came under joint Soviet-Czech administration before being assigned to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghettos at Técső include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and

Babo Batren, a Jewish woman from Técső, leans against the deportation train in Auschwitz II-Birkenau before being taken to the gas chambers, May 1944.
USHMM WS #77338, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM (PUBLIC DOMAIN).

the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 625–627.

Important primary documentation includes the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 6 (box D 8/1) and reel 7 (box D 5/1). For relevant photos documenting Jewish life in Técső before and during the Holocaust, see, among others at USHMMPA, WS #49444, WS #71906, WS #14839, and WS #98982. Seventy-one VHA testimonies are indexed for the Técső ghettos, including Martin Aaron, April 27, 1997 (#28325); Phillip Basch, October 28, 1996 (#21773); and Rose Bohm, May 8, 1996 (#14960). See also the oral history interview with Esther Moses, RG-50.701*0001 at USHMM. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Técső residents, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there.

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NOTES

1. VHA #21773, Phillip Basch testimony, October 28, 1996.
2. VHA #28325, Martin Aaron testimony, April 27, 1997.

TOPOLYA

The town of Topolya was located 34 kilometers (21 miles) south of Szabadka (today: Subotica, Serbia) in Bács-Bodrog County. According to the 1941 census, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, it was home to a population of 60,710, including 455 Jews. Originally under Austro-Hungarian administration, the region around Topolya became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between 1918 and 1941. Hungary occupied the area in 1941, operating an internment camp for political prisoners and others deemed "unreliable" in Topolya between May 1941 and March 1944. Subsequently, under German command, the site became a major deportation center for Jews from March until May 1944. The administration and inmate composition of the Topolya camp changed frequently over the more than four years of its existence. Altogether more than 6,000 people were incarcerated at the site between 1941 and 1944.

On May 19, 1941, Hungarian military authorities opened the "mobile assembly and distribution camp No. 101" (*101-es Mozgó, Gyűtjő és Elosztó Tábor*) in Topolya. It operated as part of a network of six such sites established around the same time. Topolya was originally intended to be Camp No. 107, but due to a clerical error, all official documentation subsequently referred to it as Camp No. 101. The five other sites in this network were located at Bačka Palanka (No. 101), Sombor (No. 105), Stari Bečej (No. 105), Novi Sad (No. 106), and Subotica (No. 108). The camp network also included a large number of subcamps, including those at Begeč, Odžaki, Apatin, Bezdan, Bački Monoštor, Beli Manastir, Čarug, the Novi Sad airfield, Stari Vrabas, Stara Kanjižz, and Senta. The sites had a combined capacity for more than 20,000 prisoners.[1]

The Topolya camp was located at Bajšar Road on the outskirts of town. It extended over an area of about two hectares (five acres) on both sides of the road to Bajšar. One side of the camp contained facilities for guards and camp personnel. On the other side the prisoners inhabited barracks in an area fenced in with barbed wire. The site lacked the most rudimentary facilities and accommodations. Prisoners had to sleep on straw on concrete floors. Washing and toilet facilities were lacking, and so hygienic conditions were catastrophic from the beginning.

From May 19 until October 5, 1941, the site operated under the military command of a Százados Farkasc; his deputy, Hadnagy Djurišić; several noncommissioned officers (NCOs); and Hungarian reservists who acted as guards and who enforced order and discipline by beating and abusing prisoners for even small transgressions. In addition, a counterespionage unit headed by Gendarmerie Fõhadnagy Egete intercepted prisoners' mail. Prisoners suspected of communist ties were isolated and interrogated using torture and beatings.

Civilian administrators assumed control of the camp from October 5, 1941, until October 7, 1942. The site was officially termed the "Royal-Hungarian Transport Firm" (*A.M. Kir. Rednörseg topolyai kisegitötonchàza*) during this period.[2] A police

inspector by the name of Arpad Zsari acted as camp commander. His treatment of inmates was marked by cruelty and abuse. At the same time, he initiated the release of several hundred prisoners during his tenure. A report generated by the Hungarian General Staff during this time lists 124 prisoners specifically identified as "unreliable" individuals at Topolya as of March 24, 1942. They were part of a contingent of some 14,300 people in Hungary deemed a threat to national security and slated for punitive labor service.[3]

Beginning on October 7, 1942, a retired officer by the name of Kezsmarki assumed command of the camp at Topolya. The average capacity of the site during this period was approximately 300. By April 1943 only 100 prisoners remained, although several thousand prisoners had already passed through the site. They included hundreds of communists (Serbs, Hungarians, and Jews), people suspected of aiding communists, active members of the Yugoslav People's Liberation Movement (*Narodnooslobodilacky pokret*, NOP) and suspected sympathizers, members of the Hungarian Commune of 1919, union leaders, Social Democrats, Serbian World War I volunteers, and Serbs suspected of belonging to the Četnik movement. Other, smaller groups of persecuted people interned at Topolya included Jehovah's Witnesses, Roma, vagabonds, prostitutes, and smugglers. In addition, beginning in the summer of 1943, larger contingents of women prisoners from all these categories began to arrive at Topolya.[4] Overall, the size of the prisoner population dropped precipitously, however, as prisoners were released or transferred to other camps. By the time of Germany's occupation of Hungary in March 1944, the camp was nearly empty.

On occupying the area, the German authorities assumed control of Bács-Bodrog County. They dispatched Alfred Rosendal as camp commander, Anton Miller as his deputy, and other SS personnel and guards to staff the Topolya (what they now called the Backa Topola) camp in April 1944. The camp now served as an SS deportation center for Jews. Small groups of Hungarian Jews and Jewish refugees from Germany, Austria, Poland, and Czechoslovakia had been among the prisoners incarcerated at Topolya since 1941, and the local Jewish synagogue had intermittently organized collections on their behalf. But in 1944, Jews were systematically rounded up from Sombor, Subotica, and Novi Sad, among other places. Many of the Jews from Novi Sad passed through internment Camp No. 1 located at the Upper Bácska Mill before their transfer to Topolya.

Next to Kistarcsa, Topolya was the largest deportation center during this period. Conditions at the site were marked by overcrowding, squalor, and abuse. According to some estimates, altogether 3,000 Jewish inmates were deported from Topolya. In addition, 266 Jewish residents of the town of Topolya are also known to have been deported.[5] The first two transports with approximately 2,000 Jewish prisoners left Topolya on April 30, 1944. By early July 1944, hardly any Jews remained at the Topolya camp, but then there was a new influx of political prisoners, including members of NOP. They suffered abuse, torture, and neglect. By September 1944, conditions at the camp had deteriorated dramatically, and the remaining 300 prisoners were starving. On October 8, 1944, the camp was emptied when the prisoners were transported to Nagykanizsa. From there they were moved to Komárom and then to various German camps.[6] The camp was closed after the restoration of Yugoslav administration to the area in late 1944. In 1945, nine Jews were registered in Topolya.[7]

SOURCES The history of the Topolya internment camp and deportation center is described in Mladen Vrtunski, *Kuća užasa: Hronika logora u Bačkoj Topoli 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilačkog rata SR Srbije i Novinsko-izdavačka ustanova "Četvrti jul," 1970). The volume contains detailed information on the camp site and prisoner composition. See also Mladen Vrtunski, *Usmene novine logoraša u Bačkoj Topoli, 1941–1944* (Novi Sad, Serbia: Uređivački odbor bivših političkih zatvorenika, interniraca i deportiraca logora u Bačkoj Topoli, 1969); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 53–54; Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System, 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977); Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, "Ungarn," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 359–361; and Zvonimir Golubovic, *Šarvarska golgota: Proterivanje i logorisanje Srba Bačke i Baranje, 1941–1945* (Novi Sad, Serbia: Matica srpska, 1995).

Important primary documentation includes the CNI of the ITS, which contains inquiries about several dozen Topolya inmates. A useful report on the Topolya camp is also available in ITS: Pero Damjanović, "Das Lager Bačka Topola" (Belgrade: Institut Za Savrementu Istoriju, April 23, 1976), available at ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Persecution action in Serbia), fol. 7, Doc. Nos. 82205099–82205112. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Other primary documentation includes VHA testimony of Helen Berkovitz, July 17, 1996 (#17469); Leon Blat, March 16, 1996 (#12137); Andrija Darvas, April 27, 1998 (#47162); and Gizela Eisner, July 16, 1996 (#17690).

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NOTES

1. ITS, 1.2.7.23, fol. 7, Doc. No. 82205100.
2. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205101.
3. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System*, pp. 28–29, 127.
4. ITS, 1.2.7.23, fol. 7, Doc. Nos. 82205103–82205108.
5. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205109.
6. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205111.
7. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 54.

ÚJVIDÉK

Újvidék (Serbian: Novi Sad) is located approximately 280 kilometers (174 miles) southeast of Budapest. The port town on

the left bank of the Danube River in the southern Pannonian Plain originally belonged to Austria-Hungary. After the end of World War I, it was awarded to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, subsequently known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. During this period, Újvidék served as the seat of the Voidvodina province and was home to the country's most important Jewish congregation outside of Belgrade. In 1941, the municipality of Újvidék had 3,621 Jews.

After the 1941 invasion and partition of Yugoslavia by the Axis Powers, Hungary annexed its northern territories, including Újvidék in Bács-Bodrog County. The Hungarian authorities drafted more than 400 men living in Újvidék into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) as early as May 1941, and Jewish labor battalions were stationed in and around town for much of the war.[1]

Hungarian occupation policy was extremely violent and marked by raids and massacres targeting Serbs, Jews, and others. In one of the most infamous occurrences, Hungarian police killed more than 1,246 civilians, including an estimated 800 Jews, and dumped their bodies into the Danube during the so-called Újvidék Massacre (also known as the Novi Sad Raid) in January 1942. Olga Alpar and her family were among those rounded up and taken to the Danube. She testified that while members of her extended family were killed and thrown into the river, her immediate family was spared because of the intervention of an unknown Hungarian official who called an end to the killings. Olga and others were herded to a city gymnasium, where all their papers were confiscated. After waiting for many hours, they were released to their homes without explanation.[2]

On April 26, 1944, Hungarian authorities put the Jewish residents of Újvidék under house arrest and began rounding them up for detention. The Hotel Szabadság served as a prison for several hundred Jews deemed particularly dangerous. Most others were detained in the town's synagogue and other buildings of the Jewish community.

Jews are assembled in the desecrated synagogue in Újvidék before being transported to a concentration camp, 1944.
USHMM WS #12892, COURTESY OF MOSHE AND MALKA LOVY.

Jews from the Újvidék and Titel Districts were also transferred to these sites. Olga Alpar was among those detained at the synagogue, where she befriended a pair of elderly sisters. According to her postwar testimony, the women were terrified at the prospect of deportation and committed suicide that night by swallowing poison. Olga stayed at the synagogue for about 24 hours before being deported to the Topolya (Serbian: Bačka Topola) internment camp.[3]

By April 28, 1944, most Jews of Újvidék had been rounded up. Many were briefly detained at Internment Camp No. 1 at the Upper Bácska Mill. They endured overcrowding and catastrophic conditions, and several people died at the site. The remaining inmates were transferred to the Szeged ghetto and several smaller sites alongside thousands of Jews from the Southern Region. On May 28, 1944, most Jews originally detained at Újvidék were deported from Baja to Auschwitz and to a number of German and Austrian labor camps. The majority perished at Auschwitz. After the end of the war, the congregation of Újvidék reorganized in Yugoslavia and is still active.[4]

SOURCES Important secondary sources about Újvidék include Aleksandar Veljić, *Genocide Revealed: New Light on the Massacre of Serbs and Jews under Hungarian Occupation* (Madison, WI: Something or Other Publishing, 2012); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 54–58.

For important primary documentation about Újvidék see the following collections. One hundred and fifty-nine VHA testimonies are indexed under Novi Sad, including Sonja Alaimo, June 27, 1995 (#3543); Olga Alpar, February 5, 1997 (#27186); Andras Barta, October 22, 1995 (#7843); Miriam Basdov, April 15, 1996 (#14270); and Marianne Biro, November 15, 1995 (#5771). See also these two oral history interviews at USHMMA: Ljubomir Bugarin, October 13, 2006 (RG-50.585*0019) and Rodoljub Malenčić, September 28, 2007 (RG-50.585*0022). USHMMPA contains numerous images documenting Jewish life in Újvidék before and during the Holocaust, as well as images documenting crimes against civilians, including Jews, in Újvidék. See, among others, images #46680, #32025, and #85772. The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about town natives, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed there. See also ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Action in Serbia). These documents are available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. VHA #5771, Marianne Biro testimony, November 15, 1995; ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205078.
2. VHA #27186, Olga Alpar testimony, February 5, 1997.
3. Ibid.
4. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 58.

UNGVÁR

Ungvár (Slovak: Užhorod) is located approximately 315 kilometers (196 miles) northeast of Budapest. Originally belonging to Austria-Hungary, it was part of the territory awarded to the newly formed Czechoslovakia at the end of World War I. Hungary reincorporated the city as the seat of the Ung Administrative District (*Ungi Közigazgatási Kirendeltség*) and Ung County in accordance with the provisions of the First Vienna Award of November 1938. In 1941, the city of Ungvár had 9,576 Jews and 123 Christians of Jewish origin (with 1,895 additional Jews living in the district). Between April 16 and May 31, 1944, Ungvár was the site of two large ghettos. More than 18,000 Jewish residents of the city and of the surrounding county were deported from Ungvár to Auschwitz.

In 1944, the Ung County and Administrative District were part of Gendarmerie District VIII (Kassa). After the German invasion of Hungary in March 1944, this territory was assigned to Deportation Zone I, the first area in Hungary to be cleared of Jewish residents. On April 12, 1944, the Council of Ministers retroactively declared Carpatho-Ruthenia and Northern Transylvania military operational zones as of April 1, 1944. Gendarmes began rounding up the Jews of Ung County on April 16, 1944. Survivor Benjamin Amikam recalls that his family received notice to leave their home by 8:00 A.M. shortly after the arrival of the Germans in the area. The family was among the approximately 18,000 people detained at the Moskovits brickworks on the outskirts of Ungvár.

The ghetto at the Moskovits brickworks was partially fenced in. Gendarmes and police served as guards. The site immediately became overcrowded, forcing people to sleep outdoors on the ground, unprotected from the elements. Amikam's family tried to retain some sense of privacy and protection by stacking suitcases on the floor to delineate a small sleeping area.[1] The complete lack of sanitary facilities caused catastrophic hygienic conditions and fostered the rampant spread of diseases among inmates. The Jewish Council's soup kitchen could barely stave off the inmates' chronic hunger. Able-bodied women and men were regularly taken to forced labor assignments during the days; this allowed some to earn extra food.[2] The inmates were also forced to build several barracks at the site. One of them served as a prison and punishment center for communists and others deemed guilty of various offenses. Prisoners from this barrack were among the first to be deported to Auschwitz.

The roundup of the Jewish residents of Ungvár proper began on April 20, 1944, and lasted approximately one week. The gendarmes cleared Jewish homes street by street, herding people onto the streets or into courtyards, where they conducted brutal and humiliating body searches for valuables. Survivor Erna Anolik testified that her family learned of the impending ghettoization, scheduled for April 24, from placards posted in towns. The family members vacated their home and reported to an assembly point, where they were then transferred to the ghetto at the Glück lumberyard in town.[3] Up to 2,000 inmates occupied this site. Because of overcrowding and the lack of basic facilities, the conditions here were similar to those prevailing at the Moskovits brickyard. Inmates had insufficient shelter and suffered from poor hygienic conditions. They had no water and little food. Some inmates earned extra rations by completing a variety of forced labor assignments.[4] For instance, survivor Francis Adler testified that she sorted clothing and shoes confiscated from the ghetto inmates.[5]

Over the course of their internment at the two Ungvár ghettos, the inmates were subjected to brutal treatment. Many were tortured by gendarmes trying to extract information about hidden valuables. To prevent Jews from transporting any possessions outside of Hungary, the final search usually took place just before the ghetto inmates were forced onto the train freight cars to Auschwitz. The Jews of the Ungvár ghettos were deported to Auschwitz in five transports between May 17 and May 31, 1944. Ungvár was liberated by Soviet troops in late 1944. It came briefly under joint Soviet-Czechoslovak administration before being incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1945.

SOURCES There are several relevant secondary sources for the Ungvár ghetto. See, among others, Dov Dinur, ed., *Sho'at Yehude Rusyah ha-Ḳarpaṭit-Uz'horod* (Jerusalem: ha-Mador le-ḥeḳer ha-Sho'ah, ha-Makhon le-Yahadut zemanenu, ha-Universiṭah ha-'Ivrit, 1983); Anita Lebowitz Stieglitz, *The Joy and the Sorrow: The Jews of Ungvár-Uzhorod and Vicinity, 1492–1944* (Denver: Cyrano Publications, 1996); Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1160–1164.

For important primary documentation about ghettos at Ungvár see the many small family collections containing memoirs and photos of Jewish life in Ungvár before and during the Holocaust, which are held at USHMMA. See, among others, Helen Freibrun memoir and photograph (RG-02-068*01); Diane Lewis papers (Acc. No. 2005.430.1); and Sam and Susan Weiss collection (Acc. No. 2011.127.1) For relevant photos see, among others at USHMMPA, WS #49651, WS #09823, WS #26721, WS #17165, and WS #60170. Three hundred and forty-five VHA testimonies are indexed for the Ungvár ghettos, including Francis Adler, April 26, 1996 (#13953); Edith Ales, October 2, 1996 (#20422); Flora Altman, May 25, 1995 (#2831); Benjamin Amikam, August 4, 1995 (#5204); and Erna Anolik, November 10, 1996 (#22586). See also the memoir by Alice Neumann Schoenfeld, *From Ungvár to Beverly Hills: One Survivor's Journey* (Amherst, MA: Small Batch Books, 2012). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several thousand residents, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed in Ungvár. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #5204, Benjamin Amikam testimony, August 4, 1995.

2. VHA #20422, Edith Ales testimony, October 2, 1996.
3. VHA #22586, Erna Anolik testimony, November 10, 1996.
4. VHA #2831, Flora Altman testimony, May 25, 1995.
5. VHA #13953, Francis Adler testimony, April 26, 1996.

VEREBÉLY

Verebély (Slovak: Vráble) is located approximately 120 kilometers (75 miles) northwest of Budapest. Originally part of Austria-Hungary, the town was awarded to Czechoslovakia after the end of World War I. In accordance with the provisions of the First Vienna Accord of November 1938, Hungary incorporated the town as district seat of Verebély District in Bars and Hont County. In 1941, the district had 539 Jews. The town of Verebély had 223 Jews and 5 Christians of Jewish descent.

Beginning on May 9, 1944, the Hungarian authorities detained the local Jewish population and Jews from surrounding communities in a ghetto at the Schück Steam Mill in Verebély.[1] Approximately 500 people were registered at the site. Among them was Alice Ruda, who grew up in Verebély. Two days after the family moved to the ghetto, her mother was subjected to a brutal interrogation and torture session at the hands of gendarmes. According to Ruda's postwar testimony, her mother refused to reveal the location of their hidden valuables and jewelry. When she finally returned, "she had been beaten beyond recognition."[2] Some of the younger ghetto inmates were conscripted to do forced labor during the day. The ghetto of Verebély was liquidated after most of the inmates were transferred to the entrainment center of Léva on June 10, 1944.[3]

SOURCES Relevant secondary sources describing the Verebély ghetto include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); and Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 127–129.

For important primary documentation see the following collection: USHMMA, RG-39.013M (MZSML), including reel 7 (box D 5/1). Three VHA testimonies are indexed for the ghetto at Verebély: Jolana Herczegová, September 26, 1997 (#36367); Veronika Schlesingerová, March 17, 1997 (#29219); and Alice Ruda, November 16, 1995 (#8911). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about Verebély natives and ghetto inmates. They are available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. See ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Judith Blumenthal, Doc. No. 52285297.
2. VHA #8911, Alice Ruda testimony, November 16, 1995.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Harry Fried, Doc. No. 52432694.

VESZPRÉM

Veszprém is located near the northwestern tip of Lake Balaton in Hungary, about 96 kilometers (59 miles) southwest of Budapest. The social and economic status of the Veszprém's Jews declined in the wake of the anti-Jewish measures that were enacted beginning in 1938. It became precarious after the start of World War II, when many of the Jewish men were recruited into the forced labor service system.

The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, marked the beginning of the end of the once flourishing Jewish community. According to the late April 1944 report prepared by the local Jewish leaders at the request of the German and Hungarian authorities, the city then had a Jewish population of 650. The Jews were compelled to wear a yellow star on their clothing starting on April 5. On June 4, they were ordered into a ghetto, which was established around the synagogue and other Jewish communal buildings and was surrounded by a wooden fence. Another ghetto was established in the Komakut barracks for Jews brought in from the neighboring communities in the districts of Veszprém and Enying, including Balatonalmádi, Berhida, Enying, Herend, Lepsény, Mezöszila, Nagyvázsony, Siófok Szentgál, and Várpalota. The Jewish Council (*zsidó tanács*) was headed by Rabbi Lajos Kun.

As part of Deportation Zone V, Gendarmerie Districts III and IV, the ghettoization drive was carried out under the command of Mayor László Nagy and his successor Miklós Hornyák, Deputy Mayor Lajos Tekeres, Gendarmerie Alezredes Ernö Tóth, Police Counselor István Simon, and County Prefect István Buda. The ghettos were liquidated on June 19 with the deportation of the Jews to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. After this deportation, Ferenc Schiberna, the leader of the local Arrow Cross (*Nyilas*) party and an Obersturmführer in the Nazi SS, ordered church leaders to offer a prayer of thanksgiving for the city having been cleared of Jews.

The small number of survivors, including returning labor servicemen, reorganized the community after the war. In 1946 there were 106 Jews in the city, including those who moved in from neighboring smaller communities.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the ghetto at Veszprém are Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1228–1232; and Tim Cole, *Traces of the Holocaust: Journeying in and out of the Ghettos* (London: Continuum, 2011). On anti-Jewish persecution at the county level, including the Veszprém ghetto, see Éva Máthé, ed., *Töredék: fejezetek a Veszprémi zsidó közösség történetből* (Veszprém: Veszprémi Zsidó Örökségi Alapítvány, 2001).

Primary sources on the ghetto at Veszprém can be found in MOL and VML. The local press (*VeVá* and *VeHí*) provided contemporaneous documentation of anti-Jewish persecution

during the time of the Veszprém ghetto. VHA holds one survivor's testimony from Veszprém.

Randolph L. Braham

ZALAEGERSZEG

Zalaegerszeg (Croatian: Jegersek; Slovene: Jageršek; German: Egersee) was the administrative center of Zala County in western Hungary. A ghetto was established in Zalaegerszeg, which is located more than 184 kilometers (almost 115 miles) southwest of Budapest and almost 133 kilometers (over 82 miles) northeast of Zagreb.

According to the census of 1941, the last taken before the Holocaust in Hungary, Zalaegerszeg had a total population of 13,967, of whom 873 were Jews. The Zalaegerszeg ghetto came into being on May 16, 1944, and held nearly the town's entire Jewish population, including Jews who had recently converted from Catholicism.[1] Jews from various provincial ghettos, cities and villages (such as Keszthely and Tapolca) were gradually transferred to Zalaegerszeg by June 20.

There were very rare exceptions, such as Eva Baik and her family, who were not forced to move into the ghetto, but still had to wear the yellow star. The Baiks were exempted because her stepfather, Dr. Jambor Laszlor, was the best dentist in town and his services were needed. Mrs. Baik was able to go into the ghetto and help those interned there. According to Mrs. Baik, the ghetto was located in the poorest part of the city; the houses were only on one level and accommodated one family per room. The hygienic conditions were very poor, but access to food was more than sufficient.[2] Despite the fact that Dr. Laszlor had converted to Christianity before the war, his entire family was still deported to Auschwitz.

Before the final transport, the ghetto's inhabitants were forced to leave their houses and stay in the brick factory in town for a few days, before being put on a train with no idea where they were going. At the factory they had to sit on the bare floor and were guarded by Hungarian gendarmes. The women were subject to cavity searches as the gendarmes looked for gold and jewelry. Men and women were beaten as the gendarmes forced them to confess that they had hidden gold.[3]

The transport containing approximately 2,900 Jews from the Zalaegerszeg ghetto left on July 5 and arrived in Auschwitz on July 7, 1944. The emptied ghetto was liquidated in mid-July of that year. From Auschwitz, the Zalaegerszeg ghetto victims had diverse paths of persecution, being sent to Buchenwald, Bergen-Belsen, Bremen, and Gross-Rosen, among other camps.

The Red Army liberated Zalaegerszeg on March 28, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary source material about the Zalaegerszeg ghetto in Hungary can be found in "Zalaegerszeg," in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 2: 1276–1283; and "Zalaegerszeg," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1485–1486.

A man and a young boy at the entrance to the ghetto in Zalaegerszeg. The sign in Hungarian reads "Jewish quarter. Christians are forbidden to enter." July 1944.
USHMM WS #68666, COURTESY OF MAGYAR NEMZETI MUZEUM TORTENETI FENYKEPTAR.

Primary source material documenting the fate of Zalaegerszeg Jews can be found at USHMMA. VHA holds 14 testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Zalaegerszeg ghetto. The testimonies featured here are Eva Baik, February 15, 2000 (#50620), and Margit Berkes, July 6, 1999 (#50247). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Zalaegerszeg ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. VHA #50247, Margit Berkes testimony, July 6, 1999.
2. VHA #50620, Eva Baik testimony, February 15, 2000.
3. VHA #50247.

ZOMBOR

Zombor (Serbian: Sombor) is located approximately 275 kilometers (171 miles) south of Budapest. Originally part of

Austria-Hungary, it was awarded to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, subsequently known as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, after World War I. Following the 1941 invasion and partition of Yugoslavia by the Axis Powers, Hungary annexed Zombor as the seat of Zombor District in Bács-Bodrog County. In 1941, Zombor had 1,011 Jews, and the outlying district held an additional 304 Jews. Most of the Jewish men of Zombor were drafted into the Hungarian Public Labor Service (*Közérdekü Mundaszolgálat Országod Felügyelője*, KMOF) in the spring of 1941. Although many returned home by the summer of 1941, they were subsequently conscripted again and stationed at the Russian and Ukrainian fronts, where many perished.[1]

A Zombor silk factory served as a temporary ghetto and detention center for Zombor's Jews between April 26 and early May 1944. The inmates were moved from there to Baja in several transports. They were then deported to Auschwitz in May or June 1944. Subsequently, various Jewish battalions of the KMOF were marched through Zombor during the Hungarian evacuation of the Balkans in September and October 1944. From Zombor, they continued to Mohács and then Szentkirályszabadja, where the remaining internees were deported to Nazi Germany.[2] More than 141 survivors returned after the end of the war.[3]

SOURCES Important secondary sources for Zombor include Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1994); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Geographical Encyclopedia of the Holocaust in Hungary*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, 3 vols. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press in association with USHMM and the Rosenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, 2013), 1: 60–61; and Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System*, *1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977).

Primary sources documenting the Zombor ghetto include VHA, which indexes 62 testimonies for the site (under Sombor), including Zoltan Erenyi, February 27, 1997 (#26615); Greta Berry, December 3, 1998 (#48405); Zlata Birman, November 7, 1995 (#8396); and Miklos Blum, December 18, 1995 (#8833). At USHMMA, see also oral history interviews with Mira Aršimov (RG-50.585*0001) and Eva Cavcic (RG-50.459*0013). USHMMA and USHMMPA contain several small family collections and images documenting Jewish life in Zombor before and after the Holocaust. See, among others, "Postcard dated May 15, 1944, from the detention center at Zombor" (Acc. No. 1997.16.153) and the Steven Lazar Basic family collection (RG-02.116). The ITS contains a few references to Zombor residents, ghetto inmates, and members of labor battalions likely stationed in Zombor. This documentation is available in digital format at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. VHA #8833, Miklos Blum testimony, December 18, 1995.
2. VHA #26615, Zoltan Erenyi testimony, February 27, 1997.
3. Braham, *Geographical Encyclopedia*, 1: 60.

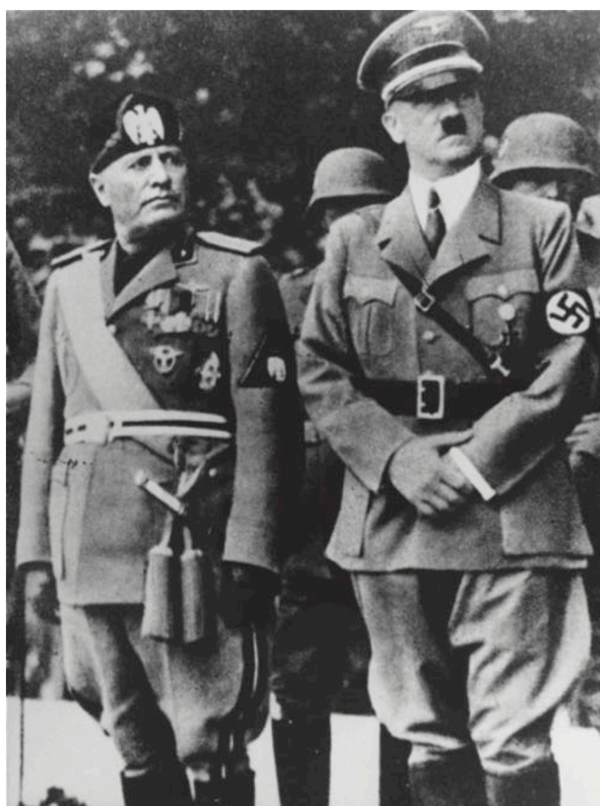
ITALY

The barbed-wire fence and a guard tower at Fossoli di Carpi, the main transit camp in Italy for Jews to be deported to Auschwitz.
USHMM WS #63819, COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO NOMADELFIA, GROSSET (COPYRIGHT UNKNOWN).

ITALY

During World War II, Italian concentration camps held persons of Italian and non-Italian citizenship. It was not until Italy entered the war on June 10, 1940, that the Fascist government established a system of concentration camps to hold those who opposed it. Before that, antifascists and those thought to be dangerous to the regime were sent into internal exile (*confino*), the most effective weapon that the Fascist regime could then use against potential troublemakers. It was established with the Single Text of Public Security (*Testo Unico di Pubblica Sicurezza*), which was enacted by the Italian Fascist government under Benito Mussolini as leader (*Duce*) in November 1926. Communists, anarchists, and other real or potential enemies wound up mostly on remote islands or sometimes in small, isolated towns. Approximately 17,000 suffered this internal exile.

The planning of a system of concentration camps began in 1936, when war seemed imminent. In that year, the War Ministry set up general criteria for the construction of concentration camps and indicated the categories of those to be defined as internees (*internati*): opponents of fascism to be silenced, political "criminals" already sent to the *confino* under the Single Text, and confirmed spies. The Interior Ministry was put in charge of the organization of the camps. Before the war, the only purpose-built concentration camp existed at Pisticci in the province of Matera in 1939. At Pisticci, the internees lived together in huge barracks, under police surveillance, and worked on land reclamation projects in the surrounding areas.



Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler stand together on a reviewing stand during an official visit to occupied Yugoslavia.
USHMM WS #89908, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGO-SLAVIJE.

The Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, established the norms for the internment of civilian foreigners. The Interior Ministry and all police prefects were given the power to "arrange the internment of foreign subjects who intend, or who are able, to undertake activities harmful to the state." In September 1939, the Interior Ministry also began to take action against Jews present on Italian national territory. On May 26, 1940, the undersecretary of the Interior Ministry, Guido Buffarini Guidi, indicated to the chief of police, the *capo della polizia*, Arturo Bocchini, Mussolini's wish to create concentration camps for Jews in case of war. Mussolini did not distinguish between Italian and foreign Jews and neither were described as enemy aliens or stateless persons, because the Kingdom of Italy did not officially consider Jews as enemies of the state. Although the machinery of the state oppressed the Jews and the police maintained checks and controls on Italian-resident Jews of any nationality, this policy was not done in accordance with any explicit law mandating their confinements in camps, but rather because fascist ideology itself considered Jews to be potential enemies of the Axis dictatorships.

Italian law did, however, discriminate against Jews even before the war began. Racial distinctions (including membership in the "Jewish race") were introduced with the Racial Laws of 1938. Through these laws, native populations in the Italian colonies, but also Italian Jews, lost many of their rights. The first Racial Laws were introduced in the territories of the Italian Empire in 1937 to block mixed marriages between Italians and Ethiopians.

On June 1, 1940, the Interior Ministry ordered local prefects to arrest "very dangerous persons," foreign or Italian, of any race, as soon as war was declared. A week later, on June 8, 1940, the Interior Ministry distributed Circular No. 442/12267, under the heading "Prescription for Concentration Camps and for Places of Internment," which established the way in which the camps would be run. An officer of the *Pubblica Sicurezza*, the police, or the mayor of the town (*podestà*), was to be made camp head with the title of director, *Direttore del Campo*. His duties comprised enforcing the regulations of the camp, which included the obligation to remain within the camp's perimeter and attend three roll calls a day.

Each detainee was to receive a daily stipend from the government of 6.50 lire (0.33 USD in 1940 value) with which to buy meals from local civilians; wealthy prisoners were allowed to use

their own money. The Interior Ministry was to pay for medical costs. To clarify these rather vague regulations, another circular went out on June 25, 1940 (No. 442/14178) that denied prisoners their passports and that forbade them from possessing sums greater than 100 lire (5 USD), jewels or other valuables, weapons, or radios. Also forbidden were political activities and the reading of foreign books or newspapers without authorization; packages and letters were to be closely examined.

Up to this point, the laws were not directed specifically against Jews, but against any potential enemy of the Italian state. The first direct action taken to isolate and arrest Jews came with a circular of June 15, 1940, of the Interior Ministry (No. 443/45626), in which Jews "belonging to states with active racial laws"—that is, Nazi Germany and other countries under German influence—were to be arrested and interned "as soon as space becomes available in the prisons." The idea was to identify Jews as enemies of the state, and thereby to intern them under the existing laws. On September 4, 1940, Mussolini decreed that citizens of enemy states, including Jews, could be held in special concentration camps or be forced to reside in predetermined areas.

From the autumn of 1940 until 1943, the Interior Ministry opened and ran more than 50 concentration camps, almost all of them scattered across central-southern Italy, in isolated areas far from any important military or civilian sites. The great majority of the camps were set up in preexisting buildings, among them convents, schools, and private villas; these buildings were generally large edifices with a courtyard or walled garden. Few camps were constructed from the ground up; those that were newly created consisted of barracks surrounded by barbed-wire fences and guard towers. One such camp was the Jewish concentration camp at Ferramonti, in the province of Cosenza, which could hold more than 1,000 people. The smaller camps were established based on the assumption that the war would be over quickly and therefore larger purpose-built camps would not be necessary; when it became clear that the war would continue for some time, larger camps began to be contemplated.

On average, a little more than 5,000 internees were held each year in the camps under the control of the Interior Ministry. (Many more internees were held in the camps run by the Italian Army in the Balkans.) One report, from December 31, 1942, gave the number of prisoners as 5,284, of whom 2,139 were "Jews" and 3,145 were "Aryans." The camps mainly held Italian and foreign Jews, Britons, French, Greeks, "ex-Yugoslavs," Roma and Sinti ("Gypsies"), and some Chinese, in addition to Italians deemed dangerous to the regime.

Daily life in the camps was characterized by bad food, lack of heat in the winter, and lack of sanitation year-round, and, above all, boredom. Given the decline in food stocks across the country, hunger and cold were felt in the camps long before the onset of the first winter of the war. In some camps the inmates were permitted to run the canteen themselves, buying food from local merchants, whereas in others the camp director controlled the food supply. In all cases, however, complaints about the lack of food and its bad quality were constant. To make up for the lack of food and the insufficient subsidy of 6.50 lire a day, from July 1942 on, the detainees were permitted to work outside the camps, doing manual labor in the fields or on construction sites. However, the prisoners could only rarely find work or other ways to keep themselves busy. In the winter of 1942, the food situation worsened dramatically, and illnesses stemming from malnutrition became particularly widespread. Only in the spring of 1943 did the situation improve slightly.

The unhealthy conditions of the camps and the general lack of maintenance often made life in the camps even more difficult. The number of toilets was almost always insufficient, and it was rare to find a camp with showers or baths. Medical care was given by an on-site doctor in the smaller camps, whereas infirmaries were the rule in the larger camps. Prisoners with serious illnesses or in need of an operation were transferred to the local hospital. In all the camps, priests from the region provided religious services.

Discipline was not particularly strict, and the guards generally followed the regulations set down by the Interior Ministry. In almost all the camps the director was a police functionary, a commissioner or vice commissioner (*commissario* or *vice-commissario*); the mayor of the local town directed the smaller camps. The guards were policemen or the carabinieri, the gendarmerie. In some cases, as at Ferramonti, guard service was also provided by the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN), better known as the *Camicie Nere*, the Blackshirts. There are almost no records of particular mistreatment of prisoners. That there were only very few documented examples of violence may be because the camps were regularly visited by representatives of the Italian Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross or by high-ranking Catholic prelates. The Italian Red Cross sent many reports about the conditions in the camps to their central office in Rome and to the Interior Ministry. If cases of mistreatment were verified, the Interior Ministry acted promptly, removing the official involved. Much more frequent were cases of corruption and attempts by the guards to extort money from inmates; however, in these cases, too, the ministry was swift to intervene. There were no special restrictions on Jews, who were treated like other internees and who could continue to follow their religious practices. The Roma, in contrast, were treated much more harshly. Whole families were put into the camps and received a much lower subsidy (5.50 lire a day for each head of the family, plus 1 lira a day for each family member), as they were considered to be used to misery. Because of this discrimination, and despite the goodwill of various camp directors, the prison conditions for Roma were particularly difficult.

Like the Roma, "ex-Yugoslavs" or *allogeni* (Italian citizens of Slavic language or ethnicity) received treatment that was worse than that offered other detainees. After the German and Italian attack on Yugoslavia on April 6, 1941, and the annexation of some areas of Slovenia and Croatia, Italy faced a particularly grueling partisan war. To crush the Yugoslav resistance, General Mario Roatta, commander of the Italian Second Army, issued Circular No. 3C (March 1, 1942), which spelled out the disposition of members of the public in the occupied territories who

might provide aid to the resistance. In the camps for "ex-Yugoslavs," which were normally run by the army but sometimes by the Interior Ministry, living conditions were extremely arduous. They were tent cities, as on the island of Arbe (Rab), where overpopulation, illness, malnutrition, and mistreatment resulted in a high death rate. According to the Red Cross, the Italian state succeeded in arresting or imprisoning more than 100,000 "ex-Yugoslavs," of whom thousands died. The most recent studies in the Balkans find that 149,639 people were interned one or more times and 92,092 other people were imprisoned.

In addition to the camps in Yugoslavia, the Italians set up detention sites in other lands they occupied. (For maps of the camps in Italian-controlled regions, see pages 394–398.) In Albania, Greece, southeastern France, and Libya, the Italians held a mix of political opponents, resistance fighters, Jews, enemy aliens, hostages, prisoners of war, criminals, and refugees. The prisoners comprised many different ethnic and national groups, including French, Greeks, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, Kosovars, Slovenes, Serbs, Croats, Americans, British, Belgians, and expatriate Italians. The Italian Army created and ran most of these camps. Some of the prisoners, such as the Libyan Jews, had to perform forced labor.

Overall, although the camps in Italy were not places where inmates were brutalized or in danger of systemized extermination, the overcrowding, the almost nonexistent hygiene, the lack of any kind of mental distraction or occupation, and, above all, the hunger and cold made the living conditions of the prisoners extremely harsh.

After the fall of the Fascist regime on July 25, 1943, the camp system underwent a drastic change, and many internees were gradually freed. The first to be released were Italian antifascists, excluding anarchists and communists; then Italian Jews; and finally the communists and anarchists. On September 10, 1943, two days after the Armistice was signed by Italy with the United Nations, the new head of the police, Carmine Senise, ordered the release of foreign inmates. However, by that point the Germans had occupied all of central-southern Italy and had taken control of all the organs of state.

With the German occupation of Italy, the vast majority of Italian concentration camps came under direct German military rule. However, the de facto administration and daily surveillance of many camps fell to the Italian authorities, either the provincial police or the Blackshirts. In addition, with the Germans technically in power, the former internment facilities were transformed into individual transit camps, with the subjected internees—largely citizens of "enemy nations" and people identified as Jews—now facing the threat of deportation to the Reich.

The Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the state created by Mussolini on September 12, 1943, to continue the war as a German ally, formally revoked the release of internees on November 4, 1943, although, as mentioned, the camps had already been either occupied by the Germans or abandoned. From November 1943 the RSI resumed control over some of the camps. At the end of November 1943, 12 camps were still functioning, of which 6 held 320 inmates. We have only minimal details about the camps run by the RSI because of the dispersion of the relevant archives and the lack of historiographical work on the subject.

On December 1, 1943, Guido Buffarini Guidi, then the RSI interior minister, issued Police Order No. 5, which prescribed the internment of all Jews present on Italian soil, native born or foreign, in special provincial camps. On December 10, Buffarini Guidi issued another order that excluded from internment all Jews older than 70 years, Jews who were gravely ill, and Jews defined as "mixed-race" under Italian law. This second order created great confusion, particularly because the Germans held necessary the deportation of all Jews, even those protected under Italian law.

Given the difficulty of carrying out the order to intern the Jews, some prefects replied that they were not capable of building camps in their provinces. However, in December 1943, 15 prefectures requested internment for a total of 1,652 Jews. On December 5, 1943, the Fossoli concentration camp in the Modena province reopened, having been constructed the year before to house prisoners of war (POWs) and then been occupied by the Germans between September 8 and 9, 1943, when the Italian officials were arrested. The RSI reused part of the camp to contain Jews, in fulfillment of Police Order No. 5. On December 27, 97 Jews entered the compound. In March 1944 the Fossoli camp came under direct German control. It was evacuated on August 1, 1944, in anticipation of the Allied armies advancing from the south. A new camp was set up in the north, near Bolzano.

Living conditions in the RSI camps were practically identical to those in the camps before the Armistice of September 8, 1943. Jewish prisoners could still exchange letters and receive visitors from the outside. The most obvious difference was the fact that the Jews were interned in groups that included whole families. Moreover, there was a new terror: the prospect of deportation to Germany. The danger was real: Jews captured and imprisoned under the auspices of the RSI were handed over to the Germans, who sent them to the extermination camps. There were, however, no formal accords between the RSI authorities and the Germans regarding such deportations. One may only suppose that the provincial camps must have been created as transit camps or that they must have been constructed with the specific intention of collecting the Jews together with the goal of deporting them later to the extermination centers. The behavior of even high RSI officials was ambiguous, and it is therefore difficult to clarify exactly what were the RSI's intentions. Buffarini Guidi's orders were in part contradictory, as described earlier, and they were interpreted in different ways by different officials of the RSI.

With the current state of research, it is impossible to know what ordinary Italians of the time knew of the Holocaust; we do know, however, that Mussolini and those in the higher levels of the RSI had a profound knowledge of the facts. We also know that Italians searched for, arrested, and interned Jews, with the deportations organized by the German authorities, which took over control of the Jews gathered in the provincial camps of the RSI. Recent studies suggest that none of the deportations could have happened without some type of agreement between Italian and German authorities.

Immediately after the war, the camps were closed. Most were abandoned, although some of them were transformed and reused. The camp at Fossoli was used as a collection camp for displaced persons (DPs) and then as an orphan colony set up by a priest. The Ferramonti camp was also used as a collection camp for DPs and in this capacity continued to function until September 6, 1945.

No Italian was tried or condemned for having worked in the concentration camps. The law that punished Fascist criminals (July 27, 1944) did not in any way mention crimes that occurred in the concentration camps: it affected only those Italians who had collaborated with the Germans or those who had played an important role in the establishment and consolidation of the Fascist regime. The amnesty promulgated by Justice Minister Palmiro Togliatti in June 1944 eliminated practically every trace of what had taken place.

In Yugoslavia, the commander of the Arbe camp was executed immediately after the Armistice on September 8, 1943, but he was one of the few to pay any sort of price for his crimes. Indeed, after the war, the Yugoslav request to try Italians accused of war crimes in their territory went against Italian postwar government policy not to send any real or presumed criminal to former enemy states. This policy prevented Italian citizens from being tried abroad for war crimes. At the same time, the restitution of property sequestered from the Jews under Fascism and compensation for the sufferings they had undergone took place with exasperating slowness. In 1955 the law of March 10, No. 96, acknowledged some "compensation" ("*provvidenze*") for persecuted antifascist politicians, those who suffered under the racial laws, and their family members. This compensation, although it served as a public gesture of repentance, had practically no cash value.

The camps set up under Fascism represent a mirror of the regime in two ways. First, categories of enemies in the camps were treated differently. If antifascists, Jews, and foreign enemies were treated in a humane manner, or at least according to precise rules, this was both because these categories of enemies did not represent a serious danger to the regime and because the Italians feared reprisals on Italians imprisoned in Britain and the United States if detained nationals of those countries were to suffer. Against the "ex-Yugoslavs," however, the Fascist regime exercised extreme brutality: it found in them an enemy that it both despised for racial reasons and feared, because the Yugoslav resistance was causing serious difficulties for the Italian Army in the Balkans. Second, the grave and systemic failure to provide food and basic maintenance to the camps reflects a fundamental feature of the Italian camp system during the entire course of World War II.

Whereas the running of the Italian state under the Fascist regime up to the fall of Mussolini was characterized by inefficiency and a certain sloppy and uneven moderation, the conduct of the RSI was quite different. Created with a clear antisemitic intent (Article 7 of the *Carta di Verona*, a kind of constitution of the RSI, defined the Jews as "enemies"), the RSI applied a rigid policy that anticipated the imprisonment of all Jews. The RSI police were given the responsibility for finding and detaining Jews present on Italian territory. Because of this policy, the German authorities in Italy were easily able to collect and deport thousands of Jews, of whom 8,529 lost their lives.

SOURCES There were no publications before the 1990s that dealt with the general history of the Italian concentration camps. From 1993 onward the following texts began to appear: Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols. (1993; Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1996), 2; Constantino Di Sante, *I Campi di Concentramento in Italia: Dall'Internamento alla Deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi and Constantino Di Sante, "Die Geschichte der Konzentrationslager im faschistischen Italien," in Sven Reichardt and Armin Nolzen, eds., *Faschismus in Italien und Deutschland: Studien zu Transfer und Vergleich* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005); and Luigi Reale, *Mussolini's Concentration Camps for Civilians: An Insight into the Nature of Fascist Racism* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2011). On the camps for "ex-Yugoslavs," see Tone Ferenc, *Rab-Arbe-Arbissima: Confinamenti—Rastrellamenti—Internamenti nella provincial di Lubiana 1941–1943: Documenti* (Ljubljana: NPB, 2000); Carlo Moos, *Ausgrenzung, Internierung, Deportation: Antisemitismus und Gewalt im späten italienischen Faschismus (1938–1945*) (Zurich: Chronos, 2004); Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske Oblasti Pod Italijom 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut Vojske Jugoslavije, 1999); and Davide Rodogno, *Il nuove ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003). For the RSI, see Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945*) (1991; Milan: Mursia, 2002), which addresses only the deportation system and describes the camp at Fossoli; and Giuseppe Mayda, *Storia della deportazione dall'Italia 1943–1945: Militari, ebrei e politici nei lager del Terzo Reich* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2002). For information on the system of repression under Fascism and on internment, the following works may be consulted: Gina Antoniani Persichilli, "Disposizioni e fonti per lo studio dell'internamento in Italia," *RAS* 38 (1978): 77–96; Paola Carucci, "Arturo Bocchini," in Ferdinando Cordova, ed., *Uomini e volti del fascismo* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1980), pp. 63–104; Simonetta Carolini, *Pericolosi nelle contingenze belliche: Gli internati dal 1940 al 1943* (Rome: Anpia, 1987); and Giovanna Tosatti, "Gli internati civili in Italia nei documenti dell'Archivio Centrale dello Stato," in *Una storia di tutti: Prigionieri, internati, deportati italiani nella seconda guerra mondiale* (Milan: Angeli, 1989), pp. 35–50.

The most important archival sources on central planning and policy and individual camps are in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Roma), Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione generale di Pubblica sicurezza, Categoria A4 bis, "Ufficio internati stranieri," which contains 11 folders of various documents relating to the camps and 373 folders of personal documentation about the internees. Also valuable is the archive of the Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione generale di Pubblica sicurezza, Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati, Categoria A5G (II Guerra mondiale), "Ufficio internati," and the series Ministero dell'Interno, Direzione generale di Pubblica sicurezza, Divisione Affari Generali e Riservati, Categoria "Massime M4."

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Camps in Northern Italy

Camps in Southern Italy

Italian Camps in Southeast Europe
Trebussa Inferiore
Lubiana
Cighino
TRIESTE
ZAGREB
Hungary
FIUME
Buccari
Porto Re
Arbe
Croatia
Melada
Ugliano
Zlarino
SARAJEVO
San Marino
Brazza Island
Lesina Island
Curzola Island
DUBROVNIK (GRAVOSA)
Cupari
Mamula
Mezzo Island
Prevlaka
Antivari
Villa Shiroka
Italy
BELGRADE
Serbia
Montenegro
Romania
Bulgaria
Pristina
Pejë
Pukë
Fushë Arrëz
Kukës
Gërman
Klos
Kruja
Prezë
TIRANA
Kavajë
Peqin
Fier
Kolonjë
KORCE
Albania
SALONIKA
Corfu-Lazaretto
IOANNINA
LARISSA
Trikala
Greece
Turkey
Vonitsa
Katouna
Thebes
ATHENS
Averof
Empeirikeio
Kallithéa
Kalavryta
Akronafplia
Pholegandros
Anafi Island
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
0 50 100 150 200 miles
0 50 100 150 200 kilometers
N E S W
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

Italian Camps in North Africa
Malta
Crete
(Greece)
Mediterranean Sea
Tunisia
ZUARA
TRIPOLI
Sidi Azaz
Giado
BENGHAZI
EL AGHEILA
Buqbuq
Egypt
Libya
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
0 50 100 150 200
miles
kilometers
0 50 100 150 200
N
W
E
S
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942

Italian Camps in Southeast France
Switzerland
Megève
Modane
France
Italy
Embrun
Sospello
Lynwood Villa
Vence
Mentone
Monaco
N
W
E
S
BORDERS AS OF NOVEMBER 1942
France
Italy
CITY
CITY & CAMP
Camp
0 10 20 30 40
miles
kilometers
0 10 20 30 40

AGNONE

Agnone is about 156 kilometers (97 miles) east of Rome and is in the Campobasso province (Molise region). As with the majority of Italian concentration camps, Agnone was chosen as a detention site because of its isolation and distance from points of military interest. The Interior Ministry opened the concentration camp to intern foreign civilians in June 1940, according to the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the official letter (*Circolare*) of the Interior Ministry dated June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267.

The camp was established in the convent of San Bernardino at the time Italy entered the war. The convent had been used until then by the bishop of Triveneto as a summer residence. It was on a hill, 800 meters (875 yards) above sea level, and thus enjoyed, in the summer months, a particularly pleasant climate for the region. The convent was about one kilometer (0.6 miles) from the town. It was two stories high and contained about 20 rooms, 4 large halls, and a refectory; there were also service areas for guards and a cloister. The building had electricity and abundant running water. The site could hold about 150 internees; this number was reduced to 141 after the construction in August 1940 of an infirmary and a solitary confinement cell, perhaps the only example of such a cell in an Italian internment camp. The greatest problem this building faced was a lack of heating: indeed, the only two wood-burning stoves were in the refectory.

In July 1940 there were 40 inmates; the number quickly rose to 108 by the following month. A year later the number fell to 65, but rose again, with some fluctuations, to 151 in the summer of 1943. From June 1942, however, the overall number of internees never dropped below 116. The religious affiliation and nationalities of the internees varied. In February/March 1941 the majority were Jews (73 of 102 prisoners); however, by December 1942 the number of Jewish prisoners had declined to only 17. There were many Roma (Gypsies) in the Agnone camp, including 65 who arrived in August 1941 from the camp in Boiano, which was closed on August 23. Some of the Roma knew the camp as Campobasso.[1] A list of names from May 3, 1943, gives 47 Croats, 25 Spaniards, 3 Dutch, 2 Germans, 2 Belgians, 1 Frenchman, and 1 Yugoslavian, all of whom were Roma.

Authority to run the camp was given, in August 1940, to Commissioner (*Commissario*) of Public Security Giuseppe Cecere, who was replaced in November 1940 by an official of comparable rank, Domenico Palermo. In January 1941, Cecere once again became camp director. From the fall of 1942 to May 1943, and presumably until August of that year, the director of the camp was Guglielmo Casale. Food service was provided, according to a document of August 1940, by a local business, at the price of 5.60 lire per person per day.

The arrival of the first Roma from Boiano on August 26, 1941, concerned Antonio Panariello, the Inspector General of Public Security, who was responsible for the area's concentration camps; worried about the new "guests," he urged the camp director to exercise the utmost "vigilance" and the "intensification of hygienic measures."[2] As in almost all the camps that the Fascists built in wartime, many problems occurred because of retrofitting and poor maintenance of the buildings; for example, in July 1942, when the number of prisoners had risen to 123, the water pipes burst. Even the food could not have been very plentiful, as a subsequent letter of Panariello to the Interior Ministry reveals: it stated that a special delivery of beans and potatoes had to be sent to the camp. However, despite the shortage of food, the functionary concluded, "The life of the camp, insofar as it related to Gypsies, with their special customs and habits, takes place in groups, in some cases quite large groups, that are made up of a family, and that sometimes give way to conflicts, almost always caused by jealousy. Despite this, camp life leaves little to be desired, and all prisoners show themselves to be relatively disciplined, seeking to follow the rules imposed on them regarding cleaning."[3] Contradicting this description of the agreeableness of life in Agnone was the testimony of former Roma prisoners, in particular Zlato Levak, who recalled the great hunger in the camp and blamed the death of his eldest son on the poor camp conditions.[4]

Camp director Casale showed himself to be very efficient. In November 1942, with the backing of Panariello, he requested an additional grant of funds from the Interior Ministry to buy warm clothes for the poorer internees. More than that, he ordered the local mayor (*podestà*) of Agnone to reconstruct various edifices that were apparently falling down. Finally, he suggested the creation of an elementary school (with meals) for more than 30 children in the camp. Lessons commenced on January 9, 1943, and took place four times a week. Panariello, who returned in April 1943 to inspect the camp, was able to give a very positive evaluation:

> The internee children's school, set up some time ago, as has already been mentioned in the communiqué of 8 November 1942, No. 309, is attended today by about twenty children, who show themselves to be very eager to learn to read and write, with the guidance, truly maternal, of Signorina Casola Bonanni, the local teacher. I found the camp of Agnone in perfect functioning order, and this must be attributed to the truly laudable work of the directing commissioner Guglielmo Casale, who, while taking a personal interest in improving the hygiene of the camp itself, and the cleaning of the different areas, has not failed, with his continual help, to persuade the heads of the families gathered there to amend their amoral habits, to take care of their personal cleanliness and that of their children, and to give up, at the same time, their wandering life, to take on honest work.[5]

Indeed, according to the available documentation, no particular disciplinary problems seem to have arisen in the camp. On April 25, 1942, a young inmate stole 4.5 kilos (nearly 10 pounds) of bread, and in the following September three internees succeeded in escaping, but only for a few days. Despite the efforts of the staff, a few cases of malaria were reported in the camp.

The camp remained open until August 1943. The carabinieri freed all the remaining 150 internees at Agnone after the Armistice of September 8, 1943. Agnone remained behind German lines until December 1943. Many former internees joined the partisans, but others were captured by the Germans and deployed as forced laborers to dig antitank trenches and to lay land mines.

SOURCES Only a few published secondary sources refer to the Agnone camp: Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols., trans. Melissari Loredana (Scandizzi: La Nuova Italia, 1996), 2: 72; Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 205–206; Karola Fings, Herbert Heuss, and Frank Sparing, *In the Shadow of the Swastika: The Gypsies during the Second World War*, 3 vols., trans. Donald Kenrick (Hatfield, UK: University of Hertfordshire Press, Gypsy Research Centre, 1999), 2: 23–24; Mirella Karpati, "Il genocido degli zingari," *LD*1 (1987): 16–34 (at p. 32); and Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, "Il fascismo e gli zingari," *GSC*, 6:1 (June 2004): 25–43 (at pp. 37–39).

The most important archival sources may be found in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117; and Cat. A4, B. 9. A useful published testimony is by Zlato Levak, "La persecuzione degli zingari: Una testimonianza," *LD* 3 (1976): 2–3.

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Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. See the testimony of former Roma prisoner, Levak, "La persecuzione degli zingari," pp. 2–3, for the alternate name.
2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, Panariello to Ministry of Interior, August 26, 1941.
3. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, Panariello to Ministry of Interior, July 30, 1942.
4. Levak, "La persecuzione degli zingari," pp. 2–3.
5. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, Panariello to Ministry of Interior, April 23, 1943.

ALBEROBELLO

Alberobello is located 49 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Bari. On June 28, 1940, the Italian Interior Ministry established a men's internment camp in Alberobello in an ancient farmhouse belonging to an educational institution, the Fondazione Gigante, which ran an agricultural college. The building, commonly called "The Red House" (*La Casa Rossa*), was located in an isolated area about five kilometers (three miles) from the business center of Alberobello (a typical village of mortarless trulli construction) and 400 meters (1,312 feet) above sea level. The farmhouse had two floors and 32 rooms, but only part of the building was put to use as an internment camp. It could hold about 100 people.

The mayor of Alberobello, the prefect of Bari, and even the Education Ministry criticized the Interior Ministry for the government's plan to set up an internment camp "inside" an educational institution. However, the police chief was adamant, and the camp became operational, initially under the direction of the very same mayor of Alberobello. For its part, the agricultural college continued to use the stables and some adjacent buildings for farming, but had to move its classrooms and educational services to the historic center of Alberobello.

Over the entire period of the camp's existence, a total of 208 inmates (including 87 Jews) stayed there, with an average daily population of about 80. Among the first prisoners were 20 British "civilian internees of war" (English, Maltese, Irish, and Indian), who had been arrested in Naples when Italy entered the war. Soon they were transferred to the Scipione internment camp in the province of Parma. Later 79 foreign and stateless Jews (mostly ex-German and ex-Austrian Jews, among them Austrian writer Hermann Hakel) and 8 Italian Jews were interned at Alberobello. In addition, about 70 Italian alleged dissidents arrived, many of whom were "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (i.e., those belonging to Slavic ethnic minorities that the Mussolini regime persecuted with great vigor) and criminal recidivists. Finally, on August 1, 1942, about 90 "ex-Yugoslav" civilians, who had been deported from occupied Yugoslavia by the German and Italian armies, arrived at the camp.

In the camp's first months of operation, living conditions were bearable. The building was not crowded, and the food supplies arrived quite regularly. Supervision was entrusted to the police who set up a guardhouse on site and served as chaperones for inmates charged with shopping in town for food supplies for the communal mess hall. Every week the camp was inspected by the public safety commissioner, Ernesto Santini, who was also the director of a nearby internment camp, located in Gioia del Colle.

The beds in the dormitories were horsehair mattresses on planks supported by iron trestles. Hygienic services consisted of several latrines and a single functioning toilet. However, there was no infirmary, water heater, or hot water available. Medical care was provided by a local health officer (initially the mayor) who visited regularly, but due to the effects of cold and humidity, health problems occurred frequently among the inmates. One of them, an Italian civilian, died following a bout of peritonitis.

On May 21, 1941, the apostolic nuncio to the Italian government, Monsignor Francesco Borgongini-Duca, visited the inmates of Alberobello. He listened to their problems and strove to solve them. In March 1942, the Italian Navy proposed the evacuation of the camp for security reasons, but the Interior Ministry did not accept this recommendation and instead intensified its surveillance.

The Jews remained interned at Alberobello until July 13, 1942, when 37 were transferred to the camp at Ferramonti di Tarsia in the province of Cosenza. During their time in the Alberobello camp they were very active and well organized: They ran a communal soup kitchen through a special committee, were able to establish positive relationships with the local population, and improvised a small open-air synagogue that functioned during the holiday of Passover.

At the beginning of August 1942, with the arrival of "ex-Yugoslav" inmates—a heterogeneous group that included

members of the Serbian monarchist Chetnik (Četnici) movement, Croats from the fascist Ustaša movement, and even some Jews—discipline became more rigorous and the authorities proposed that a barbed-wire fence be erected around the camp (bordered by hedges and walls). But, in fact, they simply mounted frames with bars and railings on the windows that only made the lives of the Yugoslavian internees more difficult.

Beginning in February 1943 some of the internees periodically performed agricultural work on behalf of the agricultural school. All others usually remained "unemployed," settling at best on doing some craftwork.

The fall of Mussolini on July 25, 1943, elicited enthusiasm and great expectations among the inmates, but it brought no immediate change; it was not until September 3, 1943, that an order for the camp's evacuation arrived. Some of the inmates were then freed; those deemed unsuitable for release (58 people, mostly "ex-Yugoslavs" and "aliens" from Venezia Giulia) were transferred to Castel di Guido, a camp located near Rome. Nine other foreign inmates, including a few Jews, were sent to the Farfa camp in the province of Rieti. The last departures from Alberobello took place on September 6, 1943, the day the camp officially ceased to function.

From February 8 to 26, 1944, Masseria Gigante hosted 20 "war refugees" on behalf of the Southern Kingdom (the regime of Marshal Pietro Badoglio, allied to Britain and the United States). On February 28, 1945, as part of the cleanup measures undertaken by the Southern Kingdom, the Red House became a confinement colony for ex-fascists.

SOURCES There are two secondary sources that describe the camp at Alberobello. This slightly revised entry on the camp at Alberobello first appeared as a book chapter by the author, Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Mappatura dei campi-Puglia," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004) pp. 235–236; and see Francesco Terzulli, *La Casa Rossa: Un campo di concentramento ad Alberobello* (Milan: Mursia, 2003).

Archival holdings on the camp at Alberobello may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, f. 16 (Campi concentramento), B.115, s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincial), ins. 8 "Bari," ss. Ff. 3, 6; and ACS collection Mi, Dgps, Cat. Collection, A4 bis (Stranieri internati) B. 4/67 "Bari."

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jane Klinger with Jakub Smutný

AOSTA

Aosta is 149 kilometers (93 miles) northwest of Milan, in the Valle d'Aosta region. The concentration camp of Aosta was set up the Mottino barracks (*Caserma Mottino*) in the city. On November 30, 1943, Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi, of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), issued a directive establishing provincial camps for Italian and foreign Jews. In response, on December 12, 1943, the superintendent of the Aosta camp, Vittorio Labbro, issued an order for both Italian and foreign Jews to be transferred to the Mottino barracks; from there they were to be sent to other camps.[1] The letter specified that the camp was to accommodate 50 Jews under the direction of Public Security Commissioner Alberto Mosso. Local police, or carabinieri, were placed in charge of camp security alongside the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN).

On December 13, 1943, the authorities captured several Jews, including the well-known Italian writer and chemist Primo Levi. Levi recounted that he was taken to the barracks before being interrogated by an MVSN soldier, Cagni, in a cell that had once served as a canteen. Cagni related to him that the administration of the barracks was to be passed over to the Nazi SS in a few days.[2] Children lived in the barracks, and the first transfer of all arrested Jews (50 to 60 in total, including many foreign Jews mostly from Yugoslavia) to the Fossoli di Carpi internment camp in the Modena province took place on January 20, 1944. The other transfers followed on February 17 and March 6, 1944.

It seems that *Caserma Mottino* accommodated only a small number of the Jews captured in early December. The other detainees were kept in prisons in Ivrea or at locations of which the exact coordinates remain unknown.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the Aosta camp are Ando Gilardi and Patrizia Piccini, eds., *La Gioconda di Lvov: Immagini "spontanee" e testi relativi ai fatti dello sterminio* (Aosta: Tip. Valdostana, 1995); Luciana Pramotton and Chiara Minelli, *Storie e storia: Émile Chanoux, Primo Levi, Émile Lexert e Ida Desandré tra Resistenza e deportazione* (Aosta: Le chateau, 2001); Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (Milan: Mursia, 2002); and Monaya Raimondo, *Dal gioco della monarchia fascista alla libertà (1940–1945)* (Aosta: Le chateau, 2008).

Primary sources on the Aosta camp can be found in AISRVA and ACS. A published testimony on the camp is found in Primo Levi, "Gold," in *The Periodic Table*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Schocken Books, 1984).

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.
2. Levi, *The Periodic Table*, p. 134.

APRICA

Aprica (Sondrio province) is a well-known holiday resort not far from the Swiss border and close to the Aprica Pass that connects the provinces of Sondrio and Brescia. It is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Sondrio and 6 kilometers (4 miles) south of Tirana (Tiranë). In the second half of 1941, the Fascist regime chose the township of Aprica, especially the hamlet of San Pietro, for the internment of Jews (both entire families and individual internees) coming from regions either occupied by or annexed to Italy after the invasion of Yugoslavia. The first group of internees, which consisted of approximately

150 Jews, arrived in September 1941. The number of internees increased the following year before peaking in the summer of 1943 at 372. In total, almost 400 Jews (not only Yugoslavs) were dispatched to Aprica by the High Commissioner for the Ljubljana province, with the site designated as a place for "free internees" (in practice equivalent to a mandatory stay) and lodging provided either by private homeowners or several of the many local hotels, including the Mirafiori, Aprica, San Pietro, and Posta. The "free" internment in Aprica was somewhat similar to what transpired in other Fascist camps until the Armistice. Officially Aprica was not a concentration camp; if anything, it can be referred to, as historian Klaus Voigt suggests, as a "center of internment" for foreign Jews.

In spite of the many hardships, the Jewish internees at Aprica, including many children, lived a relatively normal life. The internees had several means of support: small regime-granted subsidies for the destitute (about half of the prisoners), generous support from the Jewish aid organization, Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM), and aid from private benefactors. To prevent idleness, several workshops devoted to shoemaking and tailoring were organized with the help of DELASEM. The shops also served people interned elsewhere in Italy. In the summer of 1942, several internees from Aprica were allowed to work as laborers for the Tirana-based enterprise "Quadrio Curzio," which did roadwork; they thus were able to earn a small wage.

The local population established friendly relations with this improvised Jewish community, and their selfless support was later instrumental in saving the internees after the Armistice of September 8, 1943, and the consequent German occupation of north-central Italy. Around that time, some 200 Jews, led by Bernardt Fischmann, managed to escape the German authorities by clandestinely crossing the border to Switzerland with the help of Partisans. As documented by the International Tracing Service (ITS), among the escapees was 25-year-old Hela Kraus (née Mismer).[1] Several law enforcement officials—Bernardo Mazza, Bruno Pilat, and Leonardo Marinelli—helped in the escape. In addition, various priests from the region—Fathers Giuseppe Carozzi, Cirillo Vitaliani, and Stefano Armanasco—also rendered assistance to the internees. Not every internee made the border crossing. Survivor Kitty Kaufman (née Kaethe Reichl) hid in the mountains in or near Aprica.[2]

An anonymized compensation case from the early 1960s mentions the internment center at Aprica and notes that the plaintiff successfully fled with her family across the Swiss border.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Aprica internment center are Dario Morelli, "Ebrei stranieri confinati ad Aprica," *RB* (April 1999): 5–9; Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols. (1993; Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1996), 2; Rosa Paini, *I sentieri della speranza: Profughi ebrei, Italia fascista e "La Delasem"* (Milan: Xenia edizioni, 1988); and Luciano Luciani and Gerardo Severino, *Gli aiuti ai profughi ebrei e ai perseguitati: il ruolo della Guardia di Finanza (1943–1945)* (Rome: Museo Storico della Guardia di Finanza, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Aprica internment center include ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 55/Sondrio; ASC-S, Fondo Prefettura, 1942–1943 (correspondence between Mi and the Sondrio Prefecture regarding interned Jews at Aprica); CDEC, Fondo "Israele Kalk," Jews interned in Aprica; and AMSGF (Fondo Resistenza e Guerra di Liberazione). The CNI of the ITS includes several cards documenting the flight across the Swiss border. See also the collection 1.2.7.1 (General Persecution of Jews) for the compensation case. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds one testimony by a Jewish woman interned in Aprica, Kitty Kaufman, April 9, 1997 (#27975).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Hela Mismer Kraus, Doc. No. 52822967.
2. VHA #27975, Kitty Kaufman testimony, April 9, 1997.
3. Urteil, LG Koblenz, 8 0 (WG) 2116/62, October 25, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.1, folder 3, Doc. No. 82291013.

ARAVECCHIA

The Aravecchia farmhouse was a fifteenth-century monastic site in the southern periphery of Vercelli, located in the Piedmont region 62 kilometers (approximately 39 miles) southwest of Milan. On December 6, 1943, the head of the Vercelli province, Michele Morsero, ordered local municipal authorities to set up a provincial camp for Jews at Aravecchia, which had become the property of the local commune. Morsero's order followed the November 30, 1943, decree by the interior minister, Guido Buffarini Guidi, of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), establishing provincial camps for Italian and foreign Jews.[1] Public Security official Giulio Panvini Rosati was named director of the camp, whereas its security was assigned to the local police.

Construction work ended on December 21, 1943, and the site became operational three days later, with the arrival of the first seven Jewish detainees. Food was provided by the Magdelene's Hospice for the Poor (*Ospizio dei Poveri della Maddalena*).

As recorded by Rosati, approximately 15 Jews were held at Aravecchia, with the majority being foreigners, most of whom were Austrians.[2] On January 25, 1944, eleven Jews were handed over to the German authorities. The remaining Jews were transferred to the nursing home, Vittorio Emanuele III, where they were arrested by the German authorities and sent to Nazi camps.

The farmhouse was later used to house different sections of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr).

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the camp at Aravecchia are Alberto Lovatto, "Ebrei in provincia di Vercelli durante la Rsi: La deportazione," *L'impegno* 9:3 (December 1989):

21–29; Alberto Lovatto, *Deportazione memoria comunità: Vercellesi, biellesi e valsesiani nei Lager nazisti* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1998); Cristina Merlo, "Ebrei e persecuzioni razziali nel Vercellese" (degree thesis, Università di Torino, 1997); Merlo, "La Comunità ebraica di Vercelli nel 1943," *L'impegno* 23:2 (December 2003): 73–89; Merlo, "La Comunità ebraica di Vercelli dal 1943 al dopoguerra," *L'impegno* 24:1 (June 2004): 65–89; and Domenico Roccia, *Il Giellismo nel Vercellese* (Vercelli: La Sesia, 1949).

Primary sources on the Aravecchia camp can be found in ACS (including a postwar photograph of the Aravecchia farmhouse under Ps A5g II Gm, Ebrei, Acts by the secretary of the head of police, B. 437); ASV; CDEC (Rosati diary); and AISRBVV.

Nicoletta Fasano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.
2. Rosati diary, CDEC, as cited in Roccia, *Il Giellismo nel Vercellese*, pp. 148–150.

ARIANO IRPINO

Ariano Irpino is a town atop the hill of Irpinia (810 meters [about 2,657 feet] above sea level) in the province of Avellino, 77 kilometers (48 miles) east of Naples, the regional capital. In 1940 the town had 27,000 inhabitants. This location was chosen as a detention site because it was far from military and industrial installations of any appreciable importance. The concentration camp at Ariano Irpino was established at the beginning of the war for the internment of foreign citizens and Italians considered dangerous to internal security. Following the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the official letter (*Circolare*) of the Interior Ministry dated June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267, the Interior Ministry constructed and ran the camp. It was responsible for the administration of civil internment camps for both Italians and foreigners.

The concentration camp was opened, most likely, in June 1940, in a complex of villa buildings about one kilometer (0.6 miles) from the town, on the national road running from Avellina to Foggia. The Villina Mazza, which was private property, was requisitioned and adapted to serve as the headquarters of the camp and to house technical workshops. The two upper floors of the three-story building were refitted as offices and as living space for the director and the guards. On the ground floor were rooms renovated to serve as the kitchen, laundry room, and refectory. The villa had running water and electric light. The other buildings were the so-called anti-earthquake huts, standing in the "Martiri" district. These were six small brick buildings that had been constructed for local residents who had lost their homes in earlier earthquakes. They were built in a row so as to line up along the street, in an isolated and easily guarded area. Four of them had toilets and a kitchen; the other two lacked those facilities. These six houses could hold 125 internees. In 1940, 24 other structures where poor local citizens could live were located behind the first row of six huts. There were two open fountains that could provide water to everyone in the town.

A palisade surrounded the camp. As the number of inmates rose, a mess hall was set up in a hut that no longer had internal walls. A local woman, Anna Spadazzi, initially administered the mess hall; later the inmates ran it themselves. The first list of internees (from October 31, 1940) had 28 people on it, all of Italian citizenship, though some inmates had names of Slavic origin; by November 21, the camp held 31 Italian civilians.

The number of internees continued to rise steadily—from a low of 59 by June 1, 1942, up to a high of 102 on August 15, 1943. In January 1941, 29 inmates were transferred there from the concentration camp at Colfiorito (Perugia), a camp for civilian internees that was then transformed into a concentration camp for prisoners of war. Furthermore, from the beginning of 1942 onward, many "ex-Yugoslavs" from Dalmatia and from the province of Lubiana began to arrive in Ariano Irpino. At least one Jew was also imprisoned here.

Camp rules permitted inmates to take walks along the provincial roadway that passed in front of the camp, between 8 and 9 A.M. and from 4 to 6 P.M., and to make purchases in the only shop in the area. They were also allowed, under escort, to go into town to buy provisions for the other inmates or to see a doctor. Some prisoners were able to work in the farms or artisan workshops of the area, where they had jobs as farm workers, mechanics, or wood finishers. One internee, a medical student, was authorized to report to the hospital in Ariano. Those who remained in the camp could make the most of whatever artisanal training they had (cap making, for instance) to produce goods that were then sold. According to the testimony of an internee, there were numerous spies and police informers among the inmates.[1]

Because there was an internee of English citizenship (a Palestinian Jew) in the camp, a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) made a visit on June 19, 1943. According to the available documentation, the delegation did not form a negative impression of the general condition of the camp or its inmates.

Commissioner of Public Security Vito Pirozzi was the camp commandant from November 1940 to March 1943. Camp guards were carabinieri and policemen. The camp doctor was Dr. Raffaele Grassi. After the fall of the Fascist regime on July 25, 1943, the internees were freed in stages. In August 1943 the camp was still operational.

SOURCES There is a brief mention of the Ariano camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: l'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 226–227.

The only available primary sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115 and 132.

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Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115 as cited in Capogreco, *I campi del Duce*, pp. 226–227.

ASTI

Asti is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) southwest of Turin. The provincial camp in Asti was set up on the premises of the local Episcopal seminary, whose facilities had already been requisitioned as offices of the military hospital that had been relocated there from Turin. The camp became a detention site for the mothers and sisters of military service draft evaders arrested between November and December 1943. Those female detainees were released after December 19. In compliance with Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the site then held arrested Jews.[1] Security was provided by two Public Security agents from the Asti police headquarters. The Asti police were also in charge of making arrests.

There were 21 Jewish detainees in the first group, who were then transferred to the prison sites at San Vittore di Milano on May 28, 1944, and, from there, to Auschwitz on May 30. As of February 25, the facilities of the seminary no longer held arrested Jews, who were instead taken to the nearby orphanage in Consolata.

On April 3, 1944, the German authorities took control of the camp and used it for defense and for the provision of first aid in case of a gas attack.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Osti are Secondo Stella, *Il seminario vescovile di Asti nel ventennio 1930–1950* (Asti: Tip. Michelerio, 1958); Nicoletta Fasano, "La comunità ebraica astigiana tra storia e memoria: dalle leggi razziali alla Shoah," in Renate Bordone, Nicoletta Fasano, and Mauro Forno, eds., *Tra sviluppo e marginalità: L'Astigiano dall'Unità agli anni Ottanta del Novecento*, vol. 2: *Cultura e società* (Asti: Israt, 2006), 2: 533–576; and Nicoletta Fasano and Mario Renosio, "La deportazione dalla provincia di Asti," in Bruno Mantelli and Nicola Tranfaglia, eds., *Il libro dei deportati*, vol. 2: *Deportati, deportatori, tempi e luoghi* (Milan: Mursia, 2010), 2: 23–66.

Primary sources on the camp at Asti can be found in ACS, ASA, and AISRA.

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NOTE

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

BAGNI DI LUCCA

Bagni di Lucca is a small town located about 19 kilometers (12 miles) southwest of Lucca, in the Serchio Valley at the foothills of the Apennines. Between March 1942 and January 1943, a hotel, Le Terme, in Bagni Caldi, a renowned spa resort, was used as a detention site; it held a group of Anglo-Maltese citizens from Libya and later 100 "ex-Yugoslavs" who had been previously interned in the Italian-run concentration camp at Melada. In compliance with Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), Le Terme was quickly repurposed to serve as a provincial camp for Jews. Within just a few days, Italian and foreign Jews in the province were arrested and interned in the camp, "waiting," as Buffarini's order put it, "for national concentration camps to be set up."[1] The Jews' goods were also confiscated.

The camp functioned from December 1943 to January 1944 and was run by the Fascists; the custody of the Jews was entrusted to the 86th Legion (*Lucca*) of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr).

The camp register and prisoner lists are not available, so the number of Jews arrested and detained has been reconstructed indirectly by documents found in local archives; the data have been cross-checked with those found by historian Liliana Picciotto and the Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation in Milan (*Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea*, CDEC).

In Lucca province, there was a prompt application of the new phase of persecution against the Jews, namely what Picciotto calls the "persecution of lives." The first to suffer the consequences were the foreign Jewish families who had been previously sent into "free confinement" (*confino libero*)—enforced stay in a small community with freedom of movement only within the town and regular reporting at police headquarters—in various parts of the province. They were the largest group of Jews arrested and deported from the province of Lucca. In 1941, about 90 foreign Jews came into free confinement in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana and in Bagni di Lucca. Most had been held in the Ferramonti di Tarsia internment camp in the province of Cosenza. About 60 of those foreign Jews—originating from Germany, Austria, and Eastern Europe—were interned in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana, almost 19 kilometers (11.6 miles) northwest of Bagni di Lucca. Almost 30 Jews from Austria and occupied Yugoslavia were transferred to Bagni di Lucca. The families came from different backgrounds, but most lived in private houses, in difficult conditions and with limited resources. When possible, they received support from the Jewish welfare organization, Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM). With support from DELASEM and the Jewish community of Pisa, the Jewish families in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana were able to set up a place of worship and a children's school. Fifty-seven of the Jews living in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana were imprisoned in the Bagni di Lucca concentration camp, while another seven (two families) managed to avoid arrest due to the help of locals.

Early in 1944, after some Jews were arrested and transferred from Bagni di Lucca to other places, some families managed

to avoid arrest by hiding or escaping to liberated Italian territory. However, eight people were captured, including an elderly Austrian couple that reacted by committing suicide in their home with carbon monoxide emitted by an oven. With the aid of informers, between December 1943 and January 1944 the RSI and German authorities managed to arrest approximately 30 Italian Jews in the province of Lucca; some were residents, whereas others had moved there because they were displaced by the Allied bombing.

For almost two months, 100 people, including a good number of children, lived in the hotel Le Terme in poor hygienic conditions; some of them, adults and children, required hospitalization. For those held in the hotel, detention was less difficult for the wealthy, because they could augment the poor food provided with their own supplies and were able to meet other needs, such as paying for a doctor to visit a sick child. Generally, the prisoners were forced to live in a squalid environment, sleeping on straw. It was possible to visit them and send clothing and food, but most likely there was misappropriation of resources intended for prisoners by corrupt camp leaders who siphoned off the goods. Even worse, families were asked to give large sums of money in return for false promises of liberation. At least in one case, these negotiations resulted in the arrest of three more Jews. Some releases of prisoners occurred as well, including that of a German family because the wife was classified as "Aryan." Also released was a non-Jewish, British family interned in Castelnuovo di Garfagnana.

There was a desperate attempt to rescue the Jewish prisoners in the camp, planned by the clandestine network of solidarity and assistance to Jews formed in Lucca, thanks to the courage of Giorgio Nissim (a Jewish man from Pisa and the former head of DELASEM) and priests (*Oblati del Volto Santo*) with the support of Torrini, the archbishop of Lucca. In his memoirs, Giorgio Nissim recounted that he developed a plan for the Jews' release in collaboration with the partisans.[2] The plan failed because the German authorities transferred the Jews on January 23, 1944, to a jail in Florence.

Testimonies describe the Jews' sad departure on trucks to the jail, deprived of all their possessions by the jailers. They were then transferred from the Florence prison in train freight cars to San Vittore Prison in Milan. A young Jewish man of La Spezia, arrested in Camaiore, wrote this in a letter to his father on the journey: "There is no need to write ceremoniously, I am in a cattle car with an unknown destination, my morale is still most high, but not my heart."[3] On January 30, 1944, the Jews from the Bagni di Lucca concentration camp were loaded onto train no. 6, which set off from track 21 at Milan station and arrived at Auschwitz on February 6, 1944. A young Jewish woman from Lucca did not survive the trip. In *Libro della memoria*, Picciotto lists the names of 97 Jews from the Bagni di Lucca concentration camp, only 5 of whom survived the war. The youngest was a few months old.

The Bagni di Lucca concentration camp closed on January 25, 1944. After its closure, additional Jews were arrested in the province of Lucca. Before deportation, some were detained in a concentration camp, originally meant for prisoners of war (POWs), near the town of Colle di Compito. In total, 112 Jews were deported from the province of Lucca.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Bagno di Lucca camp are Silvia Angelini, Oscar Guidi, and Paola Lemmi, "Il campo di concentramento provinciale per ebrei di Bagni di Lucca (dicembre 1943–gennaio 1944)," *RMI*, 69: 2 (2003): 431–462; Valeria Galimi, "Caccia all'ebreo: Persecuzioni nella Toscana settentrionale," in Enzo Collotti, ed., *Ebrei in Toscana tra occupazione tedesca e RSI: Persecuzione, depredazione, deportazione (1943–1945)* (Rome: Carocci, 2007), pp. 178–224; Roberto Pizzi, "Leggi razziali e deportazione degli ebrei in provincia di Lucca," in Lilio Giannecchini and Giuseppe Pardini, eds., *Eserciti popolazione resistenza sulle Alpi Apuane*, 2 vols. (Lucca: San Marco Litotipo, 1995–1997), 2: 251–288; Silvia Angelini, "Quella scuola in una stanza: L'applicazione delle leggi razziali nella scuola a Viareggio," *QSCV* 2 (2001): 71–116; Silvia Angelini, Oscar Guidi, and Paola Lemmi, *L'orizzonte chiuso: L'internamento ebraico a Castelnuovo di Garfagnana 1943–1945* (Pisa: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 2002); Silvia Angelini, "Gli ebrei austriaci in provincia di Lucca: Dall' 'internamento libero' alla deportazione," in Cristina Köstner and Klaus Voigt, eds., *Rinasceva una piccola speranza: L'esilio austriaco in Italia (1938–1945)* (Udine: Forum, 2010), pp. 81–90; and Silvia Angelini, "Gli ebrei in provincia di Lucca tra deportazione e salvezza 1943–1944," *DeS* 34 (2013): 7–41.

Primary sources documenting the Bagni di Lucca camp can be found in ACBdL, fond Corrispondenza, B. 414; ASLU, fond Regia Prefettura, B. 4458 and 4573; AFCEDC (letters by Mattia Ernesto Funaro); and ACS. Published testimonies of the camp are Giorgio Nissim, *Memorie di un ebreo toscana (1938–1948)*, ed. Liliana Picciotto Fargion (Rome: Carocci, 2005); and Ludwig Greve, *Un amico a Lucca: Ricordi d'infanzia e d'esilio*, ed. Klaus Voigt, trans. L. Melissari (Rome: Carocci, 2006).

Silvia Q. Angelini

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.
2. Nissim, *Memorie di un ebreo toscana (1938–1948)*, pp. 121–123.
3. Quotation from letters by Mattia Ernesto Funaro, AFCDEC, AG, 5 HB.

BAGNO A RIPOLI

The municipality of Bagno a Ripoli is 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) southeast of Florence. The Italian Interior Ministry established the Bagno a Ripoli camp in June 1940 in a large and luxurious neoclassical mansion, the Villa La Selva, which had about 40 rooms. The building, which belonged to a Jewish family that immigrated to Palestine following the promulgation of the Fascist racial laws, was run by a non-Jewish woman, the trustee of the owner, Silvio Ottolenghi. When the camp opened, she kept some of the rooms for herself in which she stored some of the original furniture, and she continued to live in a small apartment attached to the villa.

Villa La Selva was located three kilometers (nearly two miles) from the center of Bagno a Ripoli. In addition to the ground floor, it had two upper floors; it was equipped with water, electric, and telephone lines, and—from the start of April 1941—even some showers. After some refurbishing, which was completed by the end of June 1940, the camp had the capacity to accommodate 225 inmates; the first inmates did not arrive, however, until the end of September.

The direction of the camp was entrusted to a succession of commissioners of public security, assisted by a sergeant and some other agents; guard services were handled by the police. Health care was initially provided by a camp doctor assisted by his detained colleague, for which he received a fee; in 1942, a dentist also provided care. Inmates with the most serious diseases and who required urgent surgeries were hospitalized in Florence. A local resident was responsible for cleaning the lavatories and for doing other manual labor, but was later replaced by an inmate. Initially, the prisoners had their meals at a home for the elderly, barely 400 meters (nearly 440 yards) from the camp. Later meals were set up in an on-site refectory, overseen by the same manager of the canteen at the rest home.

The Bagno a Ripoli camp initially received foreign and stateless Jews, as well as "enemy subjects" (Britons, French, Greeks, Norwegians, Russians, and others). At the end of January 1942, 77 Jews with British nationality arrived from Libya, as part of the expulsion, for security reasons, of foreigners residing in the Italian colony. During the course of 1942 there were numerous transfers of inmates to other camps. Then, in May 1943, 50 "ex-Yugoslavs" arrived in Bagno a Ripoli from the camp of Tollo, and in July around 40 "aliens" were transferred from Venezia Giulia, coming from the Corropoli camp.

The average number of detainees at Bagno a Ripoli was between 95 and 100. The material conditions of life were acceptable, and initially the detainees were allowed to walk during daylight hours along the path through the camp, which ended near the towns of Ponte a Ema, Bagno a Ripoli, and Antella. Subsequently the living conditions became more difficult, and the area of "confinement" was restricted to within 400 meters of the villa. The material conditions of life varied greatly, depending on the inmate categories.

The archbishop of Florence, Elia Dalla Costa, visited the camp more than once, bringing aid and comfort to the inmates. The interned Jews frequently received aid from the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM). On December 27, 1941, the date of Orthodox Christmas, the officiant of the Russian Orthodox Church in Florence, Prince Ivan Kourakin, performed religious rites for 60 Greek inmates. The same year, with Red Cross assistance, a small library was established. Later, in the spring of 1942, the administration authorized the organization of some educational courses, largely managed by the inmates themselves. For a few months in the autumn, taking advantage of new ministerial orders, about 15 inmates were allowed to go to work doing manual labor at a nearby farm.

Nevertheless inspectors from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) repeatedly lamented about the inmates' inadequate living conditions. A letter dated January 13, 1942, addressed to the ICRC in Geneva, which was signed by most of the 53 "ex-Yugoslav" civilians in Bagno a Ripoli and was slipped past the Fascist censors, exposed the grave living conditions of the Slavic detainees and helped attract financial and material aid. In March 1942, the Florence police arrested seven inmates after protests against the insufficiency of food and heating. On Christmas 1942, the archbishop of Florence presented 360 lire to the administration to improve the rations for all inmates on Christmas Day.

The inmates greeted the fall of the Mussolini regime in July 1943 with elation, but they did not see any immediate changes in their status or living conditions. Even after the Armistice on September 8, 1943, the camp continued to operate as before—contrary to expectations from other agreements concluded by Italy with the Allies, which required the immediate release of political detainees and civilian internees. The police commissioner of Florence, Mormino, did not release the inmates of Bagno a Ripoli, justifying this decision because of difficulties in the lines of communication. On September 22, however, by taking advantage of lax supervision, about 50 inmates, including some Jews, escaped. Other Jews could have escaped, but chose not to because—despite their fear of the Germans—they did not fully comprehend that remaining in such a pleasant building could lead to their deportation to a German camp.

This unimaginable scenario unfortunately took place, with the enactment of Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI): it ratified the extension of the "Final Solution" to Italy and transformed the Bagno a Ripoli camp into one of the "provincial camps for Jews."[1] Jews held at Villa La Selva were transferred to jails in Milan on January 26, 1944, and from there deported to Auschwitz on January 30. Among them there were 31 Jews (including women and children) rounded up in Abruzzo, who had been brought to Bagno a Ripoli just two weeks earlier on January 15.[2]

The camp ceased functioning in July 1944. Some time before then, it had sustained a partisan attack that led to the release of about 40 detainees.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Bagno a Ripoli are Valeria Galimi, "L'internamento in Toscana, in Razza e fascismo: La persecuzione contro gli ebrei in Toscana (1938–1943)," in Enzo Collotti, ed., *La Persecuzione contro gli Ebrei in Toscana 1938–1943*, (Rome: Carocci, 1999), pp. 524–532; Enzo Collotti, ed., *Ebrei in Toscana tra occupazione tedesca e RSI: Persecuzione, depredazione, deportatione (1943–1945)*, 2 vols. (Rome: Corocci, 2007); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Mappatura dei Campi—Toscana," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 182–184; and Klaus Voigt and Maximillian Segal, "Un Profugo Ebreo in Italia," *RMI* 54: 1–3 (Jan.–Aug. 1988): 279–297.

Primary sources for the camp at Bagno a Ripoli can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), B. 124, s. f. 2

(Affari per provincia), ins. 15 "Firenze"; A-ICRC, Service des camps, Italie (15-1-1941, 2-4-1941, 26-8-1942); and ASFI, Corte d'assise di Firenze, 1954/12, Giovanni Martelloni. Some of the AdSFI documentation is reproduced in Collotti, *Ebrei in Toscana*, pp. 54–55, 64. A testimony of Bagno di Ripoli is Giorgio Jonas and Matilde Jonas, *La saga delle colombe: Villa La Selva, il lager alle porte di Firenze* (Bagno a Ripoli: Passigli, 2012).

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NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

2. List of Bagno a Ripoli deportees from Abruzzo, January 20, 1944, ASFI, Corte d'assise di Firenze, 1954/12, Giovanni Martelloni, reproduced in Collotti, *Ebrei in Toscana*, pp. 54–55, Doc. II.A.5.

BERGEGGI AND CELLE LIGURE

Bergeggi is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) southwest of Genoa in Savona province, in the Liguria region. The concentration camp of Bergeggi (often incorrectly referred to as the "Spotorno camp") was set up in the Merello Heliotherapic Institute (*l'Istituto Elioterapico Merello*), an institution for the treatment and cure of tuberculosis. The institute also served as a seat of the presidio of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr). The establishment of the camp for civilian detainees was announced in a document from December 1943, but the site did not become operational until late January 1944.

From the spring of 1944 on, the camp was mostly a place to hold workers arrested and rounded up in major factories across the communes of Vado and Savona, as well as in facilities where employees went on strike in March 1944. The arrested workers were then transferred from the Bergeggi camp to the city of Genoa before being deported to Nazi concentration camps. After those deportations, the camp became a training site for the San Marco Division of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI).

From mid-May 1944 until the end of the war, a second concentration camp operated in the province of Savona in the commune of Celle Ligure, some 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of Genoa. Located on the premises of the Bergamasca Settlement (*Colonia Bergamasca*), this camp served as a detention site for Italians arrested or rounded up in Ponente Ligure or the area of Langhe in Piemonte province.[1] Based on the available literature, there is no evidence that either the Bergeggi or Celle Ligure held any Jewish prisoners. After the war, the camp at Celle Ligure was used for the detention of Fascist military prisoners.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Bergeggi and Celle Ligure camps can be found in Circolo Brandale, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Liguria* (Acqui Terme: Impressioni Grafiche, 2009); Almerino Lunardon, *La resistenza vadese* (Vado Ligure: Istituto Storico della Resistenza e dell'età Contemporanea della provincia di Savona e Comune di Vado Ligure, 2005); and Guido Malandra, *I volontari della libertà della II zona partigiana ligure (Savona)* (Savona: Anpi, 2005).

Archival sources for the camps at Bergeggi and Celle Ligure require further research. Citations to the testimony of Celle Ligure prisoner Edoardo (Ernesto) Zerbino, July 11, 2005, can be found in Lunardon, *La resistenza vadese*.

Nicoletta Fasano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. Testimony of Edoardo (Ernesto) Zerbino, July 11, 2005, cited in Lunardon, *La resistenza vadese*, p. 320.

BOIANO

The village of Boiano is located approximately 73 kilometers (45 miles) northeast of Naples in Campobasso province. On September 11, 1940, the chief of Italian police, Arturo Bocchini, cabled a memorandum to all local police prefects of the Kingdom of Italy, requesting the internment of all Italian Roma located in the vicinity of factory zones, explosives depots, or any sort of "work [of] military interest" or "troop concentrations."[1] The prefect of Campobasso replied on September 14 that, for the purpose of isolation and "easy surveillance," a concentration camp at Boiano would be needed. The prefect also noted that "only strictly necessary items would be granted for use by Gypsies" in the camp and that the Interior Ministry should decide quickly whether or not to establish the camp in Boiano.[2] After the Inspector General of Public Security assured the ministry that the camp had been adapted for the internment of Roma, it decided on October 2, 1940, to make Boiano a camp for the exclusive internment of Roma. Due to their alleged habits, the Inspector General averred that the camp could contain 300 rather than 250 Roma, as had originally been planned.[3]

The camp was set up in an old tobacco factory that once belonged to the Saim Company, located about 600 meters (approximately 2,000 feet) to the east of the village. It consisted of four pavilions, with a single entrance, of which the central pavilion had two floors and the others only one. The inmates were quartered in three of the pavilions, and the fourth held the bathrooms, the kitchen, and offices. A 2-meter-high (6-and-a-half-feet-high) fence surrounded the camp, and the pavilions' windows were barred. The buildings were in terrible condition: when it rained, water seeped into the rooms, there was no heating, and the cold was extreme in winter. Urgently needed building repairs were started, but not completed by the time the camp closed in the summer of 1941. Health conditions and food were similarly appalling, to the extent that the internees, through one of their delegates, complained about them to the Inspector General of the Police, Antonio Panariello.

The number of inmates never reached the expected capacity. In February 1941 there were 89 prisoners, and in July 1941 only 58 remained. Despite the Italian authorities' original purpose of making Boiano a "Gypsy" camp, the site held other

prisoners as well. A number of Chinese prisoners passed through the camp, as well as 12 "foreign Jews"—11 Polish Jews and 1 German Jew—all of whom lived in the camp from November 1940 until February 1941.

The camp had at least three directors: the first was Commissioner Umberto Struffi, who was replaced by Olinto Tiberi Pasqualoni. Pasqualoni held the job until January 1941 when Eduino Pistone took over. He was probably the last person to run the camp. The Boiano camp closed on August 23, 1941, and the remaining 65 internees, all Roma, were transferred to the Agnone camp in the same province.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources about the Boiano camp. There is a bare mention in Giovanna Boursier, "L'internamento degli zingari in Italia," in Costantino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia* (Milan: Angeli, 2001), p. 167; Boursier, "La persecuzione degli zingari nell'italia fascista," *Ss* 37:4 (Oct.–Dec. 1996): 1065–1082. Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols., trans. Loredana Melissari (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 73–74, gives some details about the presence of Jews in the camp, as well as a brief description of the structure of the camp. Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 206, has a short entry on the camp. More on Boiano may be found in Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, "Il fascismo e gli zingari," *GSC* 1 (2004): 25–43.

The main archival sources on Boiano are found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B.105, 117, 118, 123. The Bocchini order is reprinted in Centro Furio Jesi, ed., *La menzogna della razza: Documenti e immagini del razzismo e dell' antisemitismo fascista* (Bologna: Grafis, 1994), p. 340.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, f. 15 (Campi di concentramento), B. 105, (Affari generali), circ. 63442/10, September 11, 1940, as reprinted in Jesi, ed., *La menzogna della razza*, p. 340.
2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 105, as cited in Giovanna Boursier, "La persecuzione degli zingari nell'italia fascista," *Ss* 37: 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1996): 1071.
3. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, collection 16 (Campi di concentramento), 2 (Affari per provincia), 11 (Campobasso), as cited in Capogreco, *I campi del Duce*, p. 206.

BORGO SAN DALMAZZO

Borgo San Dalmazzo is a small town in the Cuneo province, Piedmont Department, located at the confluence of the main valleys of the Maritime Alps, 83.7 kilometers (52 miles) southwest of Turin. On September 18, 1943, shortly after German troops occupied Cuneo, the Nazi SS established a police detention camp (*Polizeihaftlager*) in Borgo San Dalmazzo to confine more than 300 foreign Jews, including some refugees from Italian-occupied France. The German authorities set up the camp in a disused textile mill, which was a short distance from the local train station and the parish church. The structure was built around an inner courtyard with narrow stairs leading to the floor above and large dormitories on the first and second floors. The first camp at Borgo San Dalmazzo closed on November 21, 1943, when the Jews were deported via Nice and the Drancy transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) to Auschwitz.

On December 9, 1943, the second, Italian-run camp of Borgo San Dalmazzo began to function inside the same building. Under the Cuneo police department's supervision, this camp served as a provincial camp for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*) of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). Its formation followed Police Order No. 5, issued by Interior Ministry Undersecretary Guido Buffarini Guidi on November 30, 1943, directing RSI police forces to detain all Italian and foreign Jews in provincial camps.[1] The camp was structured like the previous German site. The RSI camp commandant was a Cuneo police official named Torchio. He held a university degree and the rank of commander or chief, as indicated by the honorifics that preceded his name (*dottore Cavaliere*, *dott. Cav.*).[2] The guard force consisted of carabinieri. The Borgo San Dalmazzo community furnished the detainees with food and other necessities.

Although the camp had a capacity for more than 300 people, it held only 26 Jews, all but 3 of whom were Italian, who originated mainly from Saluzzo and Casale Montferrato. Seventeen of the inmates were women. The three foreign Jews were a father and daughter, the Gimpels, from Strasbourg and a German Jewish refugee taken captive as a partisan, Richard Hess. The first inmates, Adele Regina Segre and Annette Levi, were taken into custody on December 4, 1943, five days prior to the camp's opening. According to the June 10, 1945, report by the mayor of Borgo San Dalmazzo, the prisoners mostly consisted of the sick and elderly, along with some young people who were unwilling to abandon their less mobile relatives.[3] The same report claimed that the detainees were able to maintain contact with friends and relatives outside the camp.[4]

On February 15, 1944, Prefectural Commissioner (*Commissario Prefettizio*) Giraudo reported to Police Chief (*Questore*) Finucci of Cuneo that, according to an order received at 5:30 that morning, the 26 Jews at the Borgo San Dalmazzo camp were to be dispatched to the Carpi camp (Fossoli) in Modena province in preparation for deportation. On the same date, Giraudo issued a declaration (*dichiara*) to the Carpi camp announcing the transfer of the 26 prisoners: "The undersigned Prefectural Commissioner declares that the 26 Jews who are to be transferred today from this concentration camp to the concentration camp of Carpi (Modena) have been found eligible to receive allowances and food until February 16."[5] With that transfer, the Borgo San Dalmazzo camp ceased to function. In the Cuneo province, Jews arrested thereafter were initially confined in the Nuove prison in Torino.

Documentation collected by the International Tracing Service (ITS) contains records on the fate of several Borgo San Dalmazzo prisoners after their transfer to Carpi and subsequent deportation to camps in Nazi Germany. Among the sur-

vivors were two prisoners classified as "persons of mixed Jewish blood, first degree" (*Mischlinge 1. Grades*), that is, "half-Jews": Richard Hess and Spartaco Segre. An electrical engineer by profession, Segre entered Buchenwald concentration camp in August 1944. He was probably transferred to Buchenwald rather than to Auschwitz because of his Mischling classification. A Buchenwald intake form and an Office of the Military Government for Germany, United States (OMGUS) questionnaire in Segre's prisoner envelope mention his initial detention at Borgo San Dalmazzo. Another deportee classified as a Mischling, the Hungarian-born Alessandro Schiffer, did not survive the war. Initially dispatched to the Flossenbürg concentration camp, his death was recorded at Auschwitz on January 1, 1945.[6] According to her Central Name Index (CNI) cards, Borgo San Dalmazzo prisoner Delfina Ortona (née Lusena) survived deportation and returned to Torino in June 1945.[7]

SOURCES The RSI camp at Borgo San Dalmazzo is described in greatest detail in Alberto Cavaglion, "La deportazione dall'Italia: Borgo S. Dalmazzo," in *Spostamenti di popolazione e deportazione in Europa* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1987), pp. 356–381 (at pp. 371–375). Cavaglion also mentions the camp in *Nella Notte Straniera: Gli Ebrei di S. Martin de Vesubie e il Campo di Borgo San Dalmazzo, 8 Settembre–21 Novembre 1942* (1981; Cuneo: L'Arciere, 1998), p. 85 n. 14. There is also some information at FMD—BaPAR, available at www.deportati.it/e_lager/en_borgo_sd.html and at *Jewish Traces, Ordinary Exile*, http://www.jewishtraces.org. The latter website has a searchable database of Jewish deportees from the German and Italian camps. Additional information on the *Polizeihaftlager* will be included in a subsequent volume of the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*.

Primary sources on both Borgo San Dalmazzo camps are found in AC-BSD, "Relazione sui Campi di Concentramento di Ebrei Costituiti in Questo Comune negli Anni 1943–1944 dalle autorita nazifasciste," June 10, 1945 (Part I), June 12, 1945 (Part II). Only the June 10, 1945, report contains information on the RSI camp. As cited by Cavaglion, AC-BSD holds extensive correspondence on the RSI camp, including the February 15, 1944, phonogram. Another archival holding is found at AFCDEC, dossier 5F, "Borgo San Dalmazzo." ISRSCPC has a small collection that includes some documentation on Borgo San Dalmazzo's deportees, under the heading "Miscellaneous Jewish Question" (*Miscellanea Questione Ebraica*). The June 10 and 12, 1945, reports are also available in ITS under designation 1.2.7.25 (Persecution Action in Greece, Italy, Spain). The German translation for the June 10 report is "Bericht über die Konzentrationslager für Juden in dieser Gemeinde, die in den Jahren 1943–44 von den nazi-faschistischen Behörden errichtet wurden." Under ITS designation 1.1.14.1 (List Material Italy and Albania) are Guirado's declaration to the Carpi camp and the list of persons of mixed ancestry or spouses. The ITS documentation is available in digitized form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.
2. "Relazione sui Campi di Concentramento di Ebrei Costituiti in Questo Comune negli Anni 1943–1944 dalle autorita nazifasciste," June 10, 1945 (Part I), in ITS, 1.2.7.25 (Persecution Action in Greece, Italy, Spain), Doc. No. 822088360.
3. Ibid., Doc. No. 82208365.
4. Ibid.
5. Guirado, Dichiara, "Internati ebrei," February 15, 1944, in ITS, 1.1.14.1 (List Material Italy and Albania), folder 7a, "Schriftwechsel und Namenlisten betreffend die Einweisung von jüdischen Personen in das KL FOSSOLI di CARPI, 1944," Doc. Nos. 460319–460320.
6. ITS, 1.1.14.1 (Camps in Italy and Albania), "Namentl[iche] Liste des Polizei-Durchgangslagers FOSSOLI di CARPI über einsitzende jüd[ische] Mischlinge u[nd] Mischehenpartner," Doc. Nos. 461653–461654; ITS, 0.1 (CNI), cards for Richard Hess (DOB May 2, 1911), Doc. Nos. 24644870–24644872; Spartaco Segre (DOB September 15, 1902), Doc. No. 5305911; and Alessandro Schiffer, (DOB November 29, 1897), Doc. No. 36792007#1 and 36792007#2, 36792008, 36792010; ITS 1.1.5.3 (Buchenwald Individual Documents, Male), prisoner envelope for Spartaco Segre, Doc. No. 7085227 (Häftlings-Personal Karte) and 7085236 (OMGUS Fragebogen).
7. CNI cards for Delfina Lesena Ortona (DOB February 11, 1904), Doc. Nos. 44839995–44839998.

CAIRO MONTENOTTE

Cairo Montenotte is located in Liguria, in the province of Savona in northeastern Italy about 87 kilometers (54 miles) southeast of Turin. In December 1941, a concentration camp for prisoners of war (*prigionieri di guerra*) was constructed in the village of Vesima, facing the Cairo-Alessandria railway line. The camp had 15 barracks (with bunk beds and straw mattresses), which could hold about 2,000 inmates. In addition to the barracks, the camp contained a headquarters, guards' quarters, an infirmary, a chapel, a shop, and some warehouses. On February 13, 1943, a "note" from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (No. 7368/G.30.1) indicated that civilian concentration camps run by the Italian army should be under civil administration. In a meeting held on March 29, 1943, in the offices of the headquarters (*Stato Maggiore*) of the Royal Army (Fifth Section, probably the division that dealt with prisoners of war), General Antonio Gandin, who had convened the meeting, opposed the transfer of the Cairo Montenotte camp to civil administration because it did not deal with civilians but with prisoners of war; however, the general said the camp was run by the XIII Army Corps to contain "civilians captured in the territory of Gorizia."[1] This apparent contradiction in the description of the inmates—as "civilians" yet nonetheless as "prisoners of war"—was due to the special character of the civilian inmates, who were considered "favorable to the rebels"; that is, they were a vital part of the support structure of the Yugoslav resistance.

Despite Gandin's resistance, in the following weeks the camp was put under the command of the Special Inspectorate of Public Security for the Venezia Giulia region (*Ispettorato speciale di pubblica sicurezza per la Venezia Giulia*); this was a

special police office of the Interior Ministry, with its seat at Trieste, created to repress the Yugoslav resistance and infamous for the harshness of its methods. The camp was intended to contain only *allogeni*—Italian citizens from the Slovenian and Croat linguistic minorities—from the provinces of Udine, Gorizia, Trieste, Fiume, and Pola. The internees had been taken prisoner because they had fallen under suspicion of providing support to the resistance in various ways.

According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the first internee transports arrived at the camp on February 28, 1943, from the prisons of Trieste. These transports contained 150 men and 44 women. The women remained in the camp for only a few days and were then transferred once again, to the Fraschette di Alatri camp. In May 1943, the camp held 732 internees, and in that same month another 200 arrived. By September 1943, 20 prisoner transports had arrived at Cairo-Montenotte, bringing the total of internees to about 1,400.

Daily life in the camp was subject to strict regimentation, even if overall camp conditions were not particularly terrible. Every barrack had its own head, the *capobaracca*. Under the capobaracca were four internees who were responsible for the four platoons or *plotoni* into which each barrack was divided. At the top of the inmate hierarchy was the *capo dei capi*, the head of heads, who was the representative of the inmates and reported directly to the camp director. Laminjan Manfreda, a native of Volce near Tolmino, was chosen for this role.

Some of the internees worked to build the drainage canals of a nearby chemical factory belonging to the Società Montecatini, and others worked within the camp as laborers. As payment these workers received 5 lire daily, which allowed them to supplement their meager food rations. The food situation was slightly better in the Cairo Montenotte camp than it was in many others. According to Capogreco this was due to the fact that the Fascist regime wanted to treat inmates from Venezia Giulia somewhat better than other internees. The bread ration was more abundant than in other camps, and the authorities did not prevent the inmates' relatives from sending them packages. Moreover, the camp also contained a moderately well-provisioned shop. Those who could not buy food from the shop and did not receive food packages found themselves short of food, even though solidarity between inmates was very strong. In six months—from February to September 1943—three internees died: one Croat and two Slovenians. On May 15, 1943, a letter from Cerruti, the chief of police, warned that the sending of packages and correspondence from Venezia Giulia to concentration camps had become a method of expressing popular solidarity and therefore of anti-Italian propaganda. Many internees succeeded in sending letters secretly to family and friends, avoiding official censorship. The chief of the local police (*questore*) therefore requested the carabinieri to intervene. On June 4, 1943, the camp commander, Lieutenant Colonel of the Italian Army Pasquale Alessandro Passavanti, asked the Special Inspectorate of Public Security to limit the sending of packages to inmates, which sometimes arrived in great numbers, more than a hundred a day. On July 2, 1943, the *questura* of Fiume circulated a letter to the offices of the carabinieri and the police of the area ordering the confiscation of packages containing food that were being sent to concentration camps.

In the camps the internees could take part in some recreational and cultural activities, such as chess tournaments, get-togethers, and choral concerts. The camp was visited on May 26, 1943, by the bishop of Trieste and Capodistria, who celebrated Mass and left 30,000 lire for the poorest inmates. He thereafter sent a report to the secretary of state of Vatican City, Francesco Borgongini-Duca, in which he urged the camp commander to take on the burden of running the camp well and gave testimony that the inmates were suffering from hunger.

When the Allies landed in Sicily in July 1943, they dropped leaflets over the camp announcing the landing. The news of the fall of the Fascist regime and the arrest of Mussolini (July 25, 1943) caused rejoicing among the inmates, who demanded their immediate release. The camp commander, however, threatened the prisoners and arrested their representative, locking him in a cell. The inmates remained in the camp until after the Armistice was signed by Italy and the Allies on September 8, 1943, which allowed the Germans to take over the camp and arrest the inmates. On October 8, a convoy of 30 railway cattle cars took almost all the prisoners to the concentration camp of Mauthausen, from which, on October 13, they were all transferred to Gusen, registered as Italians. The Germans also took all the administrative documents of the camp that dealt with the inmates and probably used the buildings to house their troops. The Interior Ministry of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) tried to use the camp subsequently to imprison Jews, but there is no information about any subsequent operations of the camp. In the province of Savona, the camp of Spotorno was the provincial camp for the detention of Jews (following Police Order No. 5 of November 30, 1943).

SOURCES The only secondary reference to the camp at Cairo Montenotte is a brief mention in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 264–266.

The extant primary sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 110, 111, and 135; and Ariani internati, B. 80 and 112.

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NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 110, "Verbale della riunione tenutasi il giorno 29 marzo c.a. nella sede dello S.M.R.E.—Ufficio del generale capo del V reparto."

CALVARI DI CHIAVARI

Calvari di Chiavari is located in the Coreglia Ligure commune in Genoa province, which is 28 kilometers (18 miles) east of Genova. In January 1941, the Italian Army set up a prisoner of

war (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 52, for British troops captured during the war in North Africa in Calvari. It was designed to house a maximum of 4,000 inmates, and over the two years of its operation, a total of about 15,000 captives passed through the camp. After September 8, 1943, the camp was taken over by the German military authorities, which then transferred more than 3,000 British POWs remaining in the camp at that time to POW camps (Stalags) in the Reich.

After the POWs were deported, the Calvari camp reopened on December 12, 1943, under the direction of the Genoa Prefecture. Its reopening followed the promulgation of Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), which directed the creation of "provincial concentration camps" for Jews in all parts of the RSI.[1]

The camp functioned until January 21, 1944, when the Jews (20 of the 35 people being held) were deported by the special German section of the security police of Genoa, commanded by Max Ablinger. After a brief stop at the Marassi prisons in Genoa, the deportees were transferred to the prison of San Vittore in Milano and sent from there to Auschwitz II-Birkenau on January 30.

The camp subsequently held antifascist political prisoners before it was abandoned on July 7, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Calvari are Giorgio Viarengo, "Calvari, campo n. 52," *SeM* 2 (2001): 167–180; Viarengo, *Documenti per una storia del fascismo nel circondario di Chiavari* (Chiavari: Pane e Vino, 2001); Viarengo, "Il campo di concentramento provinciale per ebrei di Calvari di Chiavari (dicembre 1943–gennaio 1944) e le sue altre funzioni," *RMI* 69: 1–2 (Jan.–Apr. 2003): 415–430; Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (Milan: Mursia, 2002); and Circolo Brandale, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Liguria* (Acqui Terme: Impressioni Grafiche, 2009).

Primary sources about the camp at Calvari can be found in ASG and ACS.

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NOTE

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

CAMPAGNA

Campagna is a small town in the province of Salerno, just over 74 kilometers (46 miles) southeast of Naples and nearly 29 kilometers (18 miles) east of Salerno. The Interior Ministry set up the Campagna camp in June 1940 in two old convents that had long ceased to serve their original purpose: a building of a former convent of San Bartolomeo (home to Giordano Bruno in his apprenticeship years), which was fairly well preserved and could accommodate around 300 internees housed in 5 large and 12 smaller rooms on its first and second floors, and a building of a former convent of the Immaculate Conception that could hold approximately 100 internees. However, the latter building became so dilapidated that it had to be vacated, and the internees were then transferred to the San Bartolomeo convent and into rooms rented in private residences. The camp was reserved solely for men, who started arriving on June 16, 1940.

At the time of the camp's establishment, the town of Campagna had around 11,000 inhabitants, most of whom lived in extreme poverty. Hence the arrival of the new internees—people who required all kinds of products and services—constituted an unexpected "breath of fresh air" for the meager local economy and, obviously, the black market.

A public security commissioner directed the camp, whereas the administrative and guard staff was made up of around 30 carabinieri, public security agents, and members of the Fascist militia. The directorate was based in a house located near the two former convents; a local doctor aided by several other doctors and students of medicine, all internees themselves, provided health care.

Approximately 10 civilians of British and French nationality and 40 Italian Jews were interned in the camp at its inception. Later, most of the inmates were foreign Jews and stateless people: Germans, Austrians, Poles, inhabitants of the Free State of Fiume (today: Rijeka, Croatia), former Czechoslovakians, and "ex-Yugoslavs" (mostly merchants, doctors, and artists).

Both buildings in the camp had "barracks" furnishings, but there was no heating system. In 1940, the inmates set up a canteen, and in 1941, a small infirmary was established too. Hygienic services were insufficient given the number of people inside the camp, and running water was only available in the camp's courtyards. Such a state of affairs—equally denounced by the local prefecture as by the inmates—resulted in two internees contracting typhoid in 1940; they both lost their lives despite being taken to a hospital. Water was only made available indoors in 1942 with the extension of water pipes to the first floor of the former San Bartolomeo convent.

The internees were allowed to move around the countryside for about six hours a day within a predetermined area (with respect to the position of houses at the outskirts of the village). This situation facilitated the development of relationships between the internees and the local population, which were marked by a mutual respect and willingness to help. However, from the autumn of 1941 on, "freedom of movement" was limited solely to the morning hours after sources related to the Fascist Party expressed concerns about "too many contacts" being developed between the internees and the local population.

The community life of Campagna internees was vibrant thanks to the moral and material support of the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM). Among the organization's projects worth noting were an orchestra directed by Maestro Bogdan Zins, a Polish pianist; a library containing about 1,500 books; the widely followed football matches among the internees; and a small "Jewish temple" set up in San Bartolomeo's

hall. A German-language newsletter (*Das Tagerl*) occasionally written and circulated by the internees made sarcastic commentaries about these events in the camp.

Very cordial relations existed between the internees and the bishop of Campagna, Monsignor Giuseppe Maria Patalucci. However, it would be historically inaccurate to think of the Campagna camp as some sort of protectorate of a local diocese. On April 26, 1942, Bishop Palatucci wrote to the chief of police asking for the removal of the Campagna internees so that the building of "San Bartolomeo" could be used as a child care facility.

In June 1943, while a Belgian civilian categorized by the Italian authorities as an "enemy subject" was interned in the camp (and thus protected under the 1929 Geneva Convention), an International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegation made its first inspection of the camp. In a report submitted to the Interior Ministry a short while after the visit, the ICRC expressed its "excellent impression" of the local authorities' (the camp's director, the mayor, doctor, and other communal functionaries) commitment to the improvement of the internees' living conditions.[1]

Nothing substantial changed inside the camp following the coup against Benito Mussolini of July 25, 1943. Only in the days after the announcement of the Armistice on September 8 were the internees formally released by the camp's director, based on the dispositions issued by the chief of police. After the debarkation of Allied troops in the Gulf of Salerno, the internees set off immediately toward the mountain villages for safety, because several German soldiers were seen in the streets of Campagna. Even some inhabitants of the town took refuge on the heights of nearby mountains, preferring to abandon their homes in anticipation of better days in the future.

Around that time, Campagna suffered from two serious bombing raids, with the most tragic one taking place on September 17 when, in an effort to strike several German vehicles stationed in the urban center, Allied airplanes dropped bombs on the town. Around 300 people died, mostly civilians, among whom was one Jewish person who had just recently been released from internment. As soon as the German troops retreated from the inhabited area of the city, the municipal authorities asked for help in treating the injured from those hiding in the mountains. The formerly interned Jewish doctors reached the area even before the Allies did; in particular, Doctors Tänzer (or Tanger) and Pajes performed urgent surgical interventions at a makeshift outpatient clinic set up in a gym of the local science institute.

After the liberation of Campagna on September 19, 1943, the building of San Bartolomeo was transformed, for one year, into a refugee camp by the Allied Displaced Persons Sub-Commission. In October 1944, the last 24 ex-internees still present in Campagna were transferred into an analogous structure situated in Santa Maria al Bagno in the province of Lecce.

Survivors from the Italian concentration camp at Campagna stand in the courtyard of the monastery where they were required to gather for roll call prior to their being freed by invading Allied forces, October 1943.
USHMM WS #77707, COURTESY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA LIBRARIES.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Campagna camp are Gianluca Petroni, *Gli ebrei a Campagna durante il secondo conflitto mondiale* (Campagna: Edizione Comitato Palatucci, 2001); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 227–229; Fabio Corbisiero, "Storia de memoria dell'internamento ebraico durante la Seconde guerra mondiale: Il campo di concentramento di Campagna," *NeS* 6 (1999): 110–130; and Marco Coslovich, *Giovanni Palatucci: Una Giusta Memoria* (Avellino: Edizioni Mephite, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Campagna can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civilie), B. 134, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins; 36 "Salerno"; and A-CIRC. Among other documentation concerning the Campagna camp, USHMMA holds an oral history interview with survivor Mayer Relles, June 27, 1983 (RG-50.462*0119).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. A-CICR, C, Sc, Services des camps, Italie (June 17, 1943).

CAMUGNANO AND BAZZANO

Camugnano is about 43 kilometers (27 miles) southwest of Bologna, and Bazzano is 21.5 kilometers (13.4 miles) west of Bologna. Internment camps were established in each town in March 1942.

In January 1942, a group of Jewish British citizens were deported from Libya, because they were considered potentially

dangerous to the Italian Army in its North African campaign against British troops. The impetus for their arrest and deportation came from a letter circulated by the chief of police, Arturo Bocchini, on June 15, 1940, in which he ordered the arrest of all the Jews coming from states that followed a "racial policy" (i.e., Nazi Germany) because they were considered potentially dangerous.[1] This group of Jewish British citizens was under the care of the Interior Ministry during its stay in Italy. About 100 of these Jews, who were from Malta (or at least they were described in Italian documents as "Anglo-Maltese," although the documents of the Swiss Embassy described them as being from Gibraltar) were sent to the province of Bologna, where they arrived in March 1942. There, the prefect divided them into two groups of 50 people each, with one group being held in a building in Camugnano and the other in a building in Bazzano. These camps were not concentration camps, but internment camps: the internees could move freely within the town during the day, and the buildings where they stayed were not overseen by the police or other guards.

On June 10, 1942, the prefect of Bologna wrote to the Interior Ministry lamenting the disastrous condition of the internees:

> These two groups composed of about 50 elements each, adults and children included, for the most part women, have been housed in two *case coloniche* [farmhouses] furnished with the necessary services and minimal comfort so that each family nucleus, with the modest provisions they get from their subsidy, which for most of them represents their only financial resource, may organize itself so as to provide the minimum necessities of life . . . . The two groups each used only one rudimentary kitchen which had to serve the various family groups, and the same can be said for the latrines. Indeed, this arrangement has been arrived at through expediency and some expense, above all for the house at Camugnano, at the time authorized by this ministry.[2]

The prefect went on to complain that the internees strolled around the town, looking for assistance from City Hall.

The situation had thus become unpleasant, particularly because the local populace did not want to have contact with the Jews and the police could not control the internees' movements. To resolve the worsening situation, the prefect offered to create a real concentration camp in the keep of the castle (*Rocca*) of Bazzano. After being contacted by the Interior Ministry, the mayor (*podestà*) of Bazzano responded on October 7 that the keep was already occupied by the 6th Regiment of the *Bersaglieri* (sharpshooters) and was therefore not available for such use.

The very poor conditions did not change until the December 1942 visit of the Swiss legation, which was charged with protecting British interests. It found that the rooms were unfurnished apart from beds, were very small, and were inadequately heated. The beds lacked mattresses, and the toilet facilities were insufficient, consisting of only two bathrooms and one basin. Food was scarce, and above all there was a lack of milk for the children and fresh vegetables. A notable denunciation, protesting these conditions harshly, followed in January 1943 from the British government, speaking as previously through the Swiss legation.

This report prompted an inspection of the camps, in March 1943, by an Interior Ministry commission, made up of the province's doctor, an official of the police, and an economist of the province. In Camugnano, it found excessive crowding, promiscuity (meaning that women and men shared the same quarters), and poor hygienic conditions at the camp. The internees lived crowded into two huge rooms, many had problems with their eyes, and some suffered from scabies. Some of the sickest people were sent to the hospital. The internees had been issued food ration permits (*Carta annonaria*), and the Interior Ministry permitted two internees to go to Bologna to obtain kosher meat. Following this report, the Interior Ministry ordered the urgent renovation of the Camugnano camp. To relieve the overcrowding, 12 internees were transferred in the same month to Civitella della Chiana.

In Bazzano, however, although the commission found various problems related to overcrowding (50 people were being made to live in nine rooms), the situation was judged acceptable, because each family had one room at its disposal and the hygienic situation was not causing problems. Nonetheless, the Interior Ministry ordered this camp to be renovated as well.

In April 1943, a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) of Geneva and the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) again visited the buildings and submitted a relatively positive report. The CRI report described the "camp" of Camugnano in the following terms: there were only 34 internees, defined as "British Israelites of Bengasi, originally from Gibraltar"; each family had one or two rooms to itself; the state of health was satisfactory; and the families cooked their own food. At Bazzano the delegation found 54 Jews with British citizenship from Tripoli, who were originally from Gibraltar. The building was in good condition, and the children could play outside. Some of the inmates performed paid labor. The only problem was with a family that argued with the others, and thus, in accord with a proposal of the mayor, who was the official in charge of the building, the Interior Ministry was ordered to transfer the family.

The Jews remained in the two buildings until March 1944. In July 1944, a few Anglo-Maltese were sent to the concentration camp of Fossoli.

SOURCES The only secondary reference found to these two camps is in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 288.

The principal archival sources are in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 104, 116, and 141.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi

NOTES

1. In June 15, 1940, letter No. 443/45626, as cited in Capogreco, *I campi del Duce*, p. 288.
2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 116.

CASACALENDA

At 643 meters (approximately 2,110 feet) above sea level, Casacalenda is a little town in the province of Campobasso, in Molise, one of the poorest regions of south-central Italy, some 111 kilometers (69 miles) northeast of Naples. According to the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the Interior Ministry letter (*Circolare*) of June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267, the Casacalenda concentration camp was opened in June 1940. It was set up in a building in the town that was generally known as the "bequest of the Caradonio-Di Blasio family," where a private residential school had previously been established. The camp was set up for the internment of women who were registered as foreign civilian internees.

The building had been constructed in the middle of the nineteenth century. The address was Piazza Vittorio Emanuele 2, and the edifice was made up of three floors, with about 30 rooms, each of which could hold between 4 and 30 people. It had six toilets with washbasins and two large kitchens, running water, electricity, and central heating. The heating, however, broke in the winter of 1942–1943, causing serious discomfort to the inmates. The inmates ran the kitchen. There was no infirmary, but a doctor from the town periodically provided medical assistance. Internees requiring visits to medical specialists went to Campobasso under escort.

The camp was originally set up to hold 110 people, but subsequently it was discovered that some of the spaces identified by surveyors as "rooms" were actually connecting rooms functioning as corridors and therefore inappropriate for residential use. The camp came to hold between 40 and 62 women. In February 1941, 22 Jewish and 19 non-Jewish women were living in the Casacalenda camp. Statistics from December 1942 indicate that there were 49 non-Jews and 36 Jews there, but these figures do not seem accurate, because all the other statistics indicate an internee population never exceeding 62. On May 2, 1943, there were 25 female inmates: 3 stateless non-Jews, 14 stateless Jews, 1 Frenchwoman, 1 Yugoslav woman, 2 Polish women (one of whom was Jewish), 2 British women, 1 Hungarian woman, and 1 Jewish Croat woman.

The chief of the local police (*questore*) of Campobasso placed the camp under the direction of Giuseppe Martone, who was assisted by a female director, Ezia Calogero. From November 1940 to May 1943 the director was Guido Renzoni. In July 1940, two public security agents (*agenti di pubblica sicurezza*) provided surveillance for the camp, but the Interior Ministry considered this number excessive.

At the beginning of 1942, an inmate later identified as Anita Randow sent an anonymous letter to the Interior Ministry in which she complained about various problems in the camp relating to food and discipline and accused the female director of having slapped an inmate who was suffering from nerves. Antonio Panariello, the Inspector General of Public Security, ordered an inspection of the camp, after which he rejected all the accusations contained in the letter, considering them the result of disagreements between the female director and Randow. According to Panariello, the conduct of the female director was humane and fair. An anonymous letter that arrived at the Ministry in May 1942 complained anew of the terrible unhygienic conditions of the camp and the hunger suffered by the internees. Once again, a new inspection by Panariello, undertaken at the end of that month, found nothing particularly objectionable:

> The camp's hygienic conditions are fine. Rooms of communication [i.e., corridor-like rooms] are being used as dormitories, and this is justified by the fact that in the rooms of the camp itself there are no modern corridors, and one cannot fail to use such spaces, which, on the other hand, are dry, lit, and sufficiently airy, and which are disinfected and from the point of view of hygiene, perfectly apt. And the proof of this is that of 59 women, only one is ill.[1]

Another anonymous letter from November 1942 informed the Interior Ministry that the direction of the camp was entirely "pro-Jewish." The letter writer complained, "The said camp is used for women, some of whom are there for political reasons. Treatment of these unfortunates is far from good, as the female director of the camp and the police commissioner look favorably only upon the Jewish elements, as they are full of money. From what I was able to understand, it seems that a strong pro-Israelite current reigns on the part of the directors."[2]

On June 22, 1943, during a visit from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), some internees—"ex-Yugoslavs"—protested the camp directors' attempt to impose the "Roman salute" (i.e., the Fascist salute) on them; the internees also complained about the prohibition on receiving food packages from family members. Subsequently the ICRC sent a report to the Italian Interior Ministry asking that all the inmates be treated the same and also sent a check for 1,600 lire to the camp directors to buy clothes and food for the ex-Yugoslav internees, who were considered the most needy.

The camp remained active until the Armistice signed by Italy and the Allies on September 8, 1943. The foreign women were freed after an order from the chief of police, in accord with a clause of the Armistice.

SOURCES There are brief references to the camp at Casacalenda in two secondary sources: Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 207; and in Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols., trans. Loredana Melissari (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 64.

The only available primary sources are in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 116 and 117.

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Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117.
2. Ibid.

CASOLI

Casoli is almost 29 kilometers (18 miles) southeast of the capital of Chieti province and more than 175 kilometers (109 miles) northwest of Campagna in the province of Salerno. In July 1940, the Fascist authorities opened a small concentration camp (*Campo di concentramento*) in Casoli for the detention of enemy aliens. Because it was too small to accommodate the number of detainees, the original camp structures—a stable and a schoolroom—were eventually abandoned in favor of a former movie house. The mayor (*podestà*) of Casoli served as the camp's director.

The camp's population consisted of 50 to 60 foreign Jewish males, most of whom were from Central Europe. According to a postwar report by the chief of police of Chieti, of the 56 Jews listed, 13 were German, 8 Polish, 13 "stateless," 3 Hungarian, 2 Slovak, 2 Czech, 1 French, and 14 without a listed nationality. Beginning on February 29, 1941, the Italian authorities gradually began to transfer foreign Jews to other camps: Campagna, Corropoli (Teramo), Ferramonti (Cosenza), Notoresco (Teramo), Pisticci (Matera), and Urbisaglia (Macerata). By far the largest group of Jewish internees—numbering 38—was dispatched to the Campagna camp on May 2, 1942. The last foreign Jew was sent to Urbisaglia the next day.[1]

However, Casoli continued to operate as an internment camp. In the summer of 1942, its new population consisted of 75 to 80 "ex-Yugoslavs." When the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) inspected the camp on September 1, 1942, it found the conditions good, but the food monotonous. Some of the prisoners requested that the CRI pass along messages to loved ones and seek transfers for them to camps that presumably held their relatives; one prisoner asked for permission to resume his chemistry studies, which he had begun in Serbia and Germany. At the time of the inspection, the mayor was Marino Giustino, the vice director was Giuseppe Franchetti, and the camp secretary was Lorenzo Palumbo.[2]

The camp closed and its inmates were released at the time of the Armistice, September 8, 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Casoli camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Costatino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Casoli camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento); ACS, Mi, PS, A4 bis (Stranieri internati); ACS, collection CRI, fondo PG, B M 10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia). The latter documentation is available at www.campifascisti.it. Additional documentation can be found in ITS, collections 0.1, 1.1.14.1, and 1.2.7.25. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Additional documentation can be found in NaP, JAF 1007: MSP-L, which is available in microform at USHMMA as RG-48.011M.

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NOTES

1. Questura di Chieti al Mi, Dgps, April 11, 1956, Ogg.: "Documentazione relativa ad israeliti," ITS, 1.1.14.1, Doc. Nos. 459527–459529.
2. CRI, "Visite ai campi di concentramento per internati, 31 Agosto / 5 Settembre 1942; Campo di concentramento di Casoli (Chietti)," ACS, collection CRI, fondo PG, B M 10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia), reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

CASTAGNAVIZZA

Castagnavizza is about 111 kilometers (69 miles) east of Venice. The only traceable document relating to this camp is a telegram from the prefect of Gorizia to the Interior Ministry, dated March 18, 1944:

> With reference to telegram number 451 of the tenth of this month, and subsequent to previous correspondence, it is communicated that in this province, as has been noted, following the noted political developments, confirmed as the work of armed Yugoslav bands, two wings of different sites have been adapted as concentration camps for the family members of the partisans of this province, the first for men at Poggio Terza Armata (Gradisca) and the second at Castagnavizza (Gorizia). At the armistice, the commander of the local division "Torino," General of Division Bruno Malaguti, ordered the immediate release of all the internees of both concentration camps. The sites were then ransacked by said inmates, and by the local civilian population, who carried off a good part of the material of the barracks that, in its own time, had been gathered by the military authority. These sites, at the moment, are occupied by German troops stationed in this province. Practically speaking, therefore, both concentration camps began to cease their functioning in December 1943 and are not, as is obvious to observe, in any condition to function.[1]

SOURCES The only source found on the Castagnavizza camp is ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108.

CASTEL DI GUIDO

Castel di Giudo is a small commune located 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) west of Rome in the Rome province. In 1941, the Fascist regime set in motion the construction there of a work center (*centro di lavoro*) for both prisoners and interned civilians; the inmates were employed by the Interior Ministry and lodged at a large agricultural estate owned by the Pious Institute of the Holy Spirit (*Pio Istituto di S. Spirito*) on the outskirts of the town. The estate extended as far as the Maccarese railway station, located some 7 kilometers (more than 4 miles) southwest of Castel di Guido. In early 1942, the governor of Rome awarded the contract for the estate's cultivation work to the Eugenio Parrini Company, a private firm well connected with the regime that had already constructed two large Italian concentration camps: Pisticci (Matera) and Ferramonti di Tarsia (Calabria). The estate of Castel di Guido produced wheat and vegetables and was partly used for grazing. A police brigadier (*generale di brigata*) directed the work center, assisted by a representative of the Parrini Company. The Castel di Guido camp was based on a model of an agricultural center for working prisoners in Pisticci that, since 1939, had been presented by the regime as a model for combining land cultivation with "human cultivation."

In the spring of 1942, Castel di Guido received approximately 100 civilians (most of whom were Italians) with the status of civilian internees or prisoners. With the government's approval, they were employed as a cheap workforce with the Parrini firm. They were lodged in a large building located in a place called *Le Pulci* (The Fleas). The dormitories were set up on the second floor, and the ground floor was used as a barn. In close proximity were the lodgings of the management, a police station, a carpenter's shop, the communal canteen, and a grocery store. The work, which was not solely agricultural and also included construction and craftwork, was not compulsory, but because it offered a daily pay of 10 lire and the possibility of staying out in the open, it was a preferred option: those who chose not to work had to stay in their rooms all day long. In the summer of 1943, despite the fall of Mussolini and the signing of the Armistice, the Castel di Guido work center continued to function as normal; only one group of antifascists was released on July 31. For all the other interned civilians and prisoners, the center finally ceased activity only at the end of October 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Castel di Guido work center are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 197–198; and Carolini Simonetta, ed.,*"Pericolosi nelle contingenze belliche": Gli internati dal 1940 al 1943* (Rome: ANPPIA, 1987).

Primary sources documenting the Castel di Guido work center can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 145, fasc. 18 (Località di internamento), s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 57 ("Roma"), and s.f. 3 ("Castel di Guido, Centro di lavoro"); ACS, Segreteria particolare del duce, fasc. "Maccarese, Società anonima Bonifiche," B. 535219 and B. 509397/97. Additional documentation can be found in the ITS/Hängemappe Italien and CamCom; both documents are available at www.campifascisti.it.

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CHIESANUOVA

Chiesanuova is just over 3 kilometers (2 miles) west of Padua and more than 37 kilometers (23 miles) west of Venice. Administered by the Italian Second Army, the Chiesanuova concentration camp (Padova province) operated from July 20, 1942, until September 10, 1943. Established at the site of today's Romagnoli barracks, the camp interned Yugoslav civilians, primarily Slovenians, in six large buildings surrounded by a 4-meter-high (13-foot-high) wall with four sentry points for the guards. Chiesanuova was also known as the Padua camp (*Campo Concentramento Internati Civili—Padova*). The commandant was Tenente Colonello Dante Caporali, and the guard commander was Capitano Giuseppe David.

The first detainees (1,429 men originating, in large part, from Ljubljana) arrived at Chiesanuova on August 14, 1942, after being transferred from the camp at Monigo. In the months that followed, the number of prisoners rose to 2,219. Between October and November, approximately 1,500 internees were transferred to the camps of Renicci di Anghiari and Arbe (Rab). They were later replaced by Yugoslav military personnel previously held in the Gonars camp. Beginning in January 1943, various other transports brought the total of internees to 3,410.

Living conditions inside the camp were very harsh. A punishment pole, a type of pillory to which the perpetrators of prohibited acts were tied, was installed in the courtyard. In addition, there were underground cells used for custodial punishment. Among the internees were a number of doctors who, despite the scarcity of available supplies, did their best to tend to the detainees' health. Nevertheless, 70 internees lost their lives during the course of the camp's roughly yearlong existence. According to the Italian Second Army, 31 prisoners died at Chiesanuova between January 1 and May 31, 1943.[1]

The apostolic nuncio of Italy, Monsignor Francesco Borgongini-Duca, interceded with the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI), requesting that the Chiesanuova camp produce a list of Croatian Orthodox and Catholic prisoners who wished to correspond with their loved ones. The list was in turn forwarded to the Croatian Red Cross (*Hrvatski Crveni križ*, HCk).[2]

After the signing of the Armistice, the camp came under German control. The German authorities later transferred two train convoys full of prisoners to Zagreb via the Brenner Pass and Vienna. In Zagreb, several detainees were recruited into Slovenian collaborationist groups, whereas many others were released. According to the Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracing Service (ITS), however, in at least one instance, a Chiesanuova internee ended up in Dachau, where he died in March 1945.[3]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Chiesanuova camp include Davide Gobbo, *L'occupazione fascista della Jugoslavia e i campi di concentramento per civili jugoslavi in Veneto: Chiesanuova e Monigo (1942–1943)* (Padua: Centro Studi Ettore Luccini, 2011); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Davide Conti, *L'occupazione italiana dei Balcani: Crimini di guerra e mito della "brava gente" (1940–1943)* (Rome: Odradek, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the Chiesanuova camp are found in A-RS (collection AS 1840 7); AUSSME (collection M3, B. 69); ACS (Mi, Dgps, Dgsg, B. 89); and MNZS. Additional documentation can be found in the ITS, collections 0.1 and 1.1.14.1 (Camps in Italy and Albania). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. The website www.campifascisti.it also has an extensive collection of documents concerning Chiesanuova.

Frida Bertolini
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. II. Armata, Supersloda, "Decessi verificatese nei campi concentramento dal 1o gennaio a 31 maggio 1943," June 26, 1943, AUSSME, fondo M3, B. 64, Prot. No. 3575, available at www.campifascisti.it.
2. Register of civilian internees of the internment camp Chiesanuova (Padova) who would like to make contact with their family members, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 5, Doc. Nos. 460103–460105.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Anton (or Antonio) Kandare, DOB July 5, 1902, Doc. No. 51673530.

CHIETI

Chieti is located 148 kilometers (92 miles) northeast of Rome. In June 1940, the Italian Interior Ministry opened an internment camp for enemy aliens and foreign Jews in the Princess of Piedmont kindergarten (*Principessa di Piemonte asilo infantile*) in Chieti (Chieti province). A 1953 report to the Union of Italian Jewish Communities (*Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane*, UCII) listed Chieti among the concentration camps that held foreign Jews during World War II.[1] Police Commissioner Mario La Monica was the camp director, and carabinieri stood guard.

Although it was originally intended to confine 200 internees, the camp never held more than 29 people. The internees included 1 Italian citizen, 6 foreign Jews, and civilians from Allied countries: 8 British citizens, 1 Irishman, and 17 Frenchmen. Some of the internees' names appear on index cards from the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) that were submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS). These cards identify the camp as "Chieti, provincial capital" (*Chieti, Capoluogo*).[2]

As noted by historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the city's desire to resume kindergarten classes in the next calendar year led to the camp's closure in November 1940. The internees were moved to the camps at Casoli, Montechiarugolo, and Manfredonia.

SOURCES The Chieti camp is described in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Costatino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001); and Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, *Poliziotti: I direttori dei campi di concentramento italiani, 1940–1943* (Rome: Cooper, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Chieti camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12 "Chieti," s.f. 6. Additional documentation can be found in ITS, collections 1.2.7.25 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Griechenland, Italien, Spanien); and 1.1.14.6 (Italienische Kartei). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Some documentation on the Chieti camp is found at www.campifascisti.it.

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NOTES

1. Mi, Dgps, all' UCII, December 17, 1953, "Elenco dei campi di concentramento esistenti in Italia durante la guerra," ITS, 1.2.7.25, folder 6, Doc. No. 82208375.
2. See, for example, ITS, 1.1.14.6, CRI cards for Antonio (Antoine) Bazin, Doc. No. 462710, and Edward Smith, Doc. No. 474979.

CITTÀ SANT'ANGELO

Città Sant'Angelo (Pescara province) is located more than 14 kilometers (9 miles) northeast of the provincial capital and 147 kilometers (91 miles) northeast of Rome. In June 1940, the Italian authorities allocated space for a concentration camp (*campo di concentramento*) in a disused tobacco factory in the town. However, the first internees, who were mostly Slovenians from Dalmatia, did not enter the camp until May 1941. During its existence, the camp held between 79 and 135 internees. A postwar Italian Interior Ministry report counted Città Sant'Angelo among the concentration camps that held Jewish prisoners.[1]

Among the succession of commissioners of public security who directed the camp were Fernando di Donna and Augusto Menè. Carabinieri served as guards.

According to an inspection report by the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) on September 1, 1942, there were 117 internees in the camp, with an additional 3 in the hospital and another one described as having been released. Among the inmates the inspector interviewed were the camp's lone British civilian, an Italian political prisoner, and a Russian journalist. At the time of the visit, there were 60 beds for internees, so that the prisoners had to share the beds. The inmates' principal complaints had to do with inadequate bathing facilities and the presence of vermin. They were able to move around the town during certain hours of the day.[2]

As noted by historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the liberal treatment at Città Sant'Angelo ended as of December 1942 on the orders of the chief of police (*questore*) of Pescara. After that time, in an effort to prevent their interaction with locals, the internees were only permitted outside the camp under

armed escort. Communist and recalcitrant prisoners were transferred to other camps at Ponza and Lipari.

After the September 8, 1943, signing of the Armistice, the guard force abandoned the camp and the internees fled. The president of the Republic of Italy awarded the commune a medal in 2012 in recognition of local efforts to hide the escapees from the German authorities.

Città Sant'Angelo briefly served again as an internment camp under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), but closed for good in April 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Città Sant'Angelo camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Costatino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001). The commune's recognition by the president of the Republic of Italy is described at www.comune.cittasantangelo.pe.it.

Primary sources documenting the Città Sant'Angelo camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento); ACS, Mi, Dgsg (Affari Generali), B. 88; and ACS, collection CRI, fondo PG, B M 10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia). Some of this material is available online at www.campifascisti.it. Additional documents can be found in ITS, collection 1.2.7.25. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Mi, Dgps, all' UCII, December 17, 1953, "Elenco dei campi di concentramento esistenti in Italia durante la guerra," ITS, 1.2.7.25, folder 6, Doc. No. 82208375.
2. CRI, "Visite ai campi di concentramento per internati, 31 Agosto / 5 Settembre 1942; Campo di concentramento di Città S. Angelo (Pescara)," ACS, collection CRI, fondo PG, B M 10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia), available at www.campifascisti.it.

CIVITELLA DELLA CHIANA

Civitella della Chiana (today: Civitella in Val di Chiana) is located more than 54 kilometers (34 miles) southeast of Florence in the Arezzo province. A camp was located in Oliveto, a tiny part of the village inhabited at the time by about 150 people; the camp was thus sometimes called the Oliveto Villa camp. Erected 500 meters (1,640 feet) above sea level and 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from the train station in Badia al Pino (another part of the same small village), the camp was set up by the Interior Ministry in a three-story country house called the Mazzi Villa. In the 1930s Mazzi Villa served as the headquarters for a Croat paramilitary group led by Ante Pavelić, which was welcomed and supported by the Mussolini regime.

Under optimal conditions Mazzi Villa did not have the capacity to hold more than 80 people, but there were periods in the camp's history when it held more than 130 internees. The beds were on the second and third floors; the first floor contained offices for the camp's directorate, an infirmary (where one death was reported in 1944), a kitchen, and a canteen. There were latrines on each floor, but no flush toilets for a long time. Between the second and third floors was a fee-based bathroom with a bathtub for the internees. Various public security officials ran the camp, and the carabinieri provided security. The owner of the Pasquale Mazzi estate provided food supplies. With an eye to turning a profit, he managed a small shop through which he offered food to internees on behalf of the prefecture. Medical assistance was delegated to a local doctor, Lucio Gambassini, and occasionally some interned doctors.

The first internee, a French civilian, arrived at Civitella della Chiana on June 18, 1940, but had to be accommodated in a rented room because Mazzi Villa officially did not begin functioning as a camp until July. The internees were categorized mainly as "enemy subjects," of whom many were Indians with British citizenship, and as "foreign Jews," 37 of whom came to Civitella on July 16 from San Vittore Prison in Milan. Among the latter was the Austrian poet and writer Hermann Hakel (1911–1987). The internees were permitted to walk along the entire stretch of the switchbacked road that led to the villa, but very soon, their space for walking was restricted to a straight path from the villa to a grove overlooking it. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) frequently shipped food and other goods to the camp. On December 27, 1940, this camp was visited by Francesco Borgongini-Duca, the apostolic nuncio to the Italian government, who distributed care packages and aid in the form of cash.

In the spring of 1941, after the German-Italian invasion of Yugoslavia, approximately 40 Marines and officials from the dissolved Yugoslav Navy (Slovenes, Serbs, and Croats) were sent to Civitella della Chiana where they remained for almost two months. During that time all the Jews then living in the camp (28 people) were transferred to the Campagna camp.

In 1942, the Civitella della Chiana camp entered a second phase of activity, as the makeup of its population changed to include not only males but also females and entire nuclear families. The first group of 51 Libyan Jews with British citizenship—men, women, and children in nine families—arrived from Libya in January 1942. Among them were so many pregnant women that in the course of internment there were seven babies born inside the camp. The newcomers experienced very poor hygienic and sanitary conditions and put increasing strain on the villa's lodging capacity.

In this phase, the most frequent complaints by the Oliveto Villa internees related to the general scarcity of water, insufficient food and medication, overcrowding, and the mixing of sexes created by the arrival of the Anglo-Libyan Jews. Such problems were brought up on multiple occasions by the delegates of the ICRC. As for the interned British subjects, the Foreign Office through its British legation in Bern repeatedly accused the Italian government of abrogating no fewer than five articles of the 1929 Geneva Convention: Articles 4 (providing for prisoner maintenance), 10 (confinement in hygienic and safe facilities), 11 (food provisions), 12 (clothing provisions and prisoner canteens), and 13 (sanitation).

Prisoners incarcerated in Civitella Della Chiana eating lunch. They are both Jews and non-Jews.
USHMM WS #66669, COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO CENTRALE DELLO STATO.

In July 1942, on the recommendation of chief inspectors Enrico Cavallo and Carlo Rosati, the decision was made to transfer 14 unmarried internees (10 British subjects including 9 Hindus, 1 Dutch, 1 Greek, 1 Iranian, and 1 Yugoslav) so that the villa was then occupied solely by the nine Anglo-Libyan families. It was planned that these families would later be "reunited" with their relatives scattered in different internment camps across the peninsula. As a result, the population at Civitella della Chiana became entirely Jewish. However, unlike the situation in other Italian "Jewish camps" of that period (for instance, in Ferramonti di Tarsia, Campagna, or Civitella del Tronto), there were no working structures in place promoting "social cohesion" among the internees, nor were there any other cultural or recreational initiatives. There were not even any efforts to set up basic educational structures for children living in the camp. Nonetheless, relations with the local population were very friendly, so much so that there was even a wedding between one Franco-Italian internee and a local woman.

On September 10, 1943, in compliance with the Armistice, the head of the police in Senise sent a telegram releasing all internees from the camp. The camp director declared all internees free, but the 69 Anglo-Libyan Jews still living in Mazzi Villa thought it more safe to remain there (the villa seemed like an oasis of relative tranquility compared to other places), not realizing the degree of impending danger such a decision entailed. As it happened, with the takeover of German troops after the Armistice, all those who stayed were reincarcerated, although this time with the status of prospective deportees. In fact, in December 1943 this place became one of the provincial camps for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*) under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI).

On February 5, 1944, almost all of the Anglo-Libyan Jews then living in the camp (62 of 63 people) were dispatched by a special SS commando to the Fossoli camp, after spending a brief time in prisons in Florence. On February 19, 1944, they were deported from Fossoli, because of their citizenship status, to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp. The Civitella della Chiana camp, whose population in the interim increased from 7 to 25 over a few weeks, was finally closed on June 9, 1944, after an attack by a small group of partisans liberated the last remaining internees.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Civitella della Chiana camp are Barbara Cardeti, *L'internamento civile fascista: il caso di "Villa Oliveto," 1940–1944: Storia, documenti, immagini, testimonianze* (Florence: Regione Toscana, Consiglio regionale, 2010); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Mappatura dei campi-Toscana," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 184–185; and Angela Regis, "Esperienze al margine della guerra: Testimonianze di militari valsesiani," *L'impegno* 15: 3 (December 1995), available at www.storia900bivc.it/pagine/editoria/regis395.html.

Primary sources documenting the camp at Civitella della Chiana can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), B. 114, s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 5 "Arezzo"; and A-ICRC, Service des camps, Italie (January 14, 1941; April 22, 1942; and August 25, 1942). A published testimony is Hermann Hakel, *Zu Fuss durchs Rote Meer: Impressionen und Träumen*, ed. Richard Kovacevic (Vienna: Lynkeus, 1995).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco

CIVITELLA DEL TRONTO

Civitella del Tronto is located in the Teramo province, 138 kilometers (86 miles) northeast of Rome. The camp in the town was set up in September 1940 in the former monastery of Santa Maria dei Lumi, which had space to accommodate about 60 people. In 1942, two additional buildings were used: the former hospice, Filippo Alessandrini, with a capacity of approximately 100 spaces, and a private residence belonging to the Migliorati family, with a capacity of around 40. A succession of public security officials ran the camp over time, and the carabinieri served as the camp guards. An inquiry by the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) confirming this camp's existence can be found in the records of the International Tracing Service.[1]

The first internees arrived in Civitella del Tronto on September 4, 1940, and were accommodated in the former monastery, which had the largest capacity of the three buildings and was located outside the populated town center. They were civilians of Belgian nationality, categorized as "enemy subjects"; they were soon followed by several foreign Jews and, between September and October, by other foreign civilians among whom were 10 Chinese nationals. In January 1941, approximately 100 Greeks arrived at Civitella del Tronto, but only stayed there for a short period of time. The other two buildings, the Migliorati house and the Alessandrini hospice, became part of the camp in 1942 to create space to accommodate 114 British Jews evacuated from Libya, members of 28 nuclear families among whom were many elderly and children. They arrived at the camp on January 22 and 23 and were labeled "enemy subjects." In early 1943 another 42 internees from the Corropoli camp reached Civitella; most of them were enemy subjects of British origin.

In the beginning, the internees' living conditions were not too harsh, particularly for the enemy subjects who received packages with food and other necessities through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). There were, however, some complaints, mainly in relation to the humidity inside the buildings, overcrowding, and insufficient heating. The internees were able to move about the town's center in daytime, and relations with the local population were generally friendly.

After the Armistice on September 8, 1943, the internees of Civitella, in contrast to those in many other Italian camps, were not released by the authorities. Some officials distanced themselves from this act of retaining the detainees, but as a whole the camp continued to remain active. On October 1943, on orders from the German command in Chieti, 121 male internees were dispatched to dig antitank ditches in the province of Pescara (the city of Pescara is 56 kilometers [35 miles] southeast of Civitella del Tronto). They worked 12 hours a day and slept on the ground in an old brick factory until early December, when the authorities sent them back to Civitella as the Allied frontline kept getting closer. On their journey back to the camp, 15 prisoners attempted to escape. As of December 6, 1943, the date on which the forced laborers returned to the camp, there were 166 internees—men, women, and children—being held at Civitella. Among them, 118 were Jews: 86 were Anglo-Libyan, and 32 were of other nationalities.

Under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the Civitella del Tronto camp remained in operation as a provincial camp for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*) until early May 1944. Between April and May the detainees were transferred to the transit camp of Fossoli (Modena) by the German authorities. The first batch consisting of 23 "foreign Jews" left Civitella on April 18, 1944; the second group of 134 people (86 Anglo-Libyan Jews and 48 foreign Jews and enemy subjects) departed on May 4, 1944. On May 16, 1944, the Anglo-Libyan Jews, because of their citizenship status, were deported from Fossoli to the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, which they reached on May 20.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Civitella del Tronto camp are Italia Iacoponi, "Il campo di concentramento di Civitella del Tronto," *RASSFR* 5:2 (1984): 213–225; Costantino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 187–188; and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Mappatura dei campi—Abruzzo-Molise," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 210–212.

Primary sources documenting the camp at Civitella del Tronto can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 136, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 "Teramo" (ss. ff. 13, 16, 19); ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, A4 bis (Stranieri internati), B. 6/38, "Teramo"; A-ICRC, Service des camps, Italie, (June 25, 1942; September 3, 1942; and August 20, 1943); and ITS, 1.1.0.7 (Informationssammlung des ISD zu verschiedenen Haftstätten und Lagern), available in digital form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco

NOTE

1. Mi, Dgps to CRI, Ogg.: "Elenco di internati civili in campi di concentramento," June 19, 1943, ITS, 1.1.0.7, Doc. No. 87769574.

COLFIORITO

Colfiorito is almost 42 kilometers (26 miles) southeast of the provincial capital, Perugia. In 1940, the Italian Interior Ministry set up a concentration camp for civilian internees in a former shooting range in the mountain hamlet of Colfiorito in the Foligno commune. As early as June 1936, the military structure comprising 11 sheds was considered ideal for concentrating "dangerous elements." The camp was one of the first to become operational in June 1940 and was directed by a public security official. Security services were provided by the carabinieri. The internees were "dangerous Italians" and "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (today: Friuli–Venezia Giulia).

The living conditions at Colfiorito were adversely affected by the harsh climate and the high humidity stemming from a nearby swamp; moreover, the camp's premises were unheated, and many inmates contracted tuberculosis as a result of the extreme winter cold. In December 1940, the Interior Ministry transferred the 114 internees from Colfiorito to camps at Ariano Irpino (Avellino), Fabriano (Ancona), Manfredonia (Foggia), Monteforte Irpino (Avellino), Pisticci (Matera), and the Tremiti Islands (Foggia).

The Colfiorito camp temporarily ceased to exist on January 23, 1941, just seven months after it opened, but it was reactivated and expanded two years later after detainees from occupied Yugoslavia were sent there. The first transport with 700 Montenegrin detainees on board arrived at Colfiorito in January 1943. At the end of March 1943, there were 838 civilian prisoners in the camp. Other transports of 300 to 400 people each arrived in April, June, and August. The highest number of prisoners, 1,500, was reached in August 1943.

Neither the fall of Mussolini in July nor the Armistice on September 8, 1943, produced any substantial changes in camp operations leading to the internees' liberation. On the night of September 17, 1,200 prisoners managed to escape before joining in large part the "Gramsci" and "Garibaldi" partisan brigades. The 300 remaining people were subsequently imprisoned by the Germans and transferred to other detention sites.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Colfiorito camp are Maria Pia Burani, *Nessuno lo chiamava il campo . . . Le "Casermette" di Colfiorito luogo della memoria della deportazione civile italiana* (Foligno: Comune di Foligno, 2001); Olga Lucchi and Fabio Bettoni, eds., *Dall'internamento alla libertà: Il campo di concentramento di Colfiorito* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004); Dino Renato Nardelli and Antonello Tacconi, eds., *Deportazione ed internamento in Umbria: Pissignano PG n. 77 (1942–1943)* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2007); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Colfiorito camp can be found at ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 132, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 29/I "Colfiorito"; AUSSME, M7, Circolari, racc. 279, f.3 (Campi di concentramento); VaB, Br. Reg. 8/I-6, K; 1021; and ITS, 1.1.47.1 and 1.2.7.25 (this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA). Some primary documentation about the Colfiorito camp can be found at www.campifascisti.it. A published testimony is Dragutin Drago Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra. Istituto per la storia dell'Umbria contemporanea, 2004).

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COLLE DI COMPITO

Colle di Compito (Lucca province) is a small village in the municipality of Capannori, approximately 11 kilometers (7 miles) southeast of Lucca and about 26 kilometers (16 miles) south of Bagni di Lucca. In 1942, a prisoner of war (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG 60, was established in the village. It consisted solely of tents, and for this reason it was unsuitable for winter conditions; in addition, the ground where it was set up was subject to flooding. Likely this area was chosen for the camp's location because it was quiet and isolated, could be easily controlled, and was located near the railway line that connects Lucca to Pontedera.

PG 60 housed more than 3,000 British and Commonwealth captives. During its years of operation, the camp was closed several times and its structure changed. Soon after the signing of the Armistice between Italy and the Allies on September 8, 1943, a dramatic event marked the end of its existence as a POW camp: On September 10, German soldiers ordered the Italian commandant to hand over the camp. During the action, the Wehrmacht killed the commandant and two Italian soldiers.

After the establishment of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the former camp was repurposed to house political prisoners. During that time, it was under the control of the soldiers of the Italian National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr). Items confiscated from Jews were used to set up the camp.[1] In addition to political prisoners, foreign citizens (Britons, Americans, and Danes), common law prisoners, and Jews were interned there.[2]

The problem of access to food that affected the civilian population in the area also affected the prisoners as well, worsening their living conditions as they began receiving reduced rations.[3] As the war spread, the concentration camp was bombed by Allied forces because of its proximity to the railway line. Visits to the camp were allowed, and some Jewish women, despite the danger, managed to meet their relatives who had been arrested.

In January 1944, a few days after the Jews held in the Bagni di Lucca concentration camp were deported, the authorities ordered its closure, but they continued to arrest Jews in the Lucca province. Many of the Jews who were arrested from the end of January onward were brought to the Colle di Compito concentration camp. Estimating the number of Jews who were sent to this concentration camp is not possible; however, there is evidence that in March 1944, seven Italian Jews were transferred from the Lucca jail to Colle di Compito. None of them was a native of the Lucca province: one was from Turin, and the others were from Livorno.

These seven Jews had different fates. One of the Jews from Livorno was released in April by order of the police commissioner because he was married to an "Aryan" woman.[4] Then, on May 22, 1944, with the camp under Allied machine-gun fire, four prisoners, including one of the Jews from Livorno, died. Taking advantage of the confusion, a group of five prisoners, including the young Jew from Turin, managed to escape.[5] In June, two other Jews were hospitalized in Lucca, but they managed to escape to a safer place. There is evidence that one of them had planned the escape with the help of some resistance members.

By contrast, two young brothers from Livorno, Ivo and Vasco Rabà, after internment in Colle di Compito, were later deported to Auschwitz. They had been arrested on February 2, 1944, in Casoli, a small village near Camaiore, and, after being detained for a time in the Lucca jail, they were transferred to Colle di Compito in March. Later, they were brought to the Fossoli concentration camp, and from there, they were deported to Auschwitz on convoy no. 13.

In June 1944, as the war intensified, the RSI decided to move prisoners from Colle di Compito to Bagni di Lucca and ordered the closure of the camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Colle di Compito camp can be found in Silvia Angelini, Oscar Guidi, and Paola Lemmi, "Il campo di concentramento provinciale per ebrei di Bagni di Lucca (dicembre 1943–gennaio 1944)," *RMI* 69: 2 (2003): 431–462; Silvia Angelini, "Storie ritrovate: Gli ebrei a Camaiore nella bufera della guerra e della persecuzione," in *Il futuro ha il cuore della memoria* (Calenzano: Grafiche Celli, 2013); Valeria Galimi, "Caccia all'ebreo: Persecuzioni nella Toscana settentrionale," in Enzo Collotti, ed., *Ebrei in Toscana tra occupazione tedesca e RSI: Persecuzione, depredazione, deportazione (1943–1945)*, 2 vols. (Rome: Carrocci, 2007), 1: 178–224; and Italo Galli, *I sentieri della memoria: Il campo di concentramento di Colle di Compito: I documenti e le voci dei testimoni (1941–1944)* (Florence: Consiglio Regionale della Toscana, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Colle di Compito camp can be found in AISRECPL, fond RSI; ACCAP; ASLU, fond Regia Prefettura; ACS, and USSME, which is available at www.campifascisti.it.

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NOTES

1. AISRECPL, fond RSI.
2. Galli, *I sentieri della memoria*, pp. 69–71.
3. Ibid., p. 83.
4. Lettera Questore di Lucca a Direttore Campo di Concentramento di Colle di Compito, April 12, 1944, ASLU, fond Regia Prefettura, B. 4474, fasc. Minuta, posta in partenza.
5. AISRECPL, fond RSI, B. 25, fasc. 321.

CORROPOLI

Corropoli is located almost 21 kilometers (13 miles) northeast of Teramo and 152 kilometers (94 miles) northeast of Rome in Teramo province. In early 1941, the Italian Interior Ministry established a camp in a gothic abbey belonging to Celestine monks, located on the Maculano Hill about 1.5 kilometers (nearly a mile) from the town's center. Long abandoned and initially intended to serve as a facility for the prevention of tuberculosis, the building underwent reconstruction to accommodate a maximum of 180 internees. It started operations in February 1941 and had a succession of directors: Guido Trevisani, Mario Maiello, Carmine Medici, Francesco Alongi, Carmine Sanzo, Mario Gagliardi, and Luigi Grande. The carabinieri and other public security agents guarded the camp.

The security at Corropoli was upgraded about two years later with the installation of a barbed-wired fence and the reinforcement of security forces by a small contingent of 22 carabinieri. Initially, the internees consisted mainly of "ex-Yugoslavs" and Italian antifascists, the latter including several women subsequently transferred elsewhere.[1] Greek and British officials (Britons, Anglo-Maltese interned initially in Libya, and later British Indians) arrived in the Corropoli camp beginning in June 1942. Until 1944, there were not many foreign Jews in the camp. Amid the constant arrivals and transfers, the camp's population peaked at 165 in August 1943.

The internees' living conditions depended on their status. The restrictions imposed on the "ex-Yugoslavs" were particularly harsh and on several occasions led them to embark on a hunger strike. Meanwhile, the British subjects received food and other provisions from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Some internees were permitted to leave the camp, under armed escort, to go into town or to get specialized medical treatment.

The fall of the Fascist regime did not produce any substantial changes for the internees. An exception was the liberation of 36 Yugoslavs in an attack led by partisan commander Armando Ammazzalorso on September 19, 1943.

The camp remained in operation under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). Between November and December 1943 the internees dug antitank ditches along the frontlines at the Sangro River.

On February 1, 1944, 69 Jewish prisoners arrived from the Nereto camp. The last remaining internees, numbering approximately 60 and mostly Jewish, were transferred to the Servigliano camp when the camp in Corropoli closed in late May 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Corropoli camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 212–213; Costatino Di Sante, "I campi di concentramento in Abruzzo," in Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 177–206 (esp. pp. 188–190); Italia Iacoponi, "Campi di concentramento in Abruzzo durante il secondo conflitto mondiale: Badia di Corropoli," *RASSFR* 6: 2–3 (1985): 315–364; Italia Iacoponi, *Il Fascismo, la Resistenza e i campi di concentramento in provincia di Teramo: Cenni storici* (Colonnella: Grafiche Martintype, 2000), pp. 139–148; and Pasquale Rasicci, *Badia di Corropoli: Memorie storiche* (Teramo: Edilgrafital, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Corropoli camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136; USSME, fond M3, B. 78. Additional documentation on this camp, by the Yugoslav State Commission, can be found in UNWCC and is available in digital form at USHMMA, RG-67.041M, reel 25. The ITS / Haengemappe Italien also has documentation on Corropoli, available at www.campifascisti.it.

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NOTE

1. For the transfer of an "ex-Yugoslav" to Corropoli, see Colonello Pietro Barbaro, Commando XVIII CdA, Ufficio I, al Supersloda, February 28, 1943, Ogg.: "Scambio prigioneri," USSME, fondo M3, B. 78, reproduced in www.campifascisti.org.

ELBA ISLAND

Elba Island (*Isola d'Elba*) is in the province of Livorno, region of Tuscany. The island's largest city, Portoferraio, is some 85 kilometers (51 miles) due south of Livorno. Fragmentary Italian Army documentation suggests that there was a concentration camp (*campo di concentramento*) somewhere on the island before May 1944.[1]

On April 12, 1943, the Italian XI Army Corps announced the release of five prisoners from a camp on Elba.[2] In a second communication, Colonello R. M. Camèra of the commissariat of the Italian Second Army requested that the Interior Ministry release confined civilians "not dependent on military authority" (*non dipendente da autorità militari*).[3] The fact that the XI Army Corps and the Second Army—which were part of the Superior Command of the Italian Armed Forces, "Slovenia and Dalmatia" (*Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia*," Supersloda)—conducted anti-partisan warfare in the Italian-occupied Balkans strongly suggests that the presumptive prisoners were "ex-Yugoslavs," likely relatives of suspected resisters.

On January 27, 1944, just over four months after the German occupation of the island, the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) inquired about the Elba camp. CRI wanted to know about the number of civilians and prisoners of war (POWs) held in the camp; the prisoners' nationalities; whether aid could be sent; an address where aid could be sent; and whether the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) could inspect it.[4] In reply on May 10, 1944, the Interior Ministry denied that there were any civilian detainees or POWs held on the island.[5]

Further research is needed to confirm whether the concentration camp existed, how many prisoners it held, and whether

it closed before or after the German occupation. (The German authorities occupied the island from September 17, 1943, to June 17, 1944.)

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the possible concentration camp on the island of Elba is "I campi fascisti: Dalle guerra in Africa alla Repubblicca di Salò," available at www.campifascisti.it.

Primary sources related to the possible camp on the island of Elba are found in A-RS (reproduced in scans at www.campifascisti.it) and ITS (available in digital form at USHMMA).

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NOTES

1. Terminology used in Colonnello R. M. Camèra, Intendenza della Supersloda alla SME, Ufficio prigionieri di guerra, e alla Commando XI CdA, April 17, 1943, A-RS, AS 1840 6, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.
2. Nota, XI CdA, Posta Militare 46, April 12, 1943, A-RS AS 1840 6, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.
3. Colonnello R. M. Camèra, Intendenza della Supersloda alla SME, Ufficio prigionieri di guerra, e alla Commando XI CdA, April 17, 1943.
4. CRI alla Mi, Dgps, Ogg.: "Internati o p.g. nell'Isola d'Elba," January 27, 1944, ITS, 1.1.0.7, folder 97, Lager und Haftstätten in Italien, Doc. No. 87769695.
5. Mi, Dgps, alla CRI, Ogg.: "Internati or prigionieri di guerra nell'Isola d'Elba," May 10, 1944, ITS, 1.1.0.7, folder 97, Lager und Haftstätten in Italien, Doc. No. 87769649.

FABRIANO

Fabriano is a small town in the province of Ancona, in the Marches (Le Marche), a central Italian region without industries or military importance. It is located about 163 kilometers (101 miles) north of Rome. In September 1940 the Interior Ministry established a concentration camp in the town in accordance with the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the official letter (*Circolare*) of the Interior Ministry of June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267, for the purpose of interning Italian civilians. It was set up in a building that had formerly served as a college (called the *Collegio Gentile*, the property of the Order of Our Lady of Mercy [*Ordine di Nostra Signora della Misericordia*]), which had been built in the seventeenth century on the foundations of an even older building. It was located in the town at Via Cavour Number 38, just a half-kilometer (more than three-tenths of a mile) from the carabinieri station. The building had two wings set at right angles to each other that had previously been used as military barracks. Only one of the two wings was used as an internment camp, and it had two floors. On the ground floor there were four huge halls that could each hold 50 beds; a long corridor, 34 meters (approximately 116 feet) long, which was used as a refectory; and a guard post. The camp held about 100 internees. Nearby there was a vegetable garden, as well as a courtyard where the kitchens and toilets were set up. All the rooms were heated with woodstoves.

The first inmates, who arrived in October 1940, were Italians considered dangerous to the Italian war effort or antifascists. As of August 1941, there were only 25 inmates, a number that remained stable until May 5, 1943, when "ex-Yugoslav" prisoners were interned in Fabriano. Most of them were Croats from Dalmatia, which had been under Italian occupation since the spring of 1941. On June 1, 1942, the number of occupants of the camp rose to 88 and then to 96 in August. In August 1943, there were 86 inmates.

In the summer of 1942, 23 internees were permitted to work on the rebuilding of a bridge on the Esino River, in the village of Pianello, a district of the town of Castelbellino in the province of Ancona. A guard post manned by three carabinieri was set up near the worksite. Other inmates were able to work as laborers and artisans in workshops in the area.

The camp director was the police officer Giorgio Vecchio. Agents of the police (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) managed the camp. The carabinieri, or the military branch of the police, guarded the periphery of the camp. In the beginning, camp discipline was not particularly harsh, and the internees could even leave the camp under police surveillance to see the doctor or to buy supplies for the camp. With the arrival of the "ex-Yugoslavs," the situation worsened. Some "ex-Yugoslavs" tried to escape but were arrested, some were sent to concentration camps on islands, and others were imprisoned at Ancona. In May 1943, the secretary of the National Fascist Party (*Partito Nazionale Fascista*, PNF), Carlo Scorza, wrote to the undersecretary (or vice minister) of the Interior Ministry, Umberto Albini, indicating that some internees in the camp were undertaking propaganda activities, and he asked him to consider making camp discipline harsher and surveillance more attentive.

On April 14, 1941, a date close to Easter, Francesco Borgongini-Duca, the papal nuncio to the Italian government, visited the camp. Between the fall of the Fascist regime on July 25, 1943, and the Armistice on September 8, 1943, many internees were set free or succeeded in escaping, taking advantage of light police and carabinieri surveillance. However, the camp of Fabriano was one of the few that continued to function under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the collaborationist government of Mussolini. On February 19, 1944, RSI officials sent 120 internees to the Germans, who in turn sent them to the camp in Calvari di Chiavari. The Fabriano camp was still functioning as late as April 1944.

SOURCES The only secondary account of Fabriano is a brief mention in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 187–188.

The only available primary sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 114.

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Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

FARFA

Farfa is 41 kilometers (almost 26 miles) northeast of Rome in the Rieti province. Originally designed as military barracks, the Farfa camp was set up by the Interior Ministry in the countryside around the Benedictine Abbey of Farfa in a neighborhood within the Fara Sabina communal zone; this location was selected in the spring of 1941. The estate on which the camp was to be built belonged to the Roman Property Management Company (*Società Gestione Immobiliare Romana*) and already contained three farmhouses. Eugenio Parrini's development firm was awarded the contract to construct the camp. The Interior Ministry planned to transform the structure after the war into an agricultural colony for people assigned to police confinement.

The camp's construction proceeded slowly due to manpower shortages. The General Directorate of Public Security (*Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza*, Dgps) sought to avoid the inconvenience of deploying prisoner labor from other camps.

Officially, the Farfa camp became operational in early June 1943, despite the fact that the structure was still unfinished. The camp lacked a completed fence and watchtowers; along with a few huts and tents assembled earlier, the place looked more like a construction site than a proper camp. The camp's direction was assigned to a public security commissioner, its security to approximately 20 carabinieri (the number doubled soon after), and health care to a local doctor whose practice was in Poggio Nativo some 6.5 kilometers (4 miles) east of Farfa.

Farfa was expected to become a labor site with a capacity of up to 2,700, however there were only 84 prisoners in the camp by July 14, 1943, and only 95 on August 30. At the end of August 1943, the Interior Ministry considered transferring a substantial number of detainees from the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp, which was scheduled to close, to Farfa. The war situation forestalled these considerations. Soon after the Armistice, the Interior Ministry declared the camp of Farfa closed on September 18, 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Farfa camp are Constantino Di Sante, *Stranieri indesiderabili: Il campo di Fossoli e i "centri raccolta profughi" in Italia (1945–1970)* (Verona: Ombre Corte, 2011); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Farfa camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 134.

Andrea Di Stefano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

FERRAMONTI DI TARSIA

Tarsia is located 35 kilometers (approximately 22 miles) north of Cosenza in Calabria. Following a decision by Benito Mussolini in May 1940, construction of the Ferramonti camp near Tarsia began on June 4, 1940. Originally known as *campo di concentramento, Media Valle di Crati*, the camp was designed to hold "alien" and "hostile" Jews under the direction of the Italian Interior Ministry.

Three successive directors headed the Ferramonti camp. From June 20, 1941, Commissario di Polizia Paolo Salvatore, a native of Bari who had previously served on various prison islands, was director.[1] Although a Fascist, he was not an antisemite, and former inmates described his leadership favorably. On January 22, 1943, Commissario di Polizia Leopoldo Pelosio replaced him. Salvatore's removal took place presumably as a result of efforts made by Alberto Zei, the Fascist militia commandant in Cosenza who was described as a fanatic, and by the Cosenza Fascist Party, which thought that Salvatore had treated the prisoners too well. On March 31, 1943, Pelosio was replaced as director by Mario Fraticelli, a police commissioner from Naples. Like Salvatore, Fraticelli treated the prisoners well. In the Badoglio government's final days, he traveled to Rome with Herbert Landau, then the camp spokesman, or *Obercapo*, entreating the Interior Ministry to release the detainees.[2] Survivor Evelyn Arzt Bergl recalled befriending the daughter of one camp director. In an effort to gain more privileges, Evelyn's mother gave the director's daughter her daughter's used clothes and only doll.[3]

The Cosenza Fascist militia (Volunteer Militia for National Security, *Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN) furnished the guard force. Initially there were 36 members of the Cosenza militia unit, who were regularly replaced; the force was later increased to 75. Most of the MVSN members were residents of Calabrian villages.

Ferramonti, which initially was a men's camp, primarily held Jews and people of Jewish ancestry. In all, 3,823 Jews, including 141 Jews with Italian citizenship, were detained between June 1940 and September 1943. However, in November 1941, Ferramonti's non-Jewish prisoners included Chinese sailors and merchants (43); Greeks, arrested mostly for political reasons (291); Corsicans (approximately 20); and Yugoslavs (approximately 248). Additionally, there were at least 84 Italian antifascists.

A scale model of the Ferramonti internment camp sculptured by Mr. Nagy from Lucenek, Slovak Republic, 1943.
USHMM WS #17755, COURTESY OF FRED FLATAU.

Ferramonti held Jews from Germany, Italy, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. In late September 1940, 300 "Benghazi Jews," who had intended to emigrate to Palestine via Libya and were interned after Italy's entry into the war, were added to the existing population of approximately 400 Jews. They included a considerable number of families. By August 1941, the number of detainees rose to 1,330, including approximately 400 women and 190 children. Some families were then placed in "free confinement" (*confino libero*)—enforced stay in a small community with freedom of movement only within the town and regular reporting at police headquarters—reducing this number to 727 Jews by October 1941. With the influx of the "Kavaja group" of 192 Jews from Albania, the camp population increased again, a trend that continued until liberation. The largest population increase occurred in February and March 1942 with the arrival of 494 people from the "Pentcho" group, who had been detained in Italian custody on the Island of Rhodes after the shipwreck of the *SS Pentcho*, which had been bound for illegal immigration (*Aliyah bet*) to Palestine.[4] The Pentcho group consisted largely of Central European Jewish refugees.[5] In mid-August 1943, Ferramonti held 2,016 inmates.

The mortality rate was low: only 42 (1.1 percent) of the more than 3,800 people detained at Ferramonti died. Most of those who died succumbed to diseases such as dysentery, malaria, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Three inmates died after surgical procedures in the infirmary, and in late August 1943 five inmates were killed in an Allied air attack. Five Greek prisoners were handed over to the Germans, but the Italian authorities did not murder a single Jew.

After the Benghazi group's arrival, the Jewish inmates formed a self-governing organization. They selected a head (*capo*) for each barrack, and the barrack heads (*capi-camerata*) in turn chose a senior capo (*capo dei capi-camerata*, or *Obercapo*), as camp spokesman. German-speaking Jews with extensive knowledge of Italian language and customs led the administration. Each barrack also had a kitchen capo (*capo cucina*) who oversaw a cook and two kitchen helpers. This position was sought after because it provided access to food. Those who could bring money into the camp or who were providers of services, such as pharmacists and nurses, occupied special positions. In the worst position were poor, unskilled Jews lacking the financial means and possessions to barter. They suffered the most from hunger and difficult living conditions.

The extensive self-organization helped ameliorate harsh camp conditions and increased chances for survival. In fact, the centrally managed distribution of scarce food items was crucial to survival. Although almost all the prisoners were malnourished, no one starved. An aid organization established by detainees Maximilian Pereles, a lawyer from Munich, and Martin Ruben, a chemist from Berlin, supported the poor, ill, and mothers with children. In addition, it sponsored an inmate-run pharmacy that sold drugs, using the proceeds to subsidize medication for poor prisoners. The camp also had a kindergarten and school.[6] There were three synagogues, a Talmud Torah school, and a burial society, the Chevra Kadisha. Because a large number of detainees were artists and scholars, there were theatrical and musical performances, art exhibitions, and a lending library. Young men organized sports clubs.[7]

The several groups of Jews maintained close contact in Ferramonti. Facilitating this contact was their being housed together in a small number of barracks. Yet the groups maintained their religious autonomy. At times, there were three synagogues: Reform, Orthodox, and Conservative. Because Zionist activity was not permitted, the Pentcho group, which had many Betar members, mostly refrained from participating in the self-governing body.

The Jewish detainees were not required to work, but were deployed inside and outside the camp, building additional barracks and transporting drinking water. Starting in the summer of 1942, the Jews also worked in the surrounding towns, doing land clearance and drainage, constructing air-raid shelters, and working in repair shops. Consequently there was close contact between Jews working outside and local peasants, who sold them food and black-market items. Because the dead were buried in the Tarsia and Cosenza cemeteries, the local population also knew about inmate deaths in Ferramonti. According to Bergl, the Italian authorities permitted detainees inside the camp to trade for fresh fruit just outside the compound.[8] Survivor Zdenka Levy also recalled trading with peasants across the barbed-wire fence.[9]

To protest the poor food supply, one prisoner organized a failed hunger strike in early August 1941. There were four successful escapes and a few failed escape attempts from Ferramonti. The first escape succeeded on October 2, 1940, and the last one on July 1, 1943. When Director Fraticelli opened the camp gates on September 5, 1943, many inmates fled out of fear of the approaching Wehrmacht units.

The camp was liberated by the British Eighth Army on September 14, 1943. After liberation, Allied officers investigated Ferramonti's personnel for possible crimes. Trials did not take place, however, in part because Law Mirski, then the camp spokesman, did not deem an indictment justifiable. In his opinion, the camp administration did everything in its power to make life bearable. The MVSN behaved differently, he stated, but did not commit atrocities. After liberation, the Ferramonti camp continued in operation as a displaced persons (DP) camp. On January 1, 1944, 1,550 Jews were still living there, preparing for emigration to Palestine.

SOURCES Numerous secondary works on the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp have appeared since the 1980s: Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Ferramonti: La vita e gli uomini del più grande campo d'internamento fascista (1940–1945)* (Florence: Giuntina, 1987); Francesco Folino, *Ferramonti: Un lager di Mussolini; Gli internati durante la guerra* (Cosenza: Editioni Brenner, 1985) and *Ebrei destinazione Calabria (1940–1943)* (Palermo: Sellerio editore, 1988); Francesco Volpe, ed., *Ferramonti: Un lager nel sud; Atti del convengo internazionale di studi 15/16 maggio 1987* (Cosenza: Editioni Orizzonti Meridionali, 1990); and Francesco Folino, *Ferramonti? Un misfatto senza sconti* (Cosenza: Editioni Brenner, 2004). Another source is Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993); vol. 2 provides a comprehensive description of the

camp. Information on the Ferramonti museum and memorial site can be found at www.progettoferramonti.it/elenco-partner/49-fondazione-internazionale-ferramonti-di-tarsia.

Documentation on Ferramonti di Tarsia can be found in the holdings of ACS (Mi, Dgps, AA.GG.RR, Cat. M 4-16, B. 24, f. Cosenza). Good insight into the Jewish detainees' situation at Ferramonti is found in CDEC, G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israele Kalk. The Kalk collection includes a number of testimonies collected in the 1950s and early 1960s. The ITS holds several collections, especially under 1.1.14.1 (List Material Italy and Albania), concerning Ferramonti, which are digitally copied to USHMMA. Especially strong are the holdings, originally submitted to ICRC, concerning the Pentcho group. Particularly helpful are photos that show the interior and exterior of the barracks (WS #68288 and 78971). USHMMPA has many photographs of Ferramonti during its concentration and DP camp phases. At YVA, there is a description by a Ferramonti inmate dating from the period before liberation: O-33/713: David Trichter, "Ferramonti, wie es war und wie es ist," Tel Aviv, June 1944. USHMMA has the correspondence of Ferramonti detainees Evelyn Arzt Bergl (Acc. No. 2006.35.1) and the Karl Akiva and Ella Huppert Schwarz papers, 1938 to 1946 (Acc. No. 2004.273.1). USHMMA has two oral history interviews with Ferramonti detainees: Evelyn Arzt Bergl (RG-50.030*0498, September 13, 2005) and Zdenka Levy (RG-50.477*0339, March 25, 1990). VHA holds 74 testimonies from former prisoners and DPs held at Ferramonti. The diary of Padre Callisto Lopinot OFM, published as "Diario 1941–1944 Ferramonti-Tarsia," in Volpe, *Ferramonti*, pp. 156–207, describes the camp conditions from the standpoint of someone who could move about freely and was in close contact with the detainees. Additional excerpts from documents and testimonies (the latter mostly originating from the CDEC's Fondo Kalk collection) can be found in Mario Rende, ed., *Ferramonti di Tarsia: Voci da un campo di concentramento fascista; 1940–1945* (Milan: Mursia, 2009). A published testimony is Albert Alcalay, *The Persistence of Hope: A True Story* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007).

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Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Salvatore appointment, June 20, 1940, ACS, Mi, Dgps, AA.GG.RR, Cat. M4-16, B. 24, f. Cosenza, as cited in Capogreco, *Ferramonti*, pp. 66–67.
2. Herbert Landau testimony, CDEC, Fondo Israele Kalk, 4-VII-1, as cited in ibid., p. 169.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0498, Evelyn Arzt Bergl, oral history interview, September 13, 2005.
4. For a partial list, see ITS, 1.1.14.1, List Material Italy and Albania, "Liste der Schiffbrüchigen des SS "Pentscho," die im Lager Ferramonti (Tarsia) in Italien interniert wurden," n.d., Doc. No. 459200-459204.
5. ITS, 1.1.14.1, List Material Italy and Albania, Dr. Lazar Kohn, Vorstand des Rodischiffbrüchigen, to ICRC, March 4, 1942, cover letter and list, "Liste von Personen, die von der Insel Rhodos am 12.1.1942 zum KZ-Lager Ferramonti di Tarsia in Italien überstellt wurden," Doc. No. 459273-459277.
6. USHMMPA, WS #84475, "Kindergarten children in the Ferramonti internment camp in Italy," April 1, 1942.
7. USHMMA, RG-50.477*0339, Zdenka Levy, oral history interview, March 25, 1990; USHMMPA, WS #49398, "Members of an internee soccer team walk through the Ferramonti internment camp," 1942–1943 (Courtesy of Emanuele Pacifici); USHMMPA, WS #84499, "Group portrait of the Rhodes and Ferramonti soccer teams at the Ferramonti internment camp in Italy," July 10, 1943 (Courtesy of Jabotinsky Institute).
8. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0498, Evelyn Arzt Bergl, oral history interview, September 13, 2005.
9. USHMMA, RG-50.477*0339, Zdenka Levy, oral history interview, March 25, 1990.

FERTILIA

Fertilia is 380 kilometers (236 miles) southwest of Rome, located in the commune of Alghero in Sassari province, Sardinia. It was a Fascist-created village that was built in the 1930s. The Sardinian Authority for Colonization (*Ente Sardo di Colonizzazione*, ESC), a government institution responsible for land cultivation and the construction of agricultural villages, received a request from the Italian General Directorate of War Services (*Direzione generale servizi di guerra*, Dgsg) to assign approximately 300 civilian internees primarily to road construction and agriculture.[1] The Fertilia concentration camp began operation on January 26, 1943. It consisted of three stone cabins with barred windows surrounded by barbed wire.

The internees arrived at Fertilia in two groups: 75 people on January 26, 1943, and another 200 on March 23. All of the internees were men from the Melada (Molat) concentration camp in Croatia, where they were detained following civilian roundups or because they were suspected of sympathizing with the Partisans.

A small contingent of carabinieri under the command of Maresciallo Capo Angelo Lecca guarded the camp. On arrival the internees were inspected by a health care worker from the Alghero commune; although he asked for the immediate transfer of at least 36 internees who were seriously ill and incapable of labor, none were transferred. Some of the internees displayed signs of illnesses, and others suffered respiratory ailments, stark testimony to the harsh conditions at Melada. One internee had to be committed on arrival to the Psychiatric Hospital of Sassari because he displayed aberrant behavior (he died after three months of hospitalization).[2] A few days before the Fertilia camp's closure, on July 20, 1943, another internee died of unknown causes.

As ordered by the ESC, the Croats were deployed as forced laborers. According to former internee Josip Bašić, the carabinieri threatened those who refused to work, at times using physical force.[3]

The prisoners' diet was sparse. According to ESC documentation, each internee was allotted 150 grams (a little over 5 ounces) of bread per day. Additional foodstuffs included pasta, oil, sugar, fats, butter, and jam.[4]

After Operation Husky, in which the Allies landed in Sicily, the camp was ordered to be closed on July 26, 1943, and the internees transferred. After a long journey across Corsica, the internees were sent by ship to Liguria and dispatched to the Renicci di Anghiari concentration camp (Arezzo province), just southeast of Florence.

SOURCES A secondary source on the Fertilia camp is the website, www.campifasciti.it.

Primary sources documenting the Fertilia camp can be found in Ag-La fondo ESC and ASL Sassari. Many of these documents are available at www.campifasciti.it, as are the sound recording and transcript of the testimony of Josip Bašić.

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NOTES

1. Mi, Gabinetto di PS, Telegramma n. 0014108, January 16, 1943, ai Prefetti di Zara, Sassari e Fiume, Ag-La, fondo ESC, B. 3, Direzione e Presidenza, fasc. 4, sf. 3, reproduced at www.campifascisti.org.
2. A. Coletti, Regia Questura di Sassari, Ottg: Plemick (*sic*), Giuseppe, March 24, 1943, ASL Sassari, reproduced at www.campifascisti.org.
3. Josip Bašić interview, April 23, 2012, available at www.campifascisti.org.
4. Alimentazione internati, n.d., Ag-La, fondo ESC, B. 3, Direzione e Presidenza, fasc. 4, sf. 2, available at www.campifascisti.org.

FIUME

During World War II, the Italian Second Army used part of two large stone, four-story buildings in Fiume, at the time serving as barracks named after Maresciallo d'Italia Armando Vittorio Diaz, as a place for the internment of civilians and enemy soldiers. The barracks were located in the city of Fiume (today: Rijeka, Croatia) almost 132 kilometers (82 miles) southwest of Zagreb. From 1924 until the Armistice of September 8, 1943, Fiume was under Italian occupation and was awarded to Yugoslavia in 1947.

Since March 1941, in anticipation of an imminent attack against the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, a section of the Diaz Barracks (*Caserma Diaz*) was turned into a segregation or transit camp for prisoners of war (POWs); it was designated as a POW (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 83. Although it had a declared capacity of 1,000 people, only a very small number of foreign soldiers were detained in the Fiume POW camp after the sudden defeat and dissolution of the Royal Yugoslav Army. Instead the Italian Army used the available space at the Diaz Barracks mainly to intern Yugoslav civilians captured during various military operations against the Partisans or in the course of retaliatory actions targeting the civilian population.

Evidence obtained so far does not allow for a thorough reconstruction of the camp's history. For example, the date when the camp became operational is not known. Documents of the Royal Yugoslav Army tracked the number of internees only from February 1943 onward, but there is no doubt that the camp was already functioning in August 1942 when reports mention the detention of 374 men in Fiume.

A document from February 1943, which continues to refer to the Diaz Barracks as "No. 83," notes that 876 people were held at the camp: they were all men interned for reasons of persecution.[1] In the following months the number of internees decreased, and the gender and age composition of the population changed. For example, as of April 1, 1943, in addition to 380 men there were also 147 women, 48 boys, and 44 girls, for a total of 619 people. On July 1, following the arrival of many internees from the Buccari concentration camp (today: Bakar, Croatia) who were sent to Fiume before heading to the Gonars concentration camp (Udine), the number of internees rose again to 758 individuals.

Based not only on information contained in these documents but also judging from the camp's location (in barracks inside a city in an annexed territory), one can infer that the chief function of the Diaz Barracks was to temporarily intern people who had already been arrested or rounded up, before their placement in concentration camps that were more isolated or located farther away from war zones.

Little is known about the living conditions. In a report from March 1943, Generale di Brigata Intendente Umberto Giglio describes the measures taken with civilian internees "in order to ensure that the mortality rate, which has already reached rather high numbers, does not increase any further."[2] The report mentions that, of the 546 internees present in the Diaz Barracks as of March 25, 1943, 125 were hospitalized, whereas another 62 had to be taken to a "sanitarium" (a place for people who were not gravely sick but typically were undernourished). In other words, 35 percent of the internees faced health problems. The only official sources available that specify the number of deceased cover the months between January and May 1943: 33 internees died during this period.[3]

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Diaz Barracks camp at Fiume can be found in the following archival collections: ARS; AUSSME; USSME fondo M3, B. 64. This documentation can be found online at www.campifascisti.it.

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NOTES

1. II Armata, Supersloda, Uff. Ordinamento, "Situazione internati civili alla data del 1 febbraio 1943 nei campi di concentramento gestiti dall Intendenza della II Armata, e dai Corpi d'Armata V, VI, XVII nonché dal Governatorado della Dalmazia," February 20, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.
2. Giglio to Ministerro della Guerra, March 27, 1943, Ogg.: "Vettovagliamento per internati civili," USSME, fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento, p. 1, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. Supersloda, "Decessi verificatesi nei campi di concentramento dal 1° Gennaio al 31 Maggio 1943—XXI," June 26, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

FORLÌ

Forlì is nearly 25 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of Ravenna and 64 kilometers (40 miles) southeast of Bologna. Located along the ancient Emilia Way between Bologna and the Adriatic Coast, Forlì (Forlì province; today: Forlì-Cesena) became known in the 1920s as the city of Mussolini ("*città del Duce*"). His birthplace, Predappio, is a small town only 14 kilometers (nearly 9 miles) to the southwest. Forlì became an area for fascist rationalistic architecture and a center of growing military interest before the war, but was a quiet backwater once the war began. The census conducted after the imposition of the 1938 Italian racial laws recorded 15 Jewish families in the city and 112 in Forlì province (including 61 families "on holiday"). In November 1938 the Forlì prefect gave a figure of some 23 Jewish families living in the city alone.

From October 1943 the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) dominated the area, and during the summer of 1944 Forlì and the whole Romagna subregion were part of the "Gothic Line," a German defensive line in northern Italy. There were two major detention sites in Forlì under RSI control: the judicial prison (*carcere giudiziario*) in the Rocca of Caterina Sforza and the provincial camp for Jews at Albergo Commercio.

The Rocca was a medieval castle located at one of the city entrances. Designed to accommodate approximately 300 prisoners, under the RSI it was a detention site for more than 1,000 men, women, and children. In addition to those detained for criminal charges, it increasingly held Jews, Roma, foreigners, political opponents, and prisoners of war (POWs). Local Fascist personnel commanded and guarded the site. The prisoners were kept at the disposal of the Italian and German authorities that arrested or claimed them. By 1944, the German authorities overtly challenged the previous rules and entered the site to take prisoners—dispatching them for forced labor to the Reich or using them as hostages to be killed nearby. In response to a complaint by prison director A. Campailla, the German authorities answered that such norms no longer existed and that Campailla showed "excessive interest" in the prisoners. Thus the Germans took at least 239 detainees for forced labor or as hostages, including an unknown number of Jews and 46 children.[1]

The detention of Jews increased immediately after the issuance of Police Order No. 5 on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the RSI, concerning the concentration of Italian and foreign Jews.[2] Jews of mixed families, such as Amerigo Klein and Luigi Szegò from Forlì, and Gemma Bassani, were rounded up and detained in spite of exemptions under the order and its subsequent specifications. Klein and Szegò were released from prison in mid-December 1943, probably following receipt of another telegram specifying Interior Ministry orders, whereas Bassani, who was 22 years old when she was held in the Forlì prison after being arrested in Rome on December 20, 1943, was handed over to the Italian police on January 13, 1944, and deported. She did not survive.

The arbitrariness of "racial persecution" in the Forlì prison was exemplified by the case of 24 men, women, and children deported by Italian police from Rome on March 9, 1944, and registered at the prison under the numbers 2724–2747. The next morning, a group of five of these prisoners, including one family from Zarfati, was handed over to the Germans, whereas the remaining 19 Jews, including another Zarfati family and one from Sermoneta with a mother and three children ages 5 to 10, were placed under the custody of the Italian police. All of them were eventually deported to Fossoli and then to Auschwitz, where they perished.

Overall, at least 45 of the 70 Jews interned at Forlì from September 1943 to November 1944 perished in the Holocaust; 25 were deported to Auschwitz or elsewhere via Fossoli or Ravenna, and 20 more were killed at the Forlì Airport on September 5 and 17, 1944.[3] Two of those murdered Jews, Emilio Zamorani and his son Massimo, ages 53 and 24, respectively, were hanged on September 9, 1944, in San Tomè, near Forlì.

Police Order No. 5 also led to the establishment of the provincial camp for Jews in a former hotel on Corso Diaz, Albergo Commercio, close to the central Saffi Square. On January 28, 1944, the police chief (*questore*) of Forlì forwarded to the administrative office of the prefect a bill of 400 lire to be paid to the carpenters' cooperative (*Cooperativa Lavoranti Falegnami*) for "building a partition wooden wall . . . in the Albergo Commercio . . . assigned to be the provisional concentration camp for Jews in this province."[4] The returned note included marginalia stating that "we send back this bill specifying that this office has no money to pay it."[5] As early as December 29, 1943, an Interior Ministry telegram alerted the Fossoli concentration camp to expect a group of 827 Jews, including 14 from Forlì, according to historian Gregorio Caravita. There are no available lists of the people who were detained in the 29 rooms of the Albergo Commercio or information on how long they were interned there. The register of the nearby Ravenna Prison mentions at least five Jewish females—Hilde Fanny Abraham and Lucia, Lina, Anna, and Elda Forti from Lugo di Ravenna, ages 58 to 64—who were deported from the Forlì concentration camp.[6] A family letter further testifies to the two Jacchia sisters, Diana and Dina, also being there for at least one month before being transferred to the Ravenna camp.[7] In their sixties, they came from nearby Cesena and were the daughters of a man who had fought with Giuseppe Garibaldi and had been decorated for service with the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) during World War I. Arrested by the Italians, detained at Forlì, and then transferred to Ravenna, the sisters were deported by the Germans and perished. Albergo Commercio likely ceased activity in the spring of 1944.

With the closing of the Fossoli camp in June and July 1944 and the transferring of its functions to the German-run Bozen-Gries camp, transports became more difficult. This perhaps explains why the Jews who were still detained in Forlì, mostly foreigners interned in the prison, were no longer deported, but instead were shot at Forlì Airport, where bombings had already produced some craters to be used as graves. Along with a number of non-Jews, approximately 20 Jews were killed there on September 5, 17, and 24, 1944. Altogether, at least 52 were killed at the airport by the German authorities, while the Italian authorities furnished the guards. The first 10 young peasants were shot in late June in retaliation for the death of a German soldier; the last ones were killed at the end of September 1944.

SOURCES There are few secondary sources on the Forlì camps. The most relevant is Gregorio Caravita, *Ebrei in Romagna (1938–45): Dalle leggi razziali allo sterminio* (1991; Ravenna: Longo, 2013). Another useful volume is Vladimiro Flamigni et al., eds., *Luoghi e Memorie* (Forlì: Comune di Forlì, 2007). This entry presents some of the findings from the research project, ECOSMEG.

Primary sources on the Forlì camps, especially the Albergo Commercio, can be found in a number of collections in ASF, including B. 362, 387, 394, and 414. Documentation on the prison mainly originates from the Rocca "matricular registers" for the years 1942, 1943, and 1944, which today can be consulted only with special permission. Unfortunately only the registers remain, and many other papers have been destroyed. Some other relevant documents, especially contemporaneous newspapers, personal diaries, and letters, can be found at ASFRF-C, where the two relevant collections are the fondo Flamigni and the fondo VIII Brigata Garibaldi. Since the 1990s, FAF-UC has investigated the airport massacres and maintains a considerable collection of personal documents. A partial listing of Jewish victims of the airport massacres is available in ITS, 1.1.14.1, which is in digital form at USHMMA. As cited in Caravita, some documentation related to the Forlì camps can be found in ACS. Two published diaries are Antonio Mambelli, *Diario degli avvenimenti in Forlì e in Romagna 1939–1945*, ed. Dino Mengozzi, 2 vols. (Manduria: Lacaita, 2003); and Oreste Casaglia, *SS: Cella n.1: Diario della detenzione presso il carcere politico della SS tedesca, agosto 1944*, introduction by Roberto Balzani; epilogue by Luigi Casaglia (Forlì: Istituto Storico della Resistenza e dell'età contemporanea della Provincia di Forlì-Cesena, 2005).

Maura de Bernart

NOTES

1. A. Campailla, Direzione Istituti Penali Forlì, to the Italian Justice Ministry, July 15, 1944, ASF, B. 387, file 98; and German response, ASF, B. 394, file 127.
2. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.
3. A published version of the carcere immatricalazione, September 8, 1943, to November 9, 1944, is Caravita, *Ebrei in Romagna*, pp. 323–325.
4. Questura a Prefettura, January 28, 1944, ASF, B. 371, file 69.
5. Ibid.
6. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, as cited in Caravita, *Ebrei in Romagna*, p. 309.
7. Lucia Forti to Prefetto di Forlì, January 11, 1944, ASF, B. 371, file 63.

FOSSALON

Fossalon is nearly 10 kilometers (6 miles) northeast of Grado and more than 16 kilometers (10 miles) south of Sagrado. It is an agricultural zone in the Grado commune (Gorizia province) located in the area of Bonifica della Vittoria. In October 1942, the Fascist government set up a labor camp (*campo di lavoro*) at Fossalon for Italian civilians belonging to the Slavic minority from Venezia Giulia (so-called aliens). Military authorities ran the camp. Those sent to Fossalon were able-bodied men who had previously been detained in the nearby concentration camp of Poggio Terza Armata (Sagrado, Zdravščina, Sdraussina), of which Fossalon was a subcamp. On average the camp accommodated approximately 100 forced laborers.

The Fossalon camp was set up in the town of Eraclea in Casa Concordia in a rural housing complex next to a road that ran along the Isonzo River. The facility was fenced and guarded by a group of policemen under the supervision of Maresciallo Gino Calmieri. It also featured a large arcade and was made up of two average-sized houses, three smaller houses, two stables, one barn, and four silos. Other than the police, the internees were controlled by two guards working for a government land management body (the *Tre Venezie* National Institution), who accompanied the laborers to and from their assigned workplace.

A typical workday at Fossalon had, more or less, the same rhythm as those in other Fascist labor camps run by the Interior Ministry; for example, the agricultural colony in Pisticci and the labor center at Castel di Guido. However, work was mandatory at Fossalon, and those very few who refused to work faced incarceration in the Trieste Coroneo prisons. The first internees arrived at Fossalon in early October 1942. Many of them had already been imprisoned in Trieste and were then transferred to Poggio Terza Armata. Several prisoners went directly to Fossalon without passing through the main camp.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, all of the inmates left Fossalon. Under the direction of the camp's internal political organization led by Milo Vizintin, they sought to reach the partisan forces to continue the fight against Axis forces.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Fossalon camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004) pp. 266–267; and Marco Puppini, "Gli internati di Fossalon—Il campo di lavoro forzato di Fossalon (1942–1943)," *IlTer* 22 (November 1988), available at www.ilterritorio.ccm.it/lib/index_boll.php?goto_id=814.

Primary sources documenting the Fossalon camp can be found at ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), B. 111, sf. No. 1 (Affari generali), inserto No. 57/1, "Zone di bonifica"; and USSME, fondo Diari Storici, B. 667. The latter documentation is available at www.campifascisti.it.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

FOSSOLI

Fossoli, located in Modena province, is 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) north of the center of Carpi (Carpi is more than 16 kilometers [10 miles] north of Modena and 48 kilometers [30 miles] northwest of Bologna). In 1942, the Italian Army established in Fossoli a prisoner of war (POW) (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 73, mostly for British Commonwealth soldiers captured in North Africa. It served that purpose until the German occupation following the September 8, 1943, signing of the Armistice, when the German forces dispatched these men to POW camps within the Reich. Around the same time, the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA) initiated the first round of deportations of Jews, with major roundups in the cities of Meran (September 16), Rome (October 18), Florence/Bologna (November 9), and Milan/Verona (December 11). Those rounded up were deported without being sent to an intermediary camp. The German authorities deported both foreign Jews and Jews holding Italian citizenship.

A major turning point in the persecution of Italian Jews occurred on November 14, 1943, when the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) promulgated the Verona Charter. The document declared that all Jews within Italy, including even those of Italian citizenship, were to be regarded as foreigners.[1] The practical outcome of the charter was Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30.[2] The new policy mandated the arrest of all Jews, with just a few exceptions. The police order prodded the heads of provinces in the RSI to establish provincial camps for Jews (*campi provinciale per ebrei*). Because it was an RSI directive, the Italian police were responsible for the arrests that led to internment, although they may not have realized fully the intentions of the office in Verona, which pressed for the arrest and deportation of Jews without exception.

The Fossoli concentration camp (also called Fossoli di Carpi) officially opened on December 5, 1943. Under RSI control, it had two successive commandants, both police captains: Domenico Avitabile and Mario Taglialatela. At the end of

The Fossoli transit camp as seen from one of the watchtowers. One-third of Jews deported to German camps from Italy passed through this camp, 1945.
USHMM WS #79551, COURTESY OF THE ARCHIVIO NOMADELFIA, GROSSET (COPYRIGHT UNKNOWN).

December 1943, the Italian police began to move the arrested Jews from smaller provincial camps into Fossoli. The first 97 Jews entered the camp at this time. There were 185 Jews in the camp by January 2, 1944.

So that the camp could house both Italian political dissidents and Jews, it was necessary to expand it. Non-Jewish political opponents of the RSI and the German occupation were first moved into the "old camp" (*Campo Vecchio*), the former POW camp, whereas the Jews entered the "new camp" (*Campo Nuovo*). Until the new camp was built, the first Jewish prisoners were held in the old camp. The RSI maintained control of the old camp under the authority of the Modena Prefecture. The prisoners were segregated according to the reason for their incarceration, with the political dissidents such as communists, socialists, and other political opponents wearing red triangles and Jews designated by yellow triangles. The camp was surrounded by two rows of barbed wire, and the wire also ran through the middle of the camp to segregate the political prisoners from the Jews. In the section housing political dissidents, 14 brick barracks housed a maximum of 320 prisoners each. The Jewish prisoners were quartered in 16 wooden barracks, each with a maximum capacity of 256 people. When the camp was still under Italian control and for the first two months under the German authorities (after September 1943), Jewish families were allowed to live intact, with partitions for privacy in the barracks. Compared to camps in the Reich, sanitation and food were of better quality.

Deportations of Jews began in January 1944. The first transport departed Fossoli on January 26, 1944, and arrived in Bergen-Belsen five days later. This initial transport consisted of 83 Anglo-Libyan Jews, who as holders of British diplomatic papers were held under special status, both in Fascist Italy and the Reich. They had already passed through a succession of Italian-run sites in Libya and the Italian mainland. The first train to Auschwitz left the camp on February 22 with 517 prisoners, arriving at the killing center on February 26. Among the deportees was Primo Levi, who published extensively on his Holocaust experiences after the war.

In the middle of March 1944 the new camp, Campo Nuovo, was transferred to the authority of the SS and police in Verona and became a full-fledged police and transit camp (*Polizei- und- Durchgangslager*). The old camp, Campo Vecchio, remained under RSI control until its closure on August 2, 1944.

SOURCES There is an extensive bibliography on the Fossoli camp. The most comprehensive work on Fossoli is Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *L'alba ci colse come un tradimento* (Milan: Mondadori, 2010). In addition to a narrative about the camp, it contains data on the deportees, including names, father's name, birth date, and camp destination. A more recent study in English is Liliana Picciotto Fargion, "Fossoli—From Italian Concentration Camp for Jews to a Polizei- und Durchgangslager," *YVS* 42 (2014): 111–138. A historical treatment of the camp and deportation data are available in Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria* (Milan: Mursia, 2002), esp. pp. 903–929.

For archival material see ASC-C, especially Campo di Fossoli, Atti dal 1942 al 1949, B. 1, fasc. 2, Campo Concentramento Ebrei dal 5.12.1943 all'1.8.1944. Important information on the camp is located also at ASMo, Questura, parte riservata, B. Internati—Elenchi—Varie—Campo di Fossoli. The most extensive holdings on the Jewish deportees in Italy are located in Milan at the AFCDEC. An online guide is available at www.cdec.it. Particularly useful is Fondo archivistico CRDE and Fondo archivistico DRED. BLH holds letters from Fossoli prisoners. This material is available in microform at USHMMA under RG-68.112M. The F18 files of the ITS contain some documentation on Jews sent to Fossoli during the RSI phase. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. VHA holds 33 testimonies connected with the Fossoli camp. Reproductions of documents can also be found at www.campifascisti.org. Leopoldo Gasparotto's diary is available as *Diario di Fossoli*, ed. Mimmo Franzinelli (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2007). For letters from the camp, see Ada Michstaedter Marchesini, *Con l'animo sospeso: Lettere dal campo di Fossoli 27 aprile–31 luglio 1944*, ed. Dino Renato Nardelli (Turin: Ega Editore, 2003).

Jerome Legge

NOTES

1. La Carta di Verona is available at "Storia-History," www.larchivio.org/xoom/cartadiverona.htm.
2. Ordine di internare tutti gli ebrei, a qualunque nazionalità appartengano. Ordinanza di polizia RSI n. 5 del 30 novembre 1943, www.campifascisti.it/scheda_provvedimento_full.php?id_provv=3.

GIOIA DEL COLLE

Gioia del Colle is more than 35 kilometers (22 miles) southwest of Bari and over 146 kilometers (91 miles) northeast of Ferramonti di Tarsia in Bari province. In 1940 the Interior Ministry established a camp at the Pagano mill and pasta factory, a three-story building located some two kilometers (just over a mile) away from the town of Gioia del Colle along a provincial road leading to Santeramo in Colle.

Owned by local entrepreneur Angelo Lattarulo, the building was selected in March 1940 for use as a concentration camp for political detainees, with a capacity of 240 people. In actuality, the camp, which opened in late July 1940, detained only Jews, and the average internee population hovered around 50. The camp was headed by Public Security Commissioner Ernesto Santini, who was not only the commissioner of Gioia del Colle, but was also in charge of weekly inspections of the nearby Alberobello camp from 1940 to 1943. Police and public security agents provided administration and security.

The camp's building stood in a well-isolated place that was easy to guard. Surrounded with high walls and provided with an iron gate and a watchtower, it thus had all the elements of a barracks or a military base. The building had an ample supply of water, but not electricity or heat. Both the camp's kitchen and communal canteen were located on the second floor, along with offices for the police and camp's director. On the third floor were two large rooms, each with a capacity of 50 beds. For some time, an isolation ward for the hospitalization of sick

people (there were three cases of tuberculosis in the camp) was set up on the third floor. Several terraces, a garden, and a large courtyard with four rudimentary latrines completed the area.

The first internees (36 Italian Jews transferred from Campagna) arrived at Gioia del Colle on August 15, 1940. Another 12 people came in September, 3 in October, and 2 in December 1940. In total, 59 internees passed through the camp. They were all male and most were Italian Jews from Italy's major cities (Rome, Ferrara, Trieste, Ancona, Padua, Livorno, Turin, and Milan). The internees' average age was 45 (the youngest, Elia Lumbroso, was 23; the oldest, Pellegrino Astrologo, was 65). Of the 47 internees whose occupations are recorded, there were 14 merchants, 13 office workers, 6 lawyers, 6 laborers, 2 engineers, 2 farmers, 2 pensioners, 1 doctor, and 1 university student. The majority of the internees came from the Campagna concentration camp, although a few had been transferred from the camps at Urbisaglia, Ferramonti di Tarsia, and Ventotene. Gioia del Colle was the very first place of internment for 18 internees.

The Bari Prefecture allocated the following to each internee: one steel or wooden cot with metal or fiber mesh, one mattress, two hemp sheets, one blanket, two towels, and one stool. The companies responsible for the camp's furnishings were required to change bed linen and towels twice a week. Two internees were allowed to leave the camp every day, one by one and under escort, to procure supplies for the communal canteen. In the beginning, a local operator ran the canteen, but its operation was eventually handed over to the internees. In daytime, the internees had permission to gather for prayer and to spend their time inside a specially delineated area adjacent to the former factory. A local medical doctor, Pietro Lippolis, was the camp's official physician. In actuality, an interned Polish doctor, Marco Halpern, cared for the detainees.

Reluctantly, the Interior Ministry made the concession of family visitation inside the camp. Some internees were given permission to visit their sick relatives. In the course of the camp's existence, the internees could also leave the camp and visit a local brothel in groups of four to six under police guard. This singular concession was soon revoked.

On December 14, 1940, the Bari prefect proposed to the police chief that the inmates be transferred to another location, possibly outside the province. Security reasons motivated this proposal, which was welcomed, because the ongoing construction of a nearby military airport was clearly visible from the upper floors of the camp's building. The order for the camp's closure was signed on December 31, 1940. The camp's supplies and furnishings were returned to one of the contractors, and the remaining equipment was put at the disposal of the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp.

The majority of the internees left Gioia del Colle on January 15, 1941. Three others left in February, one in March, and the last internee, Marco Halpern, left on June 7. Forty-two were transferred to the Isola del Gran Sasso camp. Others were sent to camps in different municipalities across the provinces of Pesaro, Potenza, Ascoli Piceno, and Macerata. Four of these internees had their internment revoked later.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, former internees from Gioia del Colle suffered various other kinds of persecution, with at least 12 deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau and to their subsequent death.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Gioia del Colle camp include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 237–238; Francesco Terzulli, "Un campo d'internamento per ebrei a Gioia del Colle nel 1940," *Riflessioni*, 24: (2001): 45–66; and Francesco Terzulli, "Il campo di concentramento per ebrei a Gioia del Colle (agosto 1940–gennaio 1941)," in Terzulli, *Gioia: Una città nella storia e civiltà di Puglia* (Fasano: Schena, 1992), 3: 493–594.

Primary sources documenting the Gioia del Colle camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115.

Andrea Di Stefano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

GONARS

Gonars is located 87 kilometers (54 miles) northeast of Venice and almost 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Ljubljana, Slovenia. The Gonars concentration camp was constructed in the fall of 1941 in anticipation of the arrival of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and was given the designation POW (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 89. However, it was never used for that purpose. In the spring of 1942, Gonars became a detention site for "ex-Yugoslav" civilians, especially Slovenian political prisoners, rounded up by the Italian Second Army as part of the notorious Circular 3C. Issued by Generale d'Armata Mario Roatta, the decree set in motion repressive measures in Italian-occupied Yugoslavia.

On the night of February 22, 1942, Roatta ordered the encirclement of Ljubljana with barbed wire so that the city effectively became a concentration camp. All adult males were arrested, and the majority of them were subject to internment. The 21st Infantry Division (Sardinia Grenadiers) carried out the roundups. The division commander, Generale di divisione Taddeo Orlando, ordered the eviction of those selected for internment "regardless of their guilt or a lack thereof."[1] The arrestees were transferred to the Gonars camp, bringing its population to 6,000 detainees by the summer of 1942.

The Gonars camp consisted of three sectors encircled by barbed wire. The carabinieri and some 600 soldiers handled security. The camp had two 6-meter-high (approximately 20-foot-high) towers with machine guns. The guards had orders to shoot without warning anyone who approached the fence too closely. The internees lived in long narrow barracks that each accommodated 80 to 130 prisoners. The barracks were poorly heated. In addition, many prisoners, especially adult males, slept in tents.

Because of overcrowding, substandard hygienic conditions, and the poor diet, disease spread and deaths soon followed. Nine-year-old Milan Cimprič described the hunger at Gonars as "unimaginable."[2] Desperate for food, he and other children collected peelings from a pit near the kitchen. Another former

Stane Kumar. Interned Child Behind the Barbed Wire, 1943, pencil. Gonars, Italy.
USHMM WS #28128, COURTESY OF MUZEJ NOVEJSE ZGODOVINE SLOVENIJE/ NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, SLOVENIA.

detainee, Franc Pantar, recalled years later participating in a burial detail at the neighboring cemetery.[3] In 1973, the Federation of Yugoslavia recovered the remains of 453 prisoners and reinterred them in a memorial crypt.

On February 25, 1943, there were 5,343 internees at Gonars, including 1,643 children. Among the prisoners were entire families coming from Ljubljana and the camps of Arbe (Rab) and Monigo (Veneto province). The Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracing Service (ITS) shows that the transfer from Arbe to Gonars was a typical track of persecution.[4] Other prisoners were sent to Gonars from the camps at Cighino (Slovenian: Čiginj) and Caserma Diaz in Fiume (today: Rijeka, Croatia).[5] Prisoners from Gonars were transferred to other Italian-run camps, namely Chiesanuova, Pietrafitta, and Renicci. On August 30, 1943, eight prisoners successfully escaped from the camp.

Gonars operated until the Armistice of September 8, 1943. At that time, the guard contingent fled, leaving the internees free to go. At the time of the German occupation, however, a number of them still remained in the camp. On October 22, 1943, the SS-Reich Security Main Office (*SS-Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, SS-RSHA) ordered the release from Gonars of all the women and children, as well as males younger than 16 or older than 60.[6] The German authorities subsequently deployed some of the remaining male prisoners as forced labor.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Gonars camp include Alessandra Kersevan, *Un campo di concentramento fascista: Gonars 1942–1943* (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2003); Alessandra Kersevan, *Lager italiani: Pulizia etnica e campi di concentramento fascisti per civili jugoslavi 1941–1943* (Rome: Casa Editrice Nutrimenti, 2008); Nadja Pahor Verri, ed., *Oltre il filo: Storia del campo di internamento di Gonars 1941–1943* (Udine: Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1996); and Davide Conti, *L'occupazione italiana dei Balcani: Crimini di guerra e mito della "brava gente" (1940–1943)* (Rome: Odradek, 2008).

Primary sources documenting the Gonars camp can be found in A-RS (collections AS 1840 6 and 7), AUSMME (H8 crimini di guerra), and ACS. Some of the ACS documentation is available in microform at USHMMA under RG-40.004M, reel 1. Additional documentation can be found in ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Persecution measures in Serbia). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA also holds 12 oral history interviews with Gonars survivors. VHA holds one testimony (Nisim Confino, March 25, 1998, #42675). There are a number of documents, archival citations, and oral history interviews on the Gonars camp at www.campifascisti.it. Some published testimony and prisoner art from Gonars are available in Metka Gombač, Boris M. Gombač, and Dario Mattiussi, *Als mein Vater starb: Zeichnungen und Zeugnisse von Kindern aus Konzentrationslagern der italienischen Ostgrenze (1942–1943)*, trans. Karl Stuhlpfarrer and Andrea Wernig (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 2009).

Frida Bertolini
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Commando XI CdA al Commando Divisione fanteria Granatieri di Sardegna, June 7, 1942, A-RS, KUZOP, B. 4, f. 41, as quoted in Kersevan, *Un campo di concentramento fascista*, p. 37.
2. Cimprič letter, June 23, 1944, reproduced and translated in Gombač, Gombač, and Mattiussi, *Als mein Vater starb*, p. 89.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.592*0026, Franc Pantor, oral history interview, November 21, 2009.
4. For example, ITS 0.1, CNI card for Ivka Bencic (or Benčić), Doc. No. 53444028.
5. Pero Damjanović, "Lager Ciginj (Campo di concentramento Cighino)," April 29, 1976, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205337.
6. RSHA, Berlin, an SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Weimann, BdS Triest, Betr.: "Internierungslager Gonars," October 22, 1943, FS 187 750 21.101 0908, A-RS, AS 1840 6, available at www.campifascisti.it.

ISERNIA

The city of Isernia (in Campobasso province until 1970; today, in Isernia province, Molise region) is located 36 kilometers

(more than 22 miles) west of Campobasso. The Interior Ministry established the Isernia internment camp in July 1940 in the former Benedictine convent school in the town's historical center known as the "Ancient District." The school had housed approximately 40 Albanian police trainees the previous year. A public security commissioner (*commissario di pubblica sicurezza*) assisted by several other agents and police officers ran the camp.

Isernia admitted several categories of male Italian and foreign internees. As of September 13, 1940, 59 of the 76 inmates were Italians, including many "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (i.e., those belonging to Slavic ethnic minorities that the Mussolini regime persecuted with great vigor). The rest of the internees were foreigners: five Frenchmen, three Yugoslavs, three Germans, two Romanians, one Briton, one Hungarian, one Albanian, and one Syrian. During the camp's history, the most common internee categories were "dangerous Italians," aliens from Venezia Giulia, "enemy subjects," foreign Jews, and "ex-Yugoslavs." As late as October 1942, the Interior Ministry claimed that the majority of internees confined at Isernia were Italian by nationality.[1]

The camp overlooked the main street in Isernia. The former school had four large rooms on both the first and second floors. Optimistically, the Italian authorities estimated that the camp was capable of accommodating 120 internees. In reality, its capacity was much lower because four rooms initially thought to be available had to be ceded to a nearby school. To be able to cope with the arrival of new internees, the authorities obtained additional space in the summer of 1941: a huge hall with hardwood flooring located inside a movie theater into which were crammed approximately 50 Jews from the nearby Agnone camp. (Agnone is 26 kilometers or 14 miles northeast of Isernia.) On September 19, 1941, because of poor sanitary conditions caused by overcrowding, and for reasons relating both to the place's unsuitability and their inability to lead a "religious life," the new internees turned to the local apostolic nuncio to intercede with the government to obtain permits for their transfer to the Campagna or Notaresco camps. Endorsing this request was the Isernia camp's director, who explained to the Campobasso prefect that such a transfer of Jews would no doubt enhance "the discipline and good running of the camp in Isernia," adding that the Jewish presence "was not tolerated by a great majority of the internees of Aryan race anyway."[2]

The government granted this request, and beginning on January 9, 1942, Jewish internees in Isernia were transferred elsewhere, mostly to the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp. Taking their place was an even larger number of ex-Yugoslav civilians. Thus, the living conditions for internees deteriorated further—so much so that the camp director asked the Interior Ministry to pay a visit to ensure that the maximum number of internees at Isernia would not exceed its limit of 70. However, the prefect did not grant this request because, taking into account the two sites used by the Isernia camp, he declared the camp capable of holding as many as 200 internees.

When the Mussolini regime was deposed on July 25, 1943, there were 140 internees in the camp. All hoped to regain their freedom at that point. However, it was not until the Armistice, September 8, 1943, that the camp of Isernia ceased to function. The city of Isernia suffered heavy bombardment by the Allies in the early days of September. Among the casualties were a few internees involved in providing relief assistance to the local population.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Isernia camp are Maria Laura Lolli, *Isernia "antico distretto": Campo di internamento fascista 1940–1943* (Bojano: Eidophor, 1994); Michele Colabella et al., *Le leggi razziali del 1938 e i campi di concentramento nel Molise* (Campobasso: IRRE, 2004); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 213–214.

Primary sources documenting the Isernia camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 116, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 11 "Campobasso," s.f. 5 "Isernia. Ex convento Antico Distretto"; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, f. 16 (campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (affari per provincia), ins. 11 "Campobasso," ss. ff. 10, 11; and ITS, 1.2.7.25 (available in digital form at USHMMA) and ITS Hängemappe (reproduced in scans available at www.campifascisti.it).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, AGR, to CRI, October 21, 1942, Ca.: Gajo, Eugenio fu Luigi, internato ad Isernia," ITS, Hängemappe, available at www.campifascisti.it.
2. Both quotations are from ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 116, s. fasc. 2, Inserto n. 11 "Campobasso," Corrispondenza del direttore del campo di Isernia col prefetto di Campobasso, 1941.

ISOLA DEL GRAN SASSO

Isola del Gran Sasso is about 25 kilometers (just over 15 miles) southwest of Teramo in the Abruzzo region (Teramo province). In June 1940, the Interior Ministry established the Isola del Gran Sasso (or Isola Gran Sasso) internment camp in two buildings located approximately two kilometers away from the town. One structure was a guesthouse belonging to the Basilica of Saint Gabriel, which was owned by the Order of Passionist Fathers. The second building was the former Saint Gabriel Hotel, which at the time was in receivership. In both buildings, the camp was able to accommodate at most 120 people. However, the number of inmates reached 140 in the summer of 1943. The town's mayor headed the camp, and a few police officers provided security services. The initial group of internees largely consisted of foreign Jews. According to a report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the camp held 61 foreign Jews between July 6 and November 22, 1940.[1]

Beginning in early 1941, the foreign Jews were transferred to other internment sites. In January 1941, 42 Italian Jews arrived

in the camp, mostly from the closed camp in Gioia del Colle (343 kilometers or 213 miles southeast of Isola del Gran Sasso), but only stayed for a short while. In September 1941, 10 Chinese internees came to the camp from the nearby camp of Tossicia (approximately 14 kilometers [8.5 miles] northeast of Gran Sasso). The Jews lived in the former hotel, and the Chinese lived in the guesthouse. On May 16, 1942, following the departure of 55 foreign Jews to the Ferramonti del Tarsia camp, there was another inflow of internees to Isola del Gran Sasso, which included an additional 116 Chinese nationals from the Tossicia camp.

The building of the former hotel was in fairly decent shape. It had a kitchen, dining hall, and an infirmary, and the entire structure had indoor plumbing sufficient to provide drinking water, showers, and water heaters. The internees' complaints largely concerned the second building, the guesthouse, where, in addition to certain structural defects the food quality was poor and there was a lack of basic services.

The Gran Sasso internees were able to move around town and nearby surroundings in almost complete freedom. In particular the Chinese often walked all the way to Teramo or took pains to climb the hills of Gran Sasso, sometimes falling down in the process. On these forays, the Chinese hunted stray dogs to supplement their rations. There was a total of 147 Chinese internees living in the camp up until October 1943. Among them were many Catholics who were able to count on the spiritual assistance of Father Antonio Tchang, a fellow countryman belonging to the Conventual Franciscans, which inmates distinguished from the Vatican. In August 1941, 40 Chinese interned at the Gran Sasso camp were baptized as part of a grand religious ceremony officiated by the apostolic nuncio, Francesco Borgongini-Duca.

There were frequent skirmishes among the Chinese internees, which often resulted in confinement in the prisons in Tossicia. Overall, however, the relations between internees and the citizens of Isola del Gran Sasso were good. Indeed, two Chinese men later married local women.

The camp remained active even after the Armistice of September 8, 1943, and was only disbanded in early June 1944. In mid-October 1943 it still held about 100 Chinese internees, of whom 62 were transferred to the former prisoner of war (POW) camp at Servigliano in January 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Isola del Gran Sasso internment camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 214–215; Philip W. Kwok, *I cinesi in Italia durante il Fascismo* (Naples: Marotta Editore, 1984); and Silvio Di Eleonora, *Isola del Gran Sasso e la Valle Siciliana, 8 settembre 1943–15 giugno 1944: Documenti e testimonianza* (Colledara: Andromeda Editrice, 2003), pp. 54–77.

Primary sources documenting the Isola del Gran Sasso internment camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 136, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 "Teramo," ss. ff. 6, 15; and ITS, 1.1.14.1, and 1.2.7.25, available in digital form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco

NOTE

1. "Internierte in Isola Gran Sasso," Julius Hoffmann to ITS, November 25, 1958, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 4, Doc. No. 460096.

ISTONIO MARINA

In 1938, Benito Mussolini ordered the town of Vasto (Chieti province) to assume the historical name, Istonio (from the Latin, *Histonium*). The town is more than 52 kilometers (32 miles) southeast of Chieti. In January 1944, the town retook the name Vasto. In mid-June 1940, the Fascist regime established a concentration camp in the area of the Istonio Marina (today: Vasto Marina) in two facilities: an unfinished hotel capable of accommodating approximately 100 people and a small private villa with room for 80 that was previously used by the Italian Customs Office. These facilities were just tens of meters apart from each other.

Apart from a few "communal" internees or disgraced Fascists, the Istonio Marina camp received only civilian internees who were deemed to be political opponents and "aliens" from Venezia Giuglia; that is, Italians belonging to the Slovenian and Croatian ethnic minorities who were severely persecuted by the regime. Prominent internees at Istonio included the communists Giovanni Grilli and Eugenio Musolino; the socialists Giuseppe Scalarini and Giulio Guido Mazzali (a future director of the daily *Avanti!*); and the liberals Mario Borsa (future director of the newspaper *Corriere della Sera*) and Raffaello Giolli (later deported to the Mauthausen concentration camp). Public security commissioners ran the camp; the first one to do so was Vincenzo Prezioso. Local police provided security for the site. In 1942, the police stationed several sentries in close proximity to the camp's two buildings.

The two buildings, located very close to the Adriatic Sea and the local train station, were in good shape, which had a positive impact on the living conditions of the internees. Until early 1941, the internees were able to move about the town and dine at local restaurants. Some also had permission to go all the way to the area's capital (perched on a hill) to visit a library there or to help run a rabbit farm. As time passed, living conditions worsened, and security measures became very strict. This was true especially after the January 1941 revelation of a "subversive organization" at the camp made up of two internees from Milan, Angelo Pampuri and Mauro Venengoni. From then on, several internees were punitively transferred to the Tremiti Islands (almost 68 kilometers [42 miles] east of Istonio), and the "free exit" area was reduced to a mere 50 meters (164 feet) in front of each of the camp's two buildings. In addition, the internees were not allowed to manage the camp's newly built canteen. In March 1943, to protest against the purportedly inedible food, the Istonio internees staged a clamorous hunger strike, after which eight people ended up in prison.

In the fall of 1941, citing security reasons, the area's civilian and military authorities requested an immediate closure of the Istonio camp (at that time with a population of nearly 190

internees) or at least "substituting" 70 of the "most subversive" individuals with foreign Jews detained at the Isola del Gran Sasso camp who were deemed to be more reliable. However, the Interior Ministry failed to heed these suggestions. Instead, after the fall of the Fascist regime on July 25, 1943, it replaced the Italian internees (antifascists and "aliens" released by the government of Marshal Pietro Badoglio) with approximately 100 "ex-Yugoslavs" from Dalmatia. On August 8, 1943, the provincial police chief of Chieti again summoned the local chief of police to discuss, with utmost urgency, whether to close the Istonio Marina camp. However, during the month of August only 20 or so Yugoslav internees (classified as "particularly dangerous communists") were transferred to places considered more secure. For others, the Istonia Marina camp remained in operation until the end of September 1943.

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Istonio camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 215–216.

Primary sources documenting the Istonio camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, (Mobilitazione civile), B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12, "Chieti," sf. 8, 11, 16. Additional documentation on this camp, by the Yugoslav State Commission, can be found in UNWCC and is available in digital form at USHMMA, RG-67.041M, reel 25. Some references to this camp also appear in the CNI of the ITS, collection 0.1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. A testimony is Giovanni Grilli, *Due generazioni: Dalla settimana rossa alla guerra di Liberazione* (Rome: Edizioni Rinascita, 1953).

Carlo Spartaco Capgreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

LAMA DEI PELIGNI

Lama dei Peligni is a small mountain town in the Chieti province. In mid-June 1940, under instructions from the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry (*Ministero degli Affari Esteri*), the Fascist regime opened a concentration camp on its main road. It was set up in a private residence consisting of two floors and an attic. Although this home was deemed suitable for the accommodation of 65 internees, on average, it housed considerably fewer: only in 1942 for a short period did the number reach 70 internees. Due to frequent transfers and acquittals, the population turnover at Lama dei Peligni was very high, but the actual number of prisoners in the camp at any one time remained low, particularly during its first two years of operation.

Officially, the mayor of Lama dei Peligni directed the camp, but everyday command was in the hands of a public security commissioner. The police guaranteed security, and a local doctor provided medical assistance. The conditions of internment were generally not harsh; the supervision was not rigorous; and the internees had almost complete freedom to move around town, especially during daylight hours. For the internees, what made Lama dei Peligni hard to bear were the extreme winter cold and substandard living conditions inside the building. In its last two years of existence, scarce food provisions compounded these difficulties.

The internees who arrived in July 1940 were mostly foreign civilians. The first internees were five Britons, one Frenchman, and four non-Italian Jews classified as foreign or stateless. However, very soon these enemy aliens were transferred elsewhere and replaced by other foreign Jews (approximately 30 arrived from the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp in September 1941). There were also "ex-Yugoslavs" detained in the camp.[1] On May 5, 1943, 32 foreign Jews were transferred to Campagna.[2] Some internees remained at Lama until its closure was brought about by the Armistice of September 8, 1943.

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Lama dei Peligni camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 216–217.

Primary sources documenting the Lama dei Peligni camp can be found at ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12 "Chieti," ss.ff. 10, 16. Additional documentation can be found at ARS and ITS, collection 1.1.14.1 (Lager in Italien und Albanien). The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. XIV Battaglione Carabinieri Reali Mobilato, Gruppo di Lubiana to Commando dei CC. RR. dell' XI CdA, Ogg.: "Proposta di liberazione di internati," April 12, 1943, ARS, AS 1840 10, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it; and CICR, Concerne: "Listes nominatives . . . yougoslaves en Italie," August 14, 1943, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. No. 459314.
2. Questura di Chieti al Mi, Dgps, Ogg.: "Documentazione relativa ad israeliti," April 11, 1956, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 2, Doc. Nos. 459524–459525.

LANCIANO

Lanciano is just over 26 kilometers (more than 16 miles) southeast of Chieti and 31 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of Pescara in Chieti province in the Abruzzo region. In June 1940, the Italian Interior Ministry set up the Lanciano camp in a private house owned by the Sorge family, located 1.5 kilometers (almost a mile) outside the town center. The camp had a capacity of approximately 70 internees.

The mayor of Lanciano directed the facility until a public security commissioner took command. When the camp population was exclusively female, a female codirector served as assistant. Security services were entrusted to the carabinieri, who from the fall of 1940 onward operated from a small post located in front of the camp. The site was eventually fenced in. Medical assistance was provided by a health care worker from Lanciano who conducted weekly inspections.

The first internees arrived in the camp in early July 1940. They were all foreign women, most of whom belonged to the

categories of "enemy subjects" and "foreign Jews." From 1941 onward, the majority of enemy subjects, beginning with the British, were transferred to other camps or to facilities of "free confinement" (*confine libero*)—enforced stay in a small community with freedom of movement only within the town and regular reporting at police headquarters. Lanciano's initial phase as a female internment camp ended with the transfer of 60 internees to the Pollenza camp (Macerata) on February 12, 1942. Pollenza is 145 kilometers (90 miles) northwest of Lanciano. As indicated by a document submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the process of transferring female internees to Pollenza started as early as the beginning of February 1942.[1] On February 27, 1942, when the first contingent of prisoners arrived from Italian-run camps in Albania, Lanciano entered its second phase, in which its population was all male and almost exclusively consisted of "ex-Yugoslavs."

The Sorge Villa (*villa Sorge*) had three floors with a total of 13 rooms: On the first floor were five rooms with utilities and a storage room; on the second were another five rooms in addition to a kitchen and utilities; and there were three more rooms on the third floor. Each room was supplied with 6 to 10 beds. Living conditions were spartan: there was a constant shortage of water, and parts of the house were in terrible disrepair.

Internee movement was relatively unrestricted during the camp's first phase. The female internees visited surrounding areas and occasionally went under escort to Lanciano's city center where they shopped as groups or visited a dentist. Each woman had to cook for herself on coal- or alcohol-fired stoves. This cooking situation completely changed with the arrival of the ex-Yugoslav prisoners, when the camp's chief opened a communal canteen run by a civilian contractor, which cost each internee 6.30 lire per day. On April 4, 1942, the internees staged a clamorous protest during which they refused to eat any more food because it was overpriced and of poor quality. Eight detainees were imprisoned, whereas others were transferred elsewhere. The protest's instigator, Boris Lentić, was confined for some time before being transferred to the Lipari Island camp as punishment.

During the visit of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in September 1942, which was carried out to inspect the living conditions of three Greek "enemy subjects," the internees complained about the shortage of food and medicine and about the limited space granted them to go on walks. An ICRC report sent to the Italian Interior Ministry also mentioned the insufficient number of washbasins and latrines.

From early on, controversy beset the Lanciano camp's administration. The first director was replaced in January 1941 and was eventually transferred as punishment for a quarrel that broke out between a Russian internee and the female director. In the summer of 1941 the new director met a similar fate after it was discovered that his daughter had befriended the female internees and another internee whom she knew in town.

Powerful testimony by Maria Luisa Moldauer, a young Polish Jew with a degree from the University of Florence, sheds light on the uneasy coexistence among the internees and, more generally, on her experiences during the first months of detention at Lanciano. Published under the author's married name, Eisenstein, this text became the first memoir published in Italy relating to internment in the Fascist camps, albeit in fictional form.[2]

After the September 8, 1943, Armistice, when the guards abandoned the camp, a number of internees chose to abandon Sorge Villa. However, the Lanciano camp officially functioned until mid-October 1943, when almost all the remaining internees fled to nearby villages. On October 28, 1943, Sorge Villa came under German Army command.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Lanciano camp can be found in Gianni Orecchioni, *I sassi e le ombre: Storie di internamento e di confino nell'Italia fascista Lanciano 1940–1943* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2006), pp. 23–100; and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 217–219.

Primary sources can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12 "Chieti," s.f. 12; ACS, collection Mi, Dgsg (Affari Generali), B. 89 (Affari per Provincia), F. 303/2/45; A-ICRC, C Sc, Service des camps, Italie (September 1, 1942); ITS, 1.1.14.6 (Italienische Kartei); and 1.2.7.25 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Griechenland, Italien, Spanien), available in digital form at USHMMA; and ITS, Hängemappe Italien/Lanciano, available at www.campifascisti.it. A published memoir is Maria Eisenstein, *L'internata numero 6: Donne fra reticolati del campo di concentramento* (Rome: De Luigi, 1944). This memoir is available in a 1994 edition (Milan: Tranchidi Editori) with a preface by Gianni Giovannelli and a postscript by Carlo Spartaco Capogreco.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Regia Prefettura di Macerata (Giambattista Alessandri), to Mi, Ogg.: "Che l'internata Ivana Markovic . . . è stata transferita dal campo di concentramento di Pollenza a quello di Lanciano," February 2, 1942, ACS, collection Mi, Dgsg, B. 89, F. 303/2/45, available at www.campifascisti.it

2. Eisenstein, *L'internata numero 6*; Moldauer (misspelled Moldaner) is listed in ITS, 1.1.14.6 (Italienische Kartei), Doc. No. 470892.

LAURANA

Laurana (Croatian: Lovran) is a small town near Fiume, which since 1923 was a province of the Kingdom of Italy and today is part of Croatia; it is located 145 kilometers (90 miles) southwest of Zagreb. In April 1941, a provisional concentration camp opened in the Al Parco Hotel in Laurana, at the order of the prefect of Fiume, Temistocle Testa, to house relatives of communist resisters. The authorities requisitioned the building from its Jewish owners. The prefect ran the camp, which was financed by funds of the Civil Intendancy of the Annexed Lands (*Intendenza Civile delle Terre Annesse*). The monthly cost of running the camp was 45,000 lire. The sparse documenta-

tion generated by the camp administration furnishes all that is known about the Laurana camp.

The camp's purpose was to take hostage the relatives of Partisans and thereby force the Partisans to surrender. According to a letter sent by Testa to the Interior Ministry on April 20, 1942, the operation had the desired effect, because many Partisans surrendered to the Italian police, thereby permitting the release of their relatives. However, in April 1942, there were still 172 internees in the camp—men, women, and children. To free up space for other inmates, Testa proposed to transfer the 172 prisoners elsewhere in Italy, begging the ministry to transfer them all to one camp or at least to keep the family units together.

On May 16, 1942, Testa sent a telegram to the Interior Ministry, asking once again to send the internees to other parts of Italy because the sanitary facilities at the Laurana camp were insufficient for the large number of detainees. On May 18 Testa wrote to the ministry yet again, saying that he would send all the internees, who by that point numbered about 300, to the province of Vercelli. The next day, a special train containing 253 internees, for the most part women and children, left from the railway station of Abbazia Pattuglie and went directly to Vercelli. When Testa left Fiume at the start of 1943, the camp was closed.

In March 1943, Testa's successor as prefect, Agostino Podestà, wrote to the chief of police, Carmine Senise, asking if he could reopen the camp at Laurana, requesting 20,000 lire per month for its functioning. On April 24, 1943, the chief of police wrote to the central office of the Interior Ministry, ordering it to provide the necessary credit for reopening the camp—60,000 lire for the prefecture of Fiume—to get the Laurana camp operational and to accommodate the inmates of the province. It is not known whether Podestà had time to reopen the camp before the Armistice of September 8, 1943.

SOURCES Archival sources on Laurana may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 109, 125; Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 6.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

LAURIA

Lauria (Lauria Inferiore, Potenza province) is 160 kilometers (more than 99 miles) southeast of Naples, 116 kilometers (72 miles) southeast of Salerno, and 89 kilometers (55 miles) northwest of Cosenza. The documentation for the existence of an internment camp for foreign Jews at Lauria is fragmentary. Details about the inner workings of the camp, possibly a "locality of internment" (*località d'internamento*), are also vague. According to a letter by former internee Julius Hoffmann to the International Tracing Service (ITS), Lauria was one of a succession of "camps" (*Lagern*) in which he was confined in Italy, after fleeing persecution in Nazi Germany.[1] An attachment to his letter listed from memory the surnames of 21 Jews held at Lauria.[2] On the basis of Hoffmann's testimony, the ITS classified Lauria as a camp.

A meticulous database compiled by author Anna Pizzuti confirms the names on Hoffmann's list and adds some information on 20 additional people, bringing the total of foreign Jews interned at Lauria to 41. Pizzuti's database includes the known nationalities of 29 people: 17 Jews from Germany, 5 from Austria, 4 from Poland, and 1 each from Hungary, Libya, and Turkey. One internee, Rudolf Seelig, died at Lauria.

The detention of foreign Jews at Lauria began as early as November 1941 and continued well after German forces abandoned the area in the face of the Allied landings in Italy that began on September 3, 1943. The Jews at Lauria were gradually dispatched to Ferramonti di Tarsia and Bari under Allied occupation. Seven internees from Lauria were sent via Naples to Fort Ontario in Oswego, New York. Hoffmann was sent to Ferramonti di Tarsia on February 21, 1944.[3] Pizzuti lists some former internees being held at Lauria as late as December 1944.

For the residents of Lauria, the most painful memory of World War II was the series of bombings by the Twelfth United States Army Air Force (USAAF), which took place beginning on September 7, 1943, and resulted in 36 civilian deaths. From Pizzuti's database, it is clear that none of the Jewish internees perished in these raids.

SOURCES The website www.campifascisti.it lists the Lauria camp as under research. Anna Pizzuti's database can be accessed at www.annapizzuti.it.

Primary sources documenting the internment site at Lauria can be found in ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 4, which consists of Julius Hoffmann's correspondence. According to Pizzuti, additional documentation can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Località di internamento), B. 145, f. 18, s.f. 2 (Affari per provincial). The names of Lauria internees who were received at Fort Ontario are included in a directory appended to House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Investigation of Problems Presented by Refugees at Fort Ontario Refugee Shelter*, Hearings on H. Res. 52, 79th Congress, 1st session, June 25 and 26, 1945 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1945).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Julius Hoffmann to ITS, November 25, 1958, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 4, Doc. No. 460089.
2. Hoffmann, "Internierte in Lauria (Prov. die Potenza) v. 11.4.43 bis 21.2.1944," ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 4, Doc. No. 460093.
3. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Julius Hoffmann, gives a date of January 12, 1944.

LE FRASCHETTE DI ALATRI

Le Fraschette is 4 kilometers (almost 2.5 miles) northwest of the town of Alatri, which is more than 73 kilometers (46 miles) southeast of Rome. Planned as a prisoner of war (POW) camp, the Le Fraschette di Alatri camp was located in the village of Le Fraschette on the slopes of Mount Fumone (Frosinone province).

Construction began in late December 1941. The original plan called for a facility sufficient to accommodate 7,000 prisoners. However, the target capacity was changed several times

as construction progressed. The structure was fenced in with wooden planks and dotted with approximately 20 sentry posts. The camp became operational in July 1942.

Commissioner Stalislao Rodriguez was the first camp director; his successor was Giovanni Fantussati. External security was entrusted to the carabinieri, whereas agents of public security took charge of the camp's internal security. The camp at Fraschette differed from other camps administered by the Interior Ministry: although it was under the General Directorate of War Services (*Direzione generale servizi di guerra*, Dgsg), the General Directorate of Public Security (*Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza*, Dgps) was responsible for guarding the camp.

The camp was set up to function primarily as a place for the internment of nuclear families. The internees did not receive a cash allowance, only food. The male and female internees were mostly "ex-Yugoslavs" (Slovenes and Croats), Anglo-Maltese, and Italian antifascists. Amid continuing arrivals and transfers the number of prisoners peaked at 4,500 in the summer of 1943. The Anglo-Maltese internees were gathered from places of "free internment," such as Bagni di Lucca.[1] According to a Yugoslav report submitted in 1976 to the International Tracing Service, some of the Yugoslav prisoners were transferred from Italian camps in the Balkans, including Melada Island (Molat).[2]

Hygienic and sanitary conditions were extremely poor, and the medical assistance provided by a local doctor was much sought after. The Anglo-Maltese internees benefited from certain guarantees granted to them through the 1929 Geneva Convention and from aid provided by the United Kingdom. Other groups were forced to deal with harsh living conditions on their own. Those most in need received assistance from Monsignor Facchini, the bishop of Alatri, and the Josephite sisters from the convent in Veroli.

Between February and August 1943, the camp was visited by several officials, including the Swiss legation, the bishop of Trieste-Capodistria, Monsignor Santin, and the apostolic nuncio of Italy, Francesco Borgongini-Duca. In response to the initiative of Pope Pius XII, approximately 400 children were transferred to two religious institutions.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the camp fell into complete disorder and was completely abandoned after being devastated by the Germans and bombed by the Allies. The nearly 2,000 internees still present in the camp had to be evacuated: the Anglo-Maltese to Fossoli and other groups to Rome.[3] The camp was dissolved on April 19, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Le Fraschette di Alatri camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 198–200; Mario Costantini et al., *Le Fraschette: Da campo di concentramento a luogo della memoria* (Frosinone: Associazione Partigiani Cristiani Provincia di Frosinone, 2006); Vincenzo Cerceo, *Cronaca di un'infamia: "Le Fraschette" di Alatri, campo d'internamento per slavi* (Trieste: La Nuova Alabarda, 2003); and Constantino Di Sante, *Stranieri indesiderabili: Il campo di Fossoli e i "centri raccolta profughi" in Italia (1945–1970)* (Verona, Ombre Corte, 2011), pp. 129–135, 145–149.

Primary sources documenting the Le Fraschette di Alatri camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 87, 127; A4 bis, B.5; and ITS, Hängemappe Italien/Lipari. A considerable amount of documentation is available at www.campifascisti.it.

Andrea Di Stefano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Guglielmo Marotta, Regia Prefettera di Lucca, to Mi, Ogg.: Alberto Drago, October 24, 1942, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 87, available at www.campifascisti.it.
2. Pero Damjanović, ISI, to ITS, Molat report, April 14, 1976, ITS, Hängemappe/Lipari, available at www.campifascisti.it.
3. On the Anglo-Maltese transfer, see RSI, Questura di Roma, Mi, Dgps, Telegramma, February 29, 1944, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, A4 bis, B. 5, available at www.campifascisti.it.

LIPARI ISLAND

Located 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Messina, Lipari is the largest of the Aeolian Islands. The General Directorate of Public Security (*Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza*, Dgps) opened the facility in November 1926 to confine political opponents and common criminals who had previously been taken into preventive custody only in exceptional cases. Ever since the establishment of Liberal Italy, such measures had been used solely for "asocials." Under the Mussolini regime, the island served mainly to confine political opponents. In October 1941 the facility was turned into a concentration camp for civilians (*campo di concentramento per civili*). The major difference between the original facility and the subsequently established confinement site was the lack of disciplinary sanctions for regime opponents in the former.

Although Mussolini initially decided that detainees of all categories would live together, a ministerial note of February 1927 laid the groundwork for the separation of common criminals from political detainees, with places of confinement for those two groups being primarily the islands of Lipari and Ustica. Any complete separation between the two prisoner categories was never possible, however.

The first group of detainees arrived in the Lipari prison between late December 1926 and January 1927. It had its largest population from 1927 to 1929. According to historian Leopoldo Zagami, the number of political detainees exceeded 150 in February 1927. Former detainee Emilio Lussu, however, claimed that there were "another 500 detainees, of whom 400 were political, coming from all parts of Italy and from every single political party: liberal democrats, republicans, Catholics, Masons, socialists, communists, and anarchists."[1]

In 1929, Lussu, Francesco Fausto Nitti, and Carlo Rosselli escaped from the island. In Paris, Lussu helped establish an early antifascist organization, Justice and Liberty (*Giustizia e Libertà*). Word of their escape caused some sensation in the Anglo-American and French press.

Lussu later reflected on conditions during the Lipari's early phase:

> Life is better in Lipari . . . I, myself, have lived only in this colony. The democratic government used to keep common criminals, Fascism orders the deportation of political prisoners. Lipari is an island under the most rigorous surveillance . . . I arrived here on November 19, 1927, handcuffed and with a double iron chain . . . I instantly noticed that I was being followed by the plainclothes (policemen). Such exceptional measures were practiced solely for (judicial advocate Domizio) Torrigiani and for me . . . .
>
> I feel indifferent to the continuous stalking. It's rather distressing and irritating. One needs to keep his nerves in check to avoid becoming a neurasthenic with the constant presence of the people in your back who follow you like your shadow. You leave your house only to be followed, you talk only to be heard by others: you stop walking only to hear the other person doing the same; you enter a cafe, a shop, a house and all you see is the same old face; no smile, no shaking hands with passersby, no friends' visits in your own house without your shadow taking notice of it; this soon becomes an oppression, a nightmare . . . The vigilance was so harassing that many people advised me to go and complain. But complain to whom? . . . I always thought that nothing but a protest can be more humiliating than the actual impotence to act.[2]

From 1934 until 1939, the island served as a training site for 450 Ustaša Croats and then was turned into a concentration camp for civilians in October 1941. The first to arrive in the new facility were 260 "ex-Yugoslavs," followed by 17 more who came later. The next three transports that came from Zara brought another 366 Croats, Albanians, Slovenes, and Montenegrins. On December 8, 1941, there were 383 detainees in the camp (the number fell to 319 on May 15, 1942, and 289 on June 20, 1943). Dane Matošić was the camp capo. According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the detainees were able to move around the city center during the day, but were confined to their quarters at night. In some cases, their female relatives were allowed to live in close proximity to the camp. The detainees got a 6-lire daily allowance for food.

According to fragmentary data compiled by authors Celso Ghini and Adriano Dal Pont, there were at least 10 deaths in confinement at Lipari between the years 1927 and 1943.

After the Interior Ministry decided to close down the site, the detainees were transferred to the camps of Corropoli and Scipione. The last detainee left the island in July 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Lipari include Celso Ghini and Adriano Dal Pont, *Gli antifascisti al confino 1926–1943* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1971); on the 1941 to 1943 phase, see Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Leopoldo Zagami, *Confinati politici e relegati comuni a Lipari* (Messina: Tipografia Ditta D'Amico, 1970); and Adriano Dal Pont, *I lager di Mussolini: l'altra faccia del confino nei documeti della polizia fascista* (Milan: La Pietra, 1975).

Primary sources on the camp at Lipari can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 131, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s.f. 2 (Affare per provinci), ins. 25 "Messina"; and in B. 106, f. 106 (Campi di concentramento), s.f. 1 (Affari generali), ins. 24, "Internamento persone sospette della Dalmazia." Additional documentation can be found in Anj, Br. Reg. 18/7-4, K. 316. A published document on the escape of Lussu, Roselli, and Nitti is Luca Di Vita and Michele Gialdroni, *Lipari 1929: Fuga dal Confino* (Rome; Bari: Laterza, 2009). Two published testimonies on the Lipari camp's early phase are Emilio Lussu, *La catena*, ed. Mimmo Franzinelli (Milan: Baldini & Castoldi, 1997); and Francesco Fausto Nitti, *Escape: The Personal Narrative of a Political Prisoner Who Was Rescued from Lipari, the Fascist "Devil's Island"* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930).

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Lussu, *La catena*, p. 62.
2. Ibid., pp. 56–62.

MANFREDONIA

Manfredonia is a little town in the province of Foggia, in Puglia, some 163 kilometers (101 miles) northeast of Naples and close to the sea. The site was chosen for an internment camp because it was distant from any strategic objective and from any theater of war. The Interior Ministry opened the camp in June 1940, when Italy entered the war, to imprison foreign civilians and Italian antifascists or, at any rate, Italians considered dangerous to the conduct of the war. It was situated in a former slaughterhouse, which had rooms sufficient to house up to 250 internees. The Interior Ministry undertook various renovations, which were completed in October 1940, to adapt the building to its new purpose. The building was given drains, an electrical system, and lavatories. Twenty rooms were created within the ex-slaughterhouse, of which 11 were fitted as dormitories. Other buildings housed a shop, the infirmary, the administrative offices, the mess hall, the laundry room, a common room for "socializing," and a little Catholic chapel.

In September 1940, of the 204 detainees, 6 were German Jews, 1 was British, and the rest were "politically dubious" Italians. Between July 1, 1940, and September 18, 1940, there were 31 "stateless" Jews in the camp, who had been captured at Fiume and transferred subsequently to the camps at Tossicia and at Campagna. The number of internees varied greatly during the conflict: there were 7 in February 1941, 187 in March 1941, 14 in April 1942, and 159 in June 1942. From June 1942 to June 1943, the number remained stable between 120 and 170.

In 1942, 31 "ex-Yugoslavs" arrived from the prison at Sebenico. Camp records indicate a sizable though not quantifiable number of "ex-Yugoslavs" among the inmates in May 1943. Among the Italians were a large group of communists and antifascists, some suspected spies, and a few common criminals.

The most cohesive core group of prisoners—that of the Italian antifascists—organized itself to run the canteen and the camp's little shop (*botteghino*). In addition, this group created a bocce court in a field, a little library, and a kitchen garden for legumes and greens. In the summer of 1940, as in other camps, the internees were required to salute camp personnel with the upraised arm, the so-called Roman salute. The antifascists opposed this intentional humiliation, and the struggle ended after a month, with 20 internees being put in close confinement and the revocation of the order.

In March 1941, some inmates wrote to the Interior Ministry, complaining that the time allotted for family visits was insufficient. On March 13 Inspector General Riccardo Pastore wrote to the ministry informing it that he had reached an agreement with the police chief (*questore*) to extend the visiting time by two hours for internees' family members.

In April 1942, after some internees successfully escaped by taking advantage of the hour permitted each day for free strolling, the area for walks was restricted.

From July 1940 to June 1943, the director was the officer of the police (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) Vincenzo Celentanto, who was subsequently replaced by another police officer, Rosario Stabile. A report of the Inspector General of the Police, Enrico Menna, dated July 21, 1940, gives a fairly detailed description of the camp. The inmates organized the mess hall and paid 4.50 lire a day for their board. The town's doctor provided health services, coming to the camp twice a week and having a "medicine cupboard" (*armadio farmaceutico*) at his disposal. A communist who had been interned since 1926, first in other camps and then at Manfredonia, assumed the role of nurse in the infirmary. The internees were generally healthy, except for a few who contracted malaria. There were no showers at first, but they were subsequently constructed. In a second report, of September 25, 1940, one reads that the internees could work in their professions and spend their hour of free strolling on the street that passed in front of the camp when guarded by agents on bicycles. The document describes the hygiene as excellent and so was the general state of health, except for six cases of malaria. The showers were finally finished, and hot water was made possible by a heating system using wood stoves. Eight carabinieri and eight policemen undertook guard duties. Because they often had to accompany the internees to town, or elsewhere, the inspector Menna considered the number of guards to be insufficient. The inmates expressed satisfaction with the treatment they received.

According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, however, discipline in the camp was particularly tough. The regulations set out by the director in June 1940 specified that, in addition to the usual three daily roll calls, more roll calls could also take place. Moreover, the guards kept the doors and windows of the rooms closed during the night.

The archbishop of Manfredonia, Monsignor Andrea Cesarano, provided religious assistance by sending a priest to celebrate Mass every Sunday and by giving various books to the library. On May 20, 1941, the papal nuncio, Francesco Borgongini-Duca, visited the camp and held a meeting with the inmates.

In May 1943, the Interior Ministry ordered the transfer of the detainees, in groups of 30 at a time, in anticipation of the camp's closure. Between June 5 and 16, 1943, three groups of Yugoslav and Italian antifascists were moved to Ferramonte di Tarsia; the following month, after the fall of the Fascist regime and the arrest of Mussolini, the few antifascists who remained were gradually freed. On September 8, 1943, on the signing of the Armistice between Italy and the Allies, there were only about 20 "ex-Yugoslav" inmates left in the camp, who succeeded in escaping and joining the Allied army that was approaching from the south. The camp ceased to exist after the Armistice.

SOURCES Secondary references to Manfredonia are in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 238–239.

The most important archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 2; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 125–126.

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MANTUA

Mantua is approximately 130 kilometers (81 miles) southeast of Milan. Following the issuance of Police Order No. 5 of November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), which provided for the immediate and systematic arrest of all Jews and their concentration in camps, the Italian authorities in Mantua (Mantova, Lombardia province) established a provincial camp for Jews.[1] On December 1, 1943, the secretary of the Jewish community in Mantua, Davide Tedeschi, was summoned to the police station and informed that, because the local Jewish community had space to accommodate up to 100 people, all the arrested Jews were to be imprisoned in that space. The provincial camp was set up in the Jewish nursing home at 11 Gilberto Govi Way, which already contained 27 elderly and 13 displaced people in poor health who came mostly from Milan. By mid-December 1943, following roundups carried out by the Italian authorities, sometimes with German help, the number of prisoners increased to 120. As assigned by the prefecture, Superintendent Martiradonna directed the camp, whereas the Jewish community paid for the prisoners' provisions.

Living conditions in the camp were never completely catastrophic because there was always the possibility of obtaining food from the Jewish community. Discipline was rigid and

often involved harsh punishments such as solitary confinement in a cold and dank room in the basement, which was utilized as a prison. Between December 23 and 31, 1943, 55 people were released after being deemed of "mixed" ancestry or because of serious health issues. The ones who remained were accommodated in the building's attic and passed the winter of 1943 in apparent quiet. In the early months of 1944, 21 additional prisoners were either released or possibly died; available records do not indicate their fate. At 11 A.M. on April 5, 1944, 42 detainees remaining in the Mantua camp were loaded on a truck and taken to the train station for deportation to Nazi Germany. Only one person survived.

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Mantua camp is Rodolfo Rebecchi, ed., *La persecuzione nazifascista degli ebrei mantovani: 1938–1945* (Mantua: Mantova ebraica, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Mantua camp can be found in AFCDEC, AG-13B, Mantova. This documentation is also available at ACS.

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

MONIGO

In 1942, the Italian War Ministry opened a concentration camp for Yugoslav civilian internees in the Caldorin barracks of Monigo, then a suburban neighborhood of Treviso—located more than 82 kilometers (51 miles) southwest of Gonars and almost 219 kilometers (136 miles) northwest of Kampor (Rab or Arbe Island) in Veneto province. A police lieutenant colonel directed the camp. The camp consisted of seven large buildings: four for the internees and one each for the infirmary, kitchen, and other services. Each room had bunk beds and accommodated approximately 50 internees. From the fall of 1942 onward, the male and the female sections, which also included children, were separated by barbed wire. Even married couples were separated by gender.

On July 2, 1942, the camp received its first internees: 315 Slovenian civilians arrested in one of the major roundups taking place in the city of Ljubljana and 255 prisoners rounded up in the municipality of Logatek. Another major transport on August 6 consisted of 432 Slovenians rounded up between Kočevje and Novo Mesto. Next some 800 Slavic prisoners were transferred in the fall to Monigo from the Gonars camp; however, most of them were then transferred to the Pietrafitta-Tavernelle camp. Later approximately 300 women and children from the Arbe Island camp were sent to Monigo.

Initially, Monigo served as a gathering and selection center where, with the help of Slavic collaborators, the Italians managed to identify the "most politically dangerous" internees, who often ended up being prosecuted or detained in prisons as hostages. Later detainees were increasingly reclassified as being under "protective internment" (*internati protettivi*). This change in classification brought about an improvement in living conditions, which made the regime consider Monigo to be a more "presentable" camp than others holding "ex-Yugoslavs." In fact, on October 21, 1942, when there were 3,464 internees, the maximum occupancy reached at Monigo camp, the regime granted access to the camp to the delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). It was the first instance of such a visit to a Fascist camp for "ex-Yugoslavs," and the ICRC pronounced it to be a "model structure."[1]

However, during Monigo's 13-month existence, the internment conditions were hardly an example of a model situation. The internees did not receive any economic assistance, as was the case in camps managed by the Interior Ministry. Some detainees hired themselves out in the infirmary, camp offices, or, more rarely, with businesses located in the area outside the camp.

Forty-two babies were born at Monigo, and 230 internees died (of whom 54 were children). Most of the deaths occurred among those who had been debilitated by diseases contracted while in the Arbe camp. Terminally ill internees occupied approximately half of the 600 beds in the Treviso public hospital. Of the deceased, 187 were buried in mass graves in Treviso's main cemetery.

As in other Italian camps for Slavic internees, the Slovenian "Liberation Front" (*Oslobodilna Fronta*) operated clandestinely at Monigo. In addition to carrying on activities of political and military recruitment, it assisted those in need. The group also identified informants: the camp had been infiltrated by Slovenian collaborators seeking to recruit those considered "undecided" or anticommunist. The composition of internees changed between February and March 1943 after a good number of Slovenians were transferred or released; they were replaced mostly by Croatian internees transferred from the Gonars camp.

According to a clandestine prisoner bulletin, there were 3,114 internees living at Monigo on March 18, 1943: 1,050 men, 1,085 women, 513 boys, and 466 girls.[2] In the spring of 1943, the conditions of internment improved significantly, and on April 19, Monigo officially became a camp for "internees under protection" as 2,465 of 2,500 internees were classified as being under protection.

In the first half of 1943, when 1,700 prisoners were sent to Gonars, large contingents of internees were liberated due to the involvement of the ecclesiastical authorities.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the Italian guards fled, and some of the internees loyal to *Oslobodilna Fronta* assumed control of the camp. They later led their fellow inmates in small groups toward the Gorizia Hills, where a group of former internees established partisan formations. The Wehrmacht subsequently occupied the Caldorin barracks before they became a training center for the armed forces of the RSI.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Monigo camp include Francesca Meneghetti, *Di là del muro: Il campo di concentramento di Treviso (1942–43)* (Treviso: ISTRECO, 2012); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 258–259; Maico

Trinca, *Monigo: Un campo di concentramento per slavi a Treviso. Luglio 1942–settembre 1943* (Treviso: ISTRECO, 2003); and Francesco Scattalin, Maico Trinca, and Amerigo Manesso, *Deportati a Treviso: La repressione antislava e il campo di concentramento di Monigo (1942–1943)* (Treviso: ISTRECO, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Monigo camp can be found in A-RS II, Alto commissariato, F 14/V, sf. No. 6; ACS, Dgsg, (Affari Generali), B. 90, fasc. 313, Sfollatida Lubiana, Proveddimenti; and A-CICR, Service des camps, Italie. A published primary source is Cannata Devana Lavrenčič, ed., *Come se non fosse accaduto: Lettere d'amore dal campo di concentramento di Monigo* (Treviso: ISTRESCO, 2005). A book of drawings by prisoners held in the Monigo camp is by Aleksander Bassin, Vladimir Lakovič, and Vera Visočnik, eds., *Revolucija in umetnost: Risbe iz zaporov in taborišč* (Nova Gorica: Soča, 1969).

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. A-CICR, C Sc, Service des camps, Italie, October 21, 1942.
2. *Novice izza zice* (camp newspaper), n.d.

MONTALBANO

The Montalbano camp, also called Rovezzano or Montalbano-Rovezzano, was located in the Florence communal area. It was in the locality of Sant'Andrea in Rovezzano, an isolated area six kilometers (almost four miles) northeast of Florence and three kilometers (nearly two miles) west of the Compiobbi train station. It took its name from the Montalbano Castle (Firenza province), a private villa in which the camp was established in June 1940.

The camp had an assigned occupancy of 100 beds. However, in reality the number of internees often exceeded that number by about 50 people. The building's first and second floors consisted of some 20 rooms of various dimensions, and two small apartments with separate entrances housed the family of the custodian and one other family in the service of the house owners.

Although the rental agreement was signed on June 17, 1940, and the facility was declared operational by the end of the same month, the first internees, who were classified as "dangerous Italians" and "aliens" from Venezia Giulia, did not reach the Montalbano camp before mid-April 1941. In the following months, "ex-Yugoslavs" also arrived. Although the Italian Interior Ministry originally intended to designate Montalbano as a women's-only camp, the plan never came to fruition.

In its first several months of operation, the camp was headed by a vice brigadier who had at his disposal two police officers accommodated in a room formerly used as a barn. From mid-May 1941 onward, the number of security personnel was increased, and the direction of the camp was assumed by Commissioner Domenico Cecchetti, who was then the chief of a suburban office of the Florence Public Security.

The living conditions for civilians confined at the Montalbano Castle were harsh: the building lacked electricity, heating, and showers. Finally, in November 1941, a few stoves were installed, but they only served the hall, which was used as a refectory. The internees consumed food on the premises; the kitchen was entrusted to an outside supplier (*vivandiere*), who was a landlord from the nearby locality of Anchetta named Guido Papini. Papini was assisted by a detainee, Gaetano Chimenti, who was compensated for his labor. Only with great difficulty did the internees obtain permission from the director to leave the camp, although some were authorized to work for local farmers in neighborhoods close to the castle.

After the coup of July 25, 1943, life at Montalbano camp continued as before. But the grievances of the Slavic internees, who were by now the only occupants and who demanded immediate liberation, became more and more strident. In the first days of September, because of recurrent protests, several of them were sent to prisons in Florence.

After the announcement of the Armistice on September 8, 1943, between Italy and the Western Allies, almost all of the remaining internees were able to leave the camp undisturbed. The camp continued to function, but in a reduced mode, and under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), it held Italian internees of the "Aryan race" until the end of the summer of 1944.

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Montalbano camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 185–186.

Primary sources documenting the Montalbano camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 124, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 15 "Firenze," sf. 3; and ITS, 1.2.7.25 (Persecution measures in Italy and Albania), folder 6. The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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MONTECHIARUGOLO

Montechiarugolo (Parma province) is located almost 77 kilometers (48 miles) northwest of Bologna and approximately 15 kilometers (9 miles) southeast of Parma. The Montechiarugolo concentration camp was established in the summer of 1940 in the Montechiarugolo castle. It confined British citizens including some Anglo-Maltese, Americans, Frenchmen, and a few foreign Jews.[1] At its peak in June 1941, Montechiarugolo held 146 internees. In August 1942, Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) inspectors found that there were 76 internees in the camp. One internee died of tuberculosis, and five prisoners escaped. Mario Maiello was the camp director. A Jewish internee from Poland who was a surgeon, Benjamin (Beniamino) Speiser, provided medical assistance. The castle afforded a few small luxuries for the internees, including a library of 200 volumes, a piano, and a violin.[2] On paper, the Montechiarugolo camp existed well into 1944, but 51 internees, nearly the camp's entire population at the time, were handed over to the German authorities in late October 1943.[3]

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, a separate "provincial concentration camp for Jews" was established on the premises of the Terme and Bagni Hotels in Monticelli Terme, a neighborhood of Montechiarugolo. This camp's establishment followed Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI).[4] It held only Jewish women and children. The first prisoners arrived at Monticelli on December 6, 1943. Approximately 40 Jews, mostly Germans, Yugoslavs, and Italians, reached the camp by the end of the month. In January and February 1944, it held 35 detainees. In total, 10 children and 32 women—all foreign Jews or stateless individuals—were confined at Monticelli Terme during the camp's short existence. The oldest female internee was 63; the youngest children were barely a year old.

Internees were not allowed to leave their hotel-prisons and lived on a daily "allowance" of 9 lire; this money was distributed to adult women and permitted them, albeit with great difficulty, to manage collective food expenses through purchases in a hotel shop.

The Monticelli Terme camp was closed on March 9, 1944, when all the prisoners were transferred to the Fossoli transit camp in Italy. They were then deported from Fossoli to Auschwitz on a transport on April 5, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Montechiarugolo are Marco Minardi, *Invisibili: Internati civili nella provincia di Parma: 1940–1945* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2010); Marco Minardi, *Tra le chiuse mura: Deportazione e campi di concentramento nella provincia di Parma 1940–1945* (Montechiarugolo: La Comune, 1987); Matteo Stefanori, "'Ordinaria amministrazione': I campi di concentramento provinciali per ebrei nella Rsi," *Ss* 54: 1 (2013): 191–226; Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della Memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)*, (1992; Milan: Mursia, 2002); Fabio Galluccio, *I lager in Italia: La memoria sepolta nei duecento luoghi di deportazione fascisti* (Civezzano: Nonluoghi libere edizioni, 2003); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Montechiarugolo camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, (Mobilitazione civile), B. 131 and 132, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 28 "Parma," sf. 3 to 6 and 13; ASP, Fondo Questura di Parma, B. 96, Corrispondenza tra il questore di Parma Bettini e il Capo della Polizia della Rsi; and ITS, collections 1.1.14.1 (Lager in Italien und Albanien), folder 2; and 3.1.1.3 (F18), folder 57. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. There are a number of documents and archival citations on the Montechiarugolo camp at www.campifascisti.it.

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. See, for example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Isaak Rubel (DOB March 28, 1908), Doc. No. 344666109.
2. CRI, "Visite ai campi di concentramento per internati, 25/28 agosto 1942," ACS/CRI, Fondo PG, B. M10, fasc. Italia (Campi di concentramento in Italia), reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.
3. Valli, Mi, Dgps, "Campo di concentramento di Montechiarugolo, Suppressione," October 27, 1943, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, A4 bis, internati stranieri e spionaggio 1939–1945, B. 5, fasc. 30 (Parma); and Prefettura di Parma, Sudditi di stati nemici residenti nella provincia di Parma, June 9, 1944, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, A4 bis, B. 5, fasc. 30, both reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.
4. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.

MONTEFORTE IRPINO

Monteforte Irpino (Avellino province) is a little town in the south of Italy, just over 6 kilometers (4 miles) southwest of Avellino and 37 kilometers (23 miles) east of Naples. In 1940 it had about 4,000 inhabitants. A concentration camp probably began to function there in June 1940, following the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, and the official letter (*Circolare*) of the Interior Ministry dated June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267.

The camp was located in a building that had once housed the Loffredo Orphanage, situated at the edge of town. It had three stories, with about 20 rooms, each capable of holding between 6 and 8 people, and a large room that could hold up to 50 people. It had a well and was also close to a public fountain; few buildings in the little town were connected to a water main. It had electric light and power, a garden, and various spaces used as storerooms and laundry rooms. Altogether it could hold 170 internees. The director of the camp was the *podestà* or mayor of the town, whereas guard service was provided by the carabinieri. The internees were all Italians—antifascists or those considered to pose a danger to the conduct of the war. In November 1940 there were 20 internees, a number that rose to 48 in March 1941; they were listed as "Arians." The number fluctuated between 28 inmates in August 1941 and 55 in June 1942. Between October 1942 and June 1943 there were no internees reported, but in August 1943 the number rose to 73.

The camp rules allowed the prisoners to visit a strictly defined area within the town. Because there was no dining hall in the camp, the internees could eat in restaurants. For specific urgent necessities they could go to Avellino, accompanied by a guard. Those with serious medical problems were accompanied by a guard to the nearby hospital. Relations between the inmates and the local populace were good. The camp remained open until August 1943 when, by order of the Interior Ministry, the antifascists were set free.

SOURCES The Monteforte Irpino camp is briefly mentioned in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 229–230.

The Monteforte Irpino camp is documented in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115.

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NERETO

Nereto is 20 kilometers (over 13 miles) northeast of Teramo and 15 kilometers (over 9 miles) southwest of San Benedetto del Tronto, not far from the Adriatic Sea, in Teramo province in the Abruzzo region. In June 1940, the Interior Ministry set up a camp in two private buildings in the town: the first, on Vittorio Veneto Way, was owned by the Santoni family, and the second, on Scarfoglio Way, belonged to the Lupini family. Intended only for male internees, the camp was initially run by the mayor of Nereto and then by the local public security commissioner. The carabinieri, who were responsible for securing the camp, set up a guard station in front of each of the two buildings.

The first internees arrived at Nereto on June 17, 1940. In time, their numbers increased so much that by October 1940 it was necessary to add a third building: the former "worm laboratory" located on Roma Avenue that belonged to the local agrarian consortium. Although the camp of Nereto could reasonably accommodate up to 160 people in the three sites, the number of prisoners reached 200 in October 1942. The internees belonged to several different categories: "dangerous Italians"; "foreign Jews" (Germans, Austrians, Polish, and stateless persons, in particular those from Fiume); "ex-Yugoslavs"; a small number of "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (the ethnic Slovene and Croat minorities whom the Fascist regime crudely sought to "Italianize"); and "enemy subjects."

As in other camps composed of multiple buildings, the living conditions varied greatly from one structure to another in the Nereto camp. The Santoni house was the most livable of the three, whereas the other two places, in particular the worm house, were dilapidated and lacked heating systems.

The internees residing in the Santoni and Lupini houses were allowed to move around a large part of the town's urban center, but were forbidden to enter Nereto's public park. The internees held in the worm house, which was considered a place of punishment, were not allowed to leave the building. The worm house was equipped with a kitchen and an inner-courtyard refectory. Most of the internees in the other two buildings prepared food on their own using a small electric stove, although the most affluent ones dined at several restaurants in town. Medical assistance was available for all by a doctor residing at the camp. In cases of special medical treatment or urgent hospitalization, the internees were transferred to Teramo under the escort of camp officials or carabinieri.

Some cultural and recreation activities developed in the Nereto camp over time. There were choral concerts, sometimes held in the presence of the camp director, and lively debates about soccer matches. This development was especially pronounced following the arrival of 40 foreign Jews from the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp in early October 1941. Relations with the local population were largely good; indeed, three former internees married local women after the war. In contrast, the internees' relations with the director who replaced the mayor, Commissioner Francesco Alongi, were confrontational. Alongi, who had been the director of the nearby Corropoli camp, located almost two kilometers (just about a mile) northeast of Nereto, was reassigned to head the Nereto camp in August 1942.

On May 5, 1943, there were 151 internees in Nereto.[1] In that same month, 20 of these internees were transferred to the Rieti province as forced laborers for the construction of the new Farfa camp. Around the same time internees from the Tortoreto Stazione camp arrived in the Nereto camp, after the closure of that camp by the Interior Ministry for security reasons.

After the fall of Benito Mussolini on July 25, 1943, Nereto's Italian internees were gradually released. By August 20, 1943, when a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) visited Nereto, there were still 148 internees present—all foreigners and mostly "ex-Yugoslavs."[2] None of the prisoners were granted release at the time of the Armistice, September 8, 1943. A few days later, a group of Slavs stole weapons from the guards and set off with the avowed purpose of fighting the Germans. The group was arrested by the end of the same day.

Meanwhile, the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) restored the camp's operation and appointed Commissioner Alongi as its new director, ushering in a more stringent regime. On December 4, 1943, German soldiers occupied the worm house and dispatched the internees to the other two buildings. Later that month, Commissioner Attilio Capurro, formerly the head of the Tortoreto camp, took over. On December 21, 1943, the new administration summoned to the Lupini house 70 internees in the process of being loaded onto trains for the ostensible purpose of protecting them from the Germans, especially the Nazi SS. The actual objective, however, was to transfer the Jews to the Germans. The camp was encircled by the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr) to prevent the 70 internees from escaping. Realizing that a trap was being set, a group of internees tried to escape at the very last moment, but the Italian troops started shooting into the air in response. In the end, 61 people were handed over to the German authorities.

Forty-five internees, mostly Jews, were subjected to forced labor by the Wehrmacht at Giulianova for about a month in late December 1945; 19 other inmates were left at Nereto after being declared unable to work. One of the former Ferramonti internees dispatched on forced labor was Austrian-born Karl Kosidois. After his return to Nereto, he escaped, and his Italian girlfriend hid him for the remainder of the war.[3]

The camp closed on February 1, 1944, after the group of forced laborers returned, minus the ones who had managed to escape. The remaining 69 internees were eventually sent to the Corropoli camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Nereto camp are Italia Iacoponi, "Campi di concentramento in Abruzzo durante il secondo conflitto mondiale," *RASSFR* 4: 2–3 (1983): 325–336; Costantino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 191–192; and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 219–220.

Primary sources documenting the Nereto camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 136, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 "Teramo," ss. ff. 10, 18; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis "stranieri internati," B. 6/38 "Teramo," A-ICRC, C Sc, Service des camps, Italia (August 20, 1943); and ITS, collections 1.1.0.7 (Lager und Haftstätten in Italien) and 1.1.14.1 (Lager in Italien und Albanien), available in digital form at USHMMA. USHMMA also holds an oral history interview with Nereto survivor Karl Kosidois under RG-50.120*0340.

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NOTES

1. "Elenco nominative degli internati del Campo di Concentramento di Nereto (Teramo)," May 5, 1943, ITS, 1.1.14.1, Doc. No. 459262.
2. ICRC, "Elenco degli internati civili del Campo di Concentramento di Nereto," August 22, 1943, ITS, 1.1.14.1, Doc. Nos. 459206–459217.
3. USHMMA, RG-50.120*0340, Karl Kosidois, oral history interview, March 25, 1998.

NOTARESCO

The small town of Notaresco in Teramo province in the Abbruzzo region is located 142 kilometers (88 miles) northeast of Rome. At the beginning of July 1940, the Interior Ministry established an internment camp for men in the town in two buildings: the first was on De Vincenti Street and belonged to the De Vincenti-Mazzarosa family, and the second was on Giardino Street and was owned by the Liberi family. In total, these two sites accommodated approximately 100 inmates.

Initially, a prefecture-appointed commissioner (*commissario*) headed the camp, a responsibility that was later taken over by the town's mayor (*podestà*). Local police guarded Notaresco from a sentry post in the vicinity of the De Vincenti house. A doctor from Notaresco provided the internees with medical assistance. The camp's buildings lacked kitchens and dispensaries. Showers were available, but without hot water.

The first internees—"Jewish foreigners"—arrived in Notaresco on July 13, 1940. More internees came in the months of July and August. In September, following a polio outbreak in the camp, the chief of police temporarily suspended the intake of new inmates. Also at this time the camp reached its near-peak capacity of 96 internees. In January 1941, after overcoming the health emergency, there were 68 Jewish inmates, including 19 stateless Jews from Fiume (today: Rijeka, Croatia), and 49 others (presumably Slavic). Another 32 foreign Jews arrived from the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp in October 1941. In early May 1942, the Jews present in the camp (only about 60 because of earlier transfers) were transferred to Ferramonti to make room for "ex-Yugoslav" inmates who started arriving in Notaresco soon thereafter.

In the camp's first two years of operation, Notaresco's internees were allowed to go to restaurants and engage in other public activities, but—according to regulations—only as necessary. In daytime, the internees could also visit streets of the town as well as a nearby stretch of provincial roads. Starting in June 1942, internment conditions became harsher after the arrival of 60 "ex-Yugoslavs" (largely Croatians from Dalmatia) whom the Italian authorities deemed supporters of the Yugoslavian Partisans. New camp canteens were set up inside the buildings because daily access to the town was drastically reduced. However, the otherwise untenable hygienic conditions improved markedly during this period.

In the spring of 1943, 32 Yugoslav internees were allowed to seek work with local farmers. The Notaresco camp continued to exist after the Armistice of September 8, 1943, although many internees were released. By the end of September, an additional 31 internees were allowed to leave; a second release of 14 people took place on November 7. At the end of November, there were 23 internees in the camp, a number reduced to just 5 in January 1944. The camp closed for good in May 1944.

SOURCES This entry is a slightly revised version of the Notaresco article found in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 220–221. Additional secondary sources on this camp are Italia Iacoponi, "Campi di Concentramento in Abruzzo durante il Secondo Conflitto Mondiale," *RASSFR* 5: 1 (1984): 131–151; and Constantino Di Sante, *I Campi di Concentramento in Italia: Dall'Internamento alla Deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 192–193.

Primary sources on the Notaresco internment camp may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136, f.16 (Campi di concentramento), s.fasc.2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 "Teramo," ss. ff. 12, 17. A-ICRC C Sc, Service des camps, Italie (August 19, 1943).

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PETRIOLO

Petriolo was a small town about 167 kilometers (104 miles) northeast of Rome in the province of Macerata, then one of the most isolated and impoverished areas of central Italy. With the closure of the province's female internment camp at Treia, a concentration camp opened in the town in December 1942. Established and run by the Interior Ministry, it held female citizens of states at war with Italy and "foreign Jews." Prisoners were sent here from the concentration camp of Treia, a facility that was in poor condition and whose rent was considered too high.

The camp was set up in a private country villa called "La Castelleta," in the area of the same name, located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. It had two floors plus an attic, with a total area of 318 square meters (348 square yards). It had electricity and drinking water from a well. The ground floor had four bedrooms, a living room, kitchen, and bath-

room. The floor above had seven bedrooms, a living room, bathroom, and storage room. The villa's capacity was 42 occupants. The ministry leased the villa for an annual rent of 18,000 lire, but it needed to renovate and adapt the building at a cost of 80,000 lire. A report by the director of public works accused the contractors of doing shoddy work and wasting public money: the kitchen was replaced even though the old one was functional, the toilets were at the end of a frigid hallway and lacked windows, the showers did not work, the heaters had incorrectly installed asbestos pipes, the electric pump did not draw enough water for the cistern, the tap water was rusty because the contractors used old pipes, and so on.

The director in March 1943 was Police Commissioner Carmine Ferrigno. When the camp opened, the staff consisted of an electrician and carpenter and a cook, although by the end of 1942 two prisoners actually did the cooking. The prefect suggested therefore that the monthly stipend of 500 lire for the cook be paid to the internees. There is no other information about other work undertaken by inmates or about the guards, who were probably local carabinieri.

The number of prisoners in April 1943 was 14 and rose to 18 by the end of the month, remaining stable until August of the same year when it increased again to 28. The internee list of April 1943 provided by the camp director to the Interior Ministry reported 11 "Aryan" women of British, Greek, Yugoslavian, Polish, and German nationality or background; 2 ex-Czechoslovak Jewish women; and 1 Jewish woman from Paraguay.

An August 1943 report by a general inspector of police describes camp discipline in the following terms: "In the camp of Petriolo everything goes on, as in the past, in the best possible manner to the complete satisfaction of all the inmates, apart from gossip, which is perhaps inevitable in an environment of this kind after many months of imprisonment."[1] By the order of the German command of Macerata, all the inmates from the province's camps (Petriolo, Pollenza, and Urbisaglia) were transferred to the camp of Sforzacosta between September 29 and 30, 1943, along with all the camp fittings (furniture, covers, kitchen materials, and so on); from there the inmates were transferred to the Fossoli di Carpi camp.

SOURCES There is very little published information on the camp at Petriolo. What does exist is found in Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols., trans. Loredana Melissari (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 65; and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 188.

The main archival sources are in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 128, 129, and 136.

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NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136.

PIETRAFITTA-TAVERNELLE

Pietrafitta, an area in the commune of Piegaro, and Tavernelle, an area in the commune of Panicale, are just over 19 kilometers (12 miles) and almost 23 kilometers (14 miles) southwest of Perugia, respectively. The Fascist camp for Yugoslav civilian internees, set up there under the authority of the Italian War Ministry, was referred to by both names.[1] The camp consisted of three distinct outposts: Pietrafitta, which was capable of accommodating 300 internees; Ellera, with 200 beds; and Sereni Castle (*Castel* or *Castello Sereni*), with a capacity of 100 spaces. At its peak, however, the camp accommodated just under 400 forced laborers.

A thermoelectric power plant and a brown coal mine were operating in the area close to the Nestore River, and the Italian government had decided to construct a new railway, the Ellera-Tavernelle trunk line, primarily to handle freight traffic for the anticipated transports of extracted minerals. The last stop was planned in Pietrafitta, close to both the power plant and the mine, but alternative plans included extending the railway all the way to Tavernelle (about 4 kilometers or over 2 miles to the southwest). There was also the possibility of extending it even farther to Cittaducale and Chiusi to connect with the Florence-Rome line.

On October 7, 1942, the Italian Army carried out the necessary inspections for the establishment of the labor camp. The internees, who were transferred from the Gonars and Monigo camps, started arriving in November. Chained in groups of five, they were taken by train to the Ellera station, close to Perugia. From there, they walked for approximately four hours, under military escort, to the camp's outposts. The last transport with 240 people on board left the Monigo camp on December 28, 1942, and after a journey that lasted two days during which the internees received no food, the train finally reached the Ellera station.

Soldiers watched over the forced laborers during working hours. Farmers and people living nearby were told about the arrival of the "rebellious Slavs." The work consisted mainly of earth moving, whether for the construction of a bridge over the Nestore River or for extracting rock used for building track ballast. The rock was taken from a pit located close to Castiglion della Valle and transported in wagons assembled on the tracks. The outposts at Pietrafitta, located close to Fontignano, a quarter of Perugia, and Ellera, not far from its namesake train station, were each made up of three military barracks 6 meters wide by 32 meters long (roughly 20 feet by 105 feet). The outpost of Sereni Castle, which was the first one to become operational, was set up in a stable owned by the Sereni family, located about 1 kilometer away from the town of Castiglion della Valle (Morsciano commune).

Pietrafitta served as the base camp, which also housed the facility's command and an infirmary. Capitano Valentino Munzi commanded the camp. He had at his disposal approximately 30 soldiers for each outpost and was assisted by Tenente Mario Farinacci, who was not the Fascist fanatic that the

captain was. The forced laborers wore military uniforms without insignia and had to walk about a half hour to reach their respective workplaces. The barracks contained bunk beds with straw mats and were positioned on loam terrain that easily turned swampy in bad weather. The Zanetti Company, the contractor for the railway construction works, paid a specified sum of money to the camp's leadership for the internees' services. Each internee received 4.5 lire per day in the form of "vouchers" spendable only in the mine's grocery store. Even money received from family members was handed over to the recipients in the form of "vouchers." In spite of their hard work, the internees considered the daily regime more preferable than what existed in the other Italian camps where some had been detained. A Mass was celebrated on Sundays, and the commander generally allowed the internees from all three outposts to come together; a choir was even organized. He also permitted visitors from surrounding areas to come to the base camp.

After receiving the news of the September 8, 1943, Armistice, the camp commander took an uncompromising stance, ordering that the internees be held inside the barracks, despite their demands to be liberated. Capitano Munzi also informed Tenente Farinacci that he would go the next day to Perugia to contact the German command so they could take over command of the camp. Knowing of the commander's decision and the likelihood of their being subsequently transferred to Nazi Germany, the internees turned directly for help to the soldiers who were guarding them.

On September 15, 1943, all the soldiers fled the base camp. On the same night, the guards from the other two outposts did the same thing. The internees also vanished and headed in many different directions.

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Pietrafitta-Tavernelle camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 261–263.

Primary sources documenting the Pietrafitta-Tavernelle camp can be found in ACS, USMME, M3, It, Raccolta 64, fasc. 2 (Ufficio AC, Campi concentramento); AVI, Anj, Br. Reg. 2/1-3. K. 1021; and ITS, collection 1.1.14.1. The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTE

1. CICR, Service Yougoslave, Delegazione in Italia, "Listes nominatives . . . yougoslaves en Italie," August 14, 1943, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. No. 459314.

PISTICCI

Pisticci is located 86 kilometers (53 miles) southwest of Bari and almost 60 kilometers (37 miles) west of Taranto. In 1939 the Interior Ministry established the Pisticci concentration camp (Matera province) as the first non-isolated "confinement colony" in Italy situated on a state-owned estate of reclaimed land, 25 square kilometers (almost 10 square miles) in size; it was located in the area of Caporotondo to the southeast of town. Initially, the camp was a center of agricultural work (*centro di lavoro agricolo*) for the detainees; from June 1940, with Italy's entry into the war, it also became a concentration camp for the internment of Italian civilians and foreigners. In practical terms, however, there was no difference between being a "detainee" and "internee."

The camp was built around an existing settlement consisting of eight military buildings fenced in by barbed wire and including several watchtowers. The total capacity was 1,000, and the population was exclusively male. In July 1940, there were already 486 detainees and 38 internees; in late 1941, the total was 776, of whom 553 were deemed internees and the rest detainees; in mid-September 1942, there was a total 997 inmates: 440 internees and 557 detainees.

Most of the Italians held at Pisticci were classified as "dangerous individuals" (that is, perceived regime opponents), Pentecostals (followers of the Evangelical Pentecostal faith who were fiercely persecuted by the Fascists), and ethnic minorities from the region of Venezia Giulia—Slovenian and Croatian civilians whom the Fascist regime unsuccessfully attempted to "italianize." The foreigners were inhabitants of countries at war with Italy, mainly Greeks and Poles, as well as "ex-Yugoslav" civilians deported to Italy after the occupation and partition of their country in 1941. The Yugoslav civilians came mainly from the zone of Fiume and the Kvarner Bay islands. This group included the Croatian poet Josip Šuljić, who arrived at Pisticci on June 15, 1941. In late 1942, a group of former Greek officials from the island of Corfu arrived at the camp; among them was an army medic whose aid work was of great help for the detainees. There were also some 50 Polish civilians from France (where they had emigrated in search of work during the Great Depression) who, at the outbreak of the war, were recruited into special units guarding the Maginot Line. After taking refuge in the French zone under Italian occupation, they were arrested by the Italians and sent to Pisticci.

Of particular note among the antifascist Italians at Pisticci were Dario Barbato, Giovanbattista Basello, Italo Belardi, Gustavo Comollo, Guglielmo Germoni, Agostino Ottani, Vito Pappagallo, Umberto Terracini, and Giacinto Varetto. The majority of them were convicted by a special tribunal and, as often was the regime's practice, were subjected to internment after serving their prison terms. In August 1940, Prince Filippo Doria Pamphili was interned at Pisticci; he went on to become the mayor of Rome after the liberation. One group of Italian communists, led by detainees Giuseppe Neri and Giuseppe Gaddi, and by internees Dario Bartato and Gustavo Comollo, was particularly well organized and resourceful, managing to obtain permission for all the prisoners to run the camp's canteen.

The camp director was Ercole Suppa (1888–1973), a public security commissioner appointed by the Interior Ministry. The real boss of the Pisticci camp, however, was the Fascist business-

man and merchant Eugenio Parrini, who built the agricultural center and was the owner of a company for which the internees and detainees worked. A fanatical Fascist, a devotee of the Duce, and, according to many testimonies, even a fervent Nazi, he was nevertheless pragmatic in dealing with the prisoners. He preferred to collaborate with the many communist laborers instead of exhibiting open hostility toward them. Although there were still periods of repression in the camp, his collaborative behavior was largely reciprocated and increased productivity in the agricultural colony. The Fascist regime touted this colony as an example of "agrarian cultivation" accompanied by the "human cultivation" of regime opponents. Moreover, the detainees and internees received a daily payment of 11 lire and were able to reduce their period of internment by four months for every one year of performed labor. These practices produced remarkable results. The camp population cultivated 800 hectares (almost 1,977 acres) of land and built 38 two-story farmhouses, each capable of accommodating four nuclear families. Through these methods the prison company became a model enterprise with the Fascist regime's enthusiastic support and also provided Parrini with a great deal of easy money.

Some of the 900 Pisticci prisoners greeted the news of Mussolini's arrest on July 25, 1943, with shouts of joy and the singing of national anthems and antifascist songs. However, they also committed several acts of violence; for example, a Fascist militiaman was forcibly hurled into a gorge. In the days that followed, the colony's director slowly proceeded with the release of a number of detainees and internees chosen among the less politicized Italians. In mid-August the communists were released, while the anarchists, espionage suspects, and, most importantly, some 700 Slavs—both the minorities from Venezia Giulia and "ex-Yugoslavs"—had to stay. Many of them who were not released resorted to hunger strikes in protest. On August 17, at the request of the colony's director, 4 additional policemen and 12 militiamen reinforced the camp's security. At the same time, after having arrested and transferred to prisons the most unruly elements, the Matera prefect asked the Directorate General of Public Security to provide military reinforcements and to transfer at least half of the Slavs to other camps.

In response, the War Ministry issued an order to transfer 350 Slavs from Pisticci to the Chiesanuova concentration camp (close to Padua) on September 1, 1943, but because of many logistical difficulties at the time, it was not executed. This is why, despite all the protests and unrest, the Pisticci camp remained formally in operation until September 13, 1943, when one Slavic internee escaped and traveled secretly to the large port city of Taranto to establish contact with the recently landed British forces. The internee soon returned to Pisticci with a group of British soldiers who ordered the camp's closure. This situation ended on a bloody note, however, as the Fascist militiaman Antonio Blancagemma was killed while trying to resist the soldiers.

After the official closure of the Pisticci concentration camp, the place became a displaced persons (DP) camp under the authority of Commissioner Bartolomeo Malvasi and the supervision of two Allied soldiers, Colonel Lansill and Captain Eddeng. Some 18,000 refugees, including several Jewish ex-internees and displaced Italians from Abruzzo, Lazio, and Campania, moved through the camp until the end of World War II. The British officer who organized the DP camp was Lieutenant John C. Hanshaw, killed soon thereafter at the front at Cassino.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Pisticci camp include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 232–234; Giuseppe Coniglio, *La colonia confinaria di Pisticci: Dal ventennio fascista alla nascita di Marconia* (Metaponto: Legatoria Lucana, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Fašistična taborišča. Internacije civilistov v fašistični Italijii (1940–1943)* (Ljubljana: Publicistično društvo ZAK, prev. Nevenka Troha, 2011), pp. 210–212; and Arturo Dallepiane, *La lunga via della libertà: Testimonianze per servire la storia della Resistenza* (Milan: Silva, 1963).

Primary sources documenting the Pisticci camp can be found in the following collections at ACS: Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ufficio confino di polizia (Affari generali), Cat. 710/50; and Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 131, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 24/ "Matera," ss. ff. 6, 7. Additional documentation can be found in AUSSME, fond M3, B. 67; and A-RS, collection AS 1840 7. The camp is also briefly mentioned in a CM/1 file in the ITS. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. There are a number of documents and archival citations on the Pisticci camp available at www.campifascisti.it.

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POGGIO TERZA ARMATA

Poggio Terza Armata (also called Zdravščina or Sdraussina), literally "Third Army Hill" (probably named for a troop presence in World War I), is a village under the civic administration of the commune of Sagrado in the province of Gorizia, located some 103 kilometers (64 miles) east of Venice, not far from the Isonzo River and very close to the border of modern-day Slovenia. The camp there opened in September 1942 at the order of the Interior Ministry with the assistance of the Inspectorate of Public Security (*Ispettorato di Pubblica Sicurezza*), for the region of Venezia Giulia. It occupied a former textile factory that had closed in 1936 and had employed about 1,000 workers.

In a document from 1942, the camp was described as being in the

> site of the village (*frazione*) of Poggio Terza Armata of Sagrado, adapted as a subsidiary prison for the temporary detention of family members of elements ascertained to be, or strongly indicated as, members of rebel bands, in the face of which it is held necessary, considering the particular period of political emergency in this Province, to adopt measures of internment, which

> will take place from time to time, according to the previous *nulla osta* [a Latin term, used in Italian administration to mean 'let nothing hinder'] and following the orders of the said ministry.[1]

Poggio Terza Armata was a transit camp, where prisoners were kept before they were either transferred to their destination camps, such as the concentration camp at Cairo Montenotte; sent to the "special battalions" set up by the Royal Army for suspect Italians or *allogeni* (ethnically or linguistically Slavonic or Croat people of Italian nationality); or judged by the Special Court for the Defense of the State (*Tribunale Speciale per la Difesa dello Stato*). Its maximum capacity was about 3,000.

The camp lacked basic amenities such as proper toilets or bathrooms, exercise yards, shops, or other areas commonly found in Italian concentration camps or prisons. As a result the detainees were locked in their cells for long periods of time, and this prolonged confinement only added to the camp's discomforts. Indeed, only one hour of "air" a day was granted to inmates—an hour in which they were allowed to leave their cells to walk in a courtyard surrounded by walls 4 meters (13 feet) high. The paucity of food and health services made internment conditions particularly difficult. Documents describe inmates brought to Trieste for interrogation by the Special Inspectorate and then returning to the camp in a terrible state, yet they received no proper medical attention.

According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco there are no data indicating the number of detainees who came from the little towns of the Vipacco, Isontino, Tarnovano, and Postumiese regions. Most of the detainees were male, but there were a few women among the inmates, and even some entire family units: they were relatives of partisans or suspected partisans detained for preemptive action, as well as youths who resisted conscription. Some thousands of civilians (almost all of them *allogeni*), among whom were persons considered suspicious according to various categories and partisans real or presumed, passed from this camp to the Special Court.

The direction of the camp was under the jurisdiction of the police, (*Pubblica Sicurezza*), while the surveillance of the detainees was entrusted to the army and to the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN, better known as the *Camicie nere* or Blackshirts).

The last extant document relating to the camp that survives is a telegram from the prefect of Gorizia to the Interior Ministry on March 18, 1944, which announced the closure of the camps at Poggio Terza Armata and Castagnavizza, following the September 8, 1943, Armistice, although both camps continued to hold some inmates until December 1943. By the time the German authorities attempted to establish their own camps at these sites, according to the telegram, the local population and inmates had destroyed or looted the structures and building materials at the camps (see the entry on Castagnavizza for the full document).[2]

SOURCES The camp at Poggio Terza Armata receives a mention in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 267.

The most important archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108 and 142.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 142.
2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108.

POLLENZA (AKA VILLA LAURI)

Pollenza is a small town in the province of Macerata in central Italy approximately 167 kilometers (104 miles) northeast of Rome. The concentration camp at Pollenza opened in June 1940 on the orders of the Interior Ministry for the purpose of detaining foreign and Italian women. Situated in a private villa owned by Marchesa Isabella Piccolini Costa in the township of San Lucia and called Villa Lauri, it was surrounded by a fenced park of 6 hectares (almost 15 acres). Villa Lauri's original capacity was set at 150 inmates, but was reduced to 90 in the summer of 1942. The structure was adapted to its new use with the construction of kitchens, washrooms, and toilets and the provision of drinking water and electrical power. In June 1941, the showers were provided with hot water. A large living room on the ground floor was made into a refectory. For every internee, the camp provided a cot, a "little mattress," two sheets, a pillow, and a bedcover.

The internees were not required to work; they could stroll in the park surrounding the villa and for a time were allowed to attend church on Sundays. Through the intervention of the papal nunciature, a priest would come to the camp occasionally to hear confession from Catholic inmates. Until the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the number of internees varied between 40 and 80. On February 12, 1942, all 65 women from the Lanciano camp were brought to Pollenza. On December 31, 1942, there were 28 Jews in the camp. Between September 29 and 30, 1943, the German authorities transferred all the internees to the camp at Sforzacosta.

The camp had a high turnover in leadership. In September 1940, the director was Commissioner of Public Security Mario Bitozzi. Franco Giuseppe replaced him in November 1940, but was soon succeeded by Guilio De Mase, who served until May 1941. From January 1942 to June 1943, the director was Domenico Petriccione, who in turn was replaced by Giulio Dandolo. The female director in October 1940 was Fedora Lazzaroni Matteucci, who was followed by Annunziata Spada, an elementary schoolteacher who served until October 7, 1942, when her position was taken over by Paola Millozzi. In February 1943, Anna Dalnegro took over from Millozzi as female director, but was dismissed from

service on April 19, 1943. Spada returned as director on August 27, 1943.

Due to the incompetence of its directors, the camp had serious problems. On April 29, 1941, General Inspector Carlo Rosati dispatched a report to the Interior Ministry after inspecting the camp with representatives of the Italian Red Cross and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). The report made some harsh judgments of the leadership of De Mase, whose manner of treating the internees was characterized as "rough" and who had not changed his behavior despite the exhortations of the provincial police chief (*questore*) of nearby Macerata. More than that, he had not improved the inmates' living conditions, as Rosati previously requested, and he could not even present an itemization of the camp's food provisions. In addition, he was extremely rude to the Red Cross inspectors, which led to Rosati's dismissal. The Interior Ministry removed director Anna Dalnegro because of her inability to run the camp: she was considered to be "weak and timid, without any experience of life due to her young age."[1]

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, some inmates succeeded in escaping from the camp, which was probably unguarded, but they were quickly captured and brought back to the camp by the Germans and the Fascists. In January 1944, the Italian Social Republic's (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) Interior Ministry reopened the camp to contain foreign and Italian Jews residing in the province. The documents relating to the camp's RSI phase are scarce, the most important being a letter from the police chief (*questore*) of Macerata of March 26, 1944, to the Interior Ministry according to which "50 persons of the Jewish race" were in the camp. It also mentioned that "in recent days the camp has been assailed by rebel bands, which have taken away various objects from the guard barracks, disarming the camp director himself and the Carabinieri on guard duty."[2] During the attack on the camp, six Jews succeeded in fleeing and joining the partisans. On March 31, 1944, the Nazi SS closed the camp and transferred all the internees to the camp at Fossoli di Carpi.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Pollenza are limited to Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols., trans. Loredana Melissari (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 62–65, which gives some information on the camps in the vicinity of Macerata; and an entry in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 189–190.

The principal archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117, 121, 128, and 129.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 128.
2. Ibid.

PONZA

Ponza is the principal island of the Pontine Archipelago, located off the Roman coast about 109 kilometers (68 miles) west of Naples in the Tyrrhenian Sea. One of the historical sites of Fascist internment, the prison colony had housed thousands of political opponents after the promulgation of the Exceptional Laws and the creation of the totalitarian regime (*Stato totalitario*). It began operation on July 29, 1928, and in only a few years held up to 450 prisoners. To oversee the mass of detainees, the guard corps consisted, in 1930, of 67 policemen and more than 300 members of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN, better known as the *Camicie nere* or Blackshirts). Among the prisoners were some of the most important and famous exponents of communist and democratic antifascism, including Umberto Terracini, Camilla Ravera, Pietro Secchia, Alessandro Pertini, Ernesto Rossi, and Riccardo Bauer.

Ponza closed in 1939, but in the summer of 1941 the Interior Ministry decided to reopen the old prison colony to house civilians arrested in the Balkans, who had been rounded up as part of the operations undertaken to suppress the Yugoslav resistance, on the request of the governor of Dalmatia. A line drawn from Piazza Chiesa, the Prefecture building, the Grand Parade, via Umberto, and ending at the Discesa Scalpellini delineated the camp's new perimeter. Along the sea the perimeter was drawn from Piazza Principe di Napoli, then to Corso Principe Napoli and via Dante, and all the way to the second big grotto, for a total of 1,800 square meters (2,153 square yards).

The Ponza camp is one of the few for which camp regulations are available. The prefect of Littoria, Cimoroni, set down these rules in October 1941:

1. The internees will not be able to cross the perimeter of the concentration camp without special authorization, signed by the camp director;
2. The internees will be forbidden to leave the occupied area (the *abitato*, the inhabited area of the town of Ponza) without the written permission of the Ministry;
3. The inmates will not be allowed to leave their respective quarters without special authorization and a due reason, before dawn, or to return after the Ave Maria;
4. There will be three daily roll calls, one in the morning before leaving quarters, one at midday before the meal, and one at the point of the return to camp;
5. The internees may eat in communal dining halls with the army or with private families, with the permission of the camp director;
6. The internees have the duty of behaving well and above suspicion, and to maintain the appropriate discipline;

7. Those who break the abovementioned rules will be punished to the full extent of the law.[1]

The inmates could move freely within the camp perimeter, under the surveillance of armed guards, and in the hot months they could swim in the sea, but only if required for "personal cleanliness."

The first contingent of prisoners—193 Montenegrins (178 men and 15 women) defined as "nationalist Communists"—arrived on the island on March 5, 1942. A second group of 112 men and 24 women arrived on March 24. In June 1942, a group of "undesirable intellectuals" arrived from the Albanian internment camps at Prezë and Puke: this group consisted of Serbs from Kosovo, an area assigned to "Greater Albania" in the Italian-occupied Balkans. In November 1942, nine Greeks were sent to the camp from the island of Corfù. In the course of 1943 other groups of Montenegrins were dispatched to the Ponza camp. The number of inmates thereby rose from 193 on March 5, 1942, to 708 by July 15, 1943.

An April 1943 list compiled by the camp director divides the detainees into the following categories:

Nationality	Men	Women	Race
Montenegrins	292	31	Aryan
Greeks	13	0	Aryan
Albanians	216	28	Aryan
Ex-Yugoslavs	49	1	Aryan
Bulgars	4	0	Aryan
Russians	1	0	Aryan
Hungarians	0	1	Jewish

Within the Montenegrin groups, tensions developed because of political differences. After a nationalist faction positioned itself against a politically neutral group, a brawl broke out between some of the female prisoners on September 30, 1942. Only the intervention of a carabiniere contained the fight, which ended with the arrest and transfer to prison of some of the women.

As in all the camps run by the Interior Ministry, a police officer from the *Pubblica Sicurezza* (police) was made director. The first was Commissioner Attilio Bandini, who was later replaced by an officer from the secret police (*Organizzazione Vigilanza Repressione Antifascismo*, OVRA) Sebastiano Vassallo. Assisting the director were 35 policemen and about 50 carabinieri. The island's state-funded doctor, assisted by an intern—a medical student who acted as an "all-purpose nurse"—provided health services. Sanitary conditions of the camp rapidly worsened due to the difficulty of provisioning Ponza. Moreover, the camp personnel mismanaged the camp. On October 7, 1942, the head of the camp canteen was arrested due to irregularities in the running of the food service. After this scandal the director, Bandini, was removed from the camp and replaced. The food service was thereafter put in the hands of the prisoners themselves, who ran it autonomously. After a protest from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in January 1943, an inspector general sent a long report to the Interior Ministry describing the poor sanitary conditions of the camp in dramatic terms.

A power struggle between the carabinieri, responsible for camp surveillance, and the camp director at that time, Sebastiano Vassallo, also began in January 1943. The director reported the marshal (*maresciallo*) of the carabinieri for his rough handling of various internees and for having slapped the inmate Giucchin Milutin di Arso in the doorway of a shop. In this report, Vassallo suggested that the marshal be replaced. Then, in a memorandum to the Interior Ministry, the carabinieri accused the director of laxness, denouncing the total lack of discipline among the Montenegrins and Vassallo's inability to maintain order. More than six months later, on July 30, 1943, the carabinieri sent another memorandum criticizing the director's complete ineptness. They accused him of visiting the prisoners' quarters and saying "Mussolini and Fascism no longer exist. In a few days it will all be over and you will all be freed."[2]

After Benito Mussolini's arrest on July 25, 1943, the soldiers stationed on the island joined the antifascists and foreign prisoners in a spontaneous demonstration of joy for the fall of Fascism, mistakenly believing that the toppling of the dictator also meant the end of the war. Two days later Mussolini was transferred to the island on the order of the new prime minister, Pietro Badoglio. Mussolini stayed for 12 days in Ponza in the house where Ras Immirù (an Ethiopian military chief) was interned after the Italo-Ethiopian War. The carabinieri kept him under close guard. In the night of August 6, 1943, Mussolini was taken aboard the ship *Pantera* and transferred to the Sardinian island of Maddalena, because Ponza was not considered secure enough.

On August 28, 1943, the Interior Ministry decided to close the camp because of the difficulty of supplying it. Half the prisoners were sent to the Italian mainland on September 7, and the remainder on the next day, September 8, when the Armistice was signed between Italy and the Allies. The prisoners were then transferred to the camps of Renicci and Le Fraschette of Alatri.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the camp at Ponza are limited to Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 202–203; and Silverio Corvisieri, *La villeggiatura di Mussolini: Il confino da Bocchini a Berlusconi* (Milan: Baldini Castoldi Dalai, 2004), pp. 267–285. There is some information about the camp director, Attilio Bandini, in Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi, *Poliziotti* (Rome: Cooper, 2004), pp. 59–60. For the period before 1939, see Adriano Dal Pont, *I lager di Mussolini: L'altra faccia del confino nei documeti della polizia fascista* (Milan: La Pietra, 1975); and s.v., *Enciclopedia dell' antifascismo e della Resistenza*, 6 vols. (Milan: La Pietra, 1968–1989).

The principal archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 4 and 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 117 and 127.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 127.
2. Ibid.

PRIGNANO SULLA SECCHIA

The commune of Prignano sulla Secchia is located nearly 30 kilometers (more than 18 miles) southwest of Modena in the region of Emilia Romagna. The town is located in the lower Apennine Mountains close to Modena, nestled in the valleys formed by the Secchia River and one of its tributaries, Rossena Creek. The administrative area encompasses more than 80 square kilometers (31 square miles), with an altitude ranging between 168 and 870 meters (551 to 2,854 feet) above sea level.

On September 11, 1940, the chief of the Italian police, Arturo Bocchini, issued Circular No. 63462/10 ordering a roundup of all "Gypsies" (Italian: *zingari*, Roma and Sinti) of Italian nationality, known or presumed, who still enjoyed freedom.[1] The letter instructed the prefects of all provinces of the Kingdom of Italy to identify places suitable for the concentration of Sinti in territories under their jurisdiction.[2] In response, the authorities of the Modena province chose to establish a concentration camp in the town of Prignano sulla Secchia.

The first Sinti families arrived on November 11, 1940, escorted by the carabinieri; they had been arrested while resting with their caravans in the city of Modena for their usual winter break. The caravans were taken to the communal sports field while those families without caravans were accommodated in a house—referred to as Ca' Iantella—rented by the Prignano commune from Giuseppe and Angela Fantini.[3] It appears that the ground floor of the house, a stable, was used as a dormitory, and the upper floor was used as the kitchen.[4] The internees' living conditions were very difficult because there were a large number of children and each family received only a paltry allowance (5.5 lire per day for the head of the family in addition to 1 lira per day for all other family members) to pay for heating, clothing, and medicine. For those internees who did not have their own caravan, an additional amount of 50 lire per month was provided per family to rent one of the commune's stables. The scarcity of food and the hardships caused by the lack of drinking water, latrines, and firewood for heating were described in communications between the mayor, Interior Ministry, the police, and Modena's prefect.[5]

The carabinieri from the Prignano barracks checked the sports field and the stables every evening to see that the internees had not escaped. The internees could only move around the town during the day. A written permit from the public security authorities was required to travel to other communes or engage in labor activities outside the communal area.

It is difficult to reconstruct the internment of Sinti in this locality, both because of the number of internees and the arrangements through which the camp was eventually disbanded. In fact, there is only one file compiled by the communal authorities with personal data for 79 Italian Sinti, and there is no indication of its date. The summary chart compiled by the Interior Ministry on January 13, 1941, mentions 67 people interned at Prignano sulla Secchia, of whom 44 were minors.[6] But this document does not provide any personal data about the internees. More documentation related to this place of internment can be found in the Modena State Archives, according to which there were around 90 internees there in the spring and summer of 1941.[7] That number dropped to 25 to 30 in the summer of 1942.[8] Some documents show that, starting in April 1942, the internees' ability to move about was restricted, which also resulted in the first attempts to flee the camp.

In addition to the varying numbers of internees, the archival documents confirm that by the summer of 1943 there were no longer any Sinti in Prignano. Some had escaped in early 1942, and the last remaining families left the country in March 1943, either with official permission from the authorities or because there was no opposition to their leaving.[9] Yet several Sinti who had escaped before this date were found by the police and sent back to the camp throughout 1943. For example, Truzzi Eva Marsiglia, who escaped from Prignano along with her husband, children, and a granddaughter, was eventually arrested in Piacenza in July 1943 and immediately sent back to Prignano sulla Secchia. Six days later, July 30, 1943, she escaped again, and the police searched for her until December 1943.[10]

Male adults regularly enlisted into the Italian Army and, to pay for their training, several families were stripped of the military aid they previously received.[11]

SOURCES Evidence of the internment of Sinti in Prignano sulla Secchia is included in Gnugo De Bar, *Strada, patria sinta: Cento anni di storia nel racconto di un saltimbanco sinto* (Florence: Fatatrac, 1998). De Bar's parents were interned there. Other testimonies were collected by Paola Trevisan, *Storie e vite di Sinti dell'Emilia* (Roma: CISU, 2005). Early analyses of the documents in the Modena State Archives on Prignano are found in Paola Trevisan, "Un campo di concentramento per 'zingari' italiani a Prignano sulla Secchia," *L'Almanacco* 29: 55–56 (2010): 7–30, and "The Internment of Italian Sinti in the Province of Modena during Fascism: From Ethnographic to Archival Research," *RomS* 23: 2 (December 2013): 139–160.

Primary sources documenting the Prignano sulla Secchia camp can be found in ASMo, especially the prefecture: Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1943, B. 502; Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1942, B. 474, fasc. Prignano; Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1941, B. 441; and the prefectural cabinet: Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1941, B. 598; Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1942, B. 630/2; Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1943, B. 653. Documentation related to the internees' expenses can be found in ACS, Mi, Polizia Amministrativa e Sociale, già Divisione di Polizia, sezione III, 1940–1975, B. 221, fasc. Modena (1940–1943); a preliminary survey of Roma and Sinti inducted into the Italian military can be found in ACS, Mi, Dir. Gen. Pubblica Sicurezza, Divisione polizia, B. 23. A testimony about the camp is available at www.prignanoinforma.it.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, M 4, B. 105.
2. ACS, Mi, Polizia Amministrativa e Sociale, già Divisione di Polizia, sezione III, 1940–1975, B. 221.
3. Ibid., fasc. Modena, 1943.
4. Interview of Lella Boilini with Sista Ternelli Macchioni of Prignano, available at www.prignanoinforma.it.
5. ASMo, Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1943, B. 653; Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1942, B. 630/2; Prefettura di Modena, Gabinetto, 1941, B. 598.
6. ACS, Mi, Polizia Amministrativa e Sociale, già Divisione di Polizia, sezione III, 1940–1975, B. 221, fasc. zingari fermati, 1940.
7. ASMo, Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1941, B. 441.
8. ASMo, Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1942, B. 474, fasc. Prignano.
9. ACS, Mi, Polizia Amministrativa e Sociale, già Divisione di Polizia, sezione III, 1940–1975, B. 221, fasc. Modena, 1940; ASMo, Prefettura di Modena, Atti Generali, 1943, B. 502.
10. ASMo, Questura, Divisione II, categoria II, Casellario Polizia.
11. ACS, Mi, Dir. Gen. Pubblica Sicurezza, Divisione polizia, B. 23.

RENICCI DI ANGHIARI

Anghiari, in the Arezzo province, is approximately 186 kilometers (116 miles) north of Rome. The Italian Army established a concentration camp some 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) northwest of Anghiari's historical center in the neighborhood of La Mòtina, an agricultural area with sandy terrain (hence, the toponym "renicci") close to the Tevere River. The area was known for its small oak forest. The Renicci camp was on an 11-hectare (27-acre) parcel of land, to which another 6 hectares were later added. The camp was projected to hold approximately 9,000 interned civilian Slovenes and Croats.

Construction began in July 1942, but only two of the camp's three planned sectors were ever completed. These two sectors included 24 large brick buildings for the internees, lodging for camp guards, canteens, warehouses, offices, and bathrooms. The camp management had its own section set up in the front of the camp. The facility was fenced in with barbed wire flanked by watchtowers.

Colonello di fanteria Giuseppe Pistone commanded the Renicci camp. He developed a reputation for having a tough and uncompromising attitude. Tenente Colonello Fiorenzuola and Maggiore Rossi acted as sector commanders and had at their disposal approximately 200 police and soldiers. The first internees, all males, arrived on a transport from the Gonars camp (Udine province) on October 7, 1942, soon after the construction of Renicci began: the only completed structures were those for housing the guards, as well as the barbed-wire fence and watchtowers. Hence the first group of prisoners lived in tents, with the smallest tents cramming in 15 to 20 people and the large tents holding up to 60. Only in May 1943 were the internees moved to brick buildings.

Many other transports followed from the camps at Chiesanuova (Padova) and Arbe (Fiume). By the end of October, Renicci already held 1,300 internees, a number that grew to 3,950 by December 1942: the population consisted of men aged 12 to 70. The first transfers and releases from Renicci only began after December 1942. Internment at Renicci was particularly harsh because of the cold and food shortages. Life in small and overcrowded tents fostered the spread of parasites and infectious diseases. The Italian Army doctor, assisted in his work by three internees, could do little, given the scarce medication, poor food, and poor sanitary conditions. Indeed, the internees had no access to running water (which was often unavailable even in the kitchens), and the latrines, which were insufficient in number, were placed out in the open and sheltered by crumbling canopies that were often blown down by the wind. Due to continuous hunger, a reality complained about in January 1943 by the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI), the Interior Ministry, and the Foreign Affairs Ministry, many internees resorted to eating acorns from the many oak trees nearby. Only a small number of internees who managed to secure "employment" as barbers or shoemakers or the ones engaged in the construction of camp buildings fared a little better.

Due to dysentery, malnutrition, and starvation, there were some 100 deaths among the internees by the end of January 1943; 159 deaths were recorded throughout the entire period of the camp's existence, with 3 to 4 cases occurring daily during the coldest months. A nearby village graveyard, hitherto abandoned, had to be reopened to allow burials of those who died in the camp. Except for a few notable cases (for example, Tenente Rouep is clearly remembered as being supportive), the Renicci camp's administration treated the detainees as if they were criminals; for instance, 70 were identified as hostages against whom the army could retaliate in case of riots or collective insubordination.

The living conditions of internees began to improve at the end of January 1943. The situation changed because the authorities decided to stop delaying food supplies sent to the internees by their families, the weather improved, and supplies of shoes and clothing were delivered. In addition, during this period many internees were released or transferred, whether due to the intervention of the Vatican or the Italian authorities. Very often such releases were conditional by a commitment on the part of the liberated internees to join collaborationist militias. The apostolic nuncio to the Italian government, Monsignor Francesco Borgongini-Duca, visited the camp on February 16, 1943, bringing the internees (at that time all civilians from occupied Yugoslavia, including several Jews) greetings from the pope, along with a sum of money donated by the pontiff. The Jewish aid organization, Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM), also intervened on several occasions to help the few Jews held at Renicci.

Between late July and August 1943 (with Mussolini's regime crumbling), the Renicci camp was selected by the new

"Young Concentration Camp Inmate" by Drago Vidmar, 1942–1943. Renicci, Italy.
USHMM WS #27613, COURTESY OF MUZEJ NOVEJSE ZGODOVINE. SLOVENWE/NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY, SLOVENIA.

government of Pietro Badoglio as a place of confinement for a large number of deportees, both Italians and foreigners, evacuated from the south (mostly Sardinia and the small confinement islands of Ustica, Ponza, and Ventotene) following the Allied advance. To separate Italian internees from foreigners, the camp management put up a double-wire mesh fence to divide each of the camp's two sectors, thus virtually creating a third one. There were some prominent antifascist figures present among the newly arrived internees, such as Albanian Lazar Fundo, Slovenian Jože Srebrnić, and Italians Vincenzo Gigante, Alfonso Failla, and Giorgio Jaksetich, yet all remained prisoners despite the end of the Fascist government.

In early 1943, the Slavic internees created a clandestine antifascist political organization at Renicci. With the fall of Mussolini, this group abandoned its clandestine structure and organized paramilitary groups that later began "patrolling" the camp. Such a state of affairs set the tone for continuing tension between the Italian guards and the prisoners. The latter demanded immediate release in the knowledge that the Fascist dictatorship had already fallen. Tension grew notably following the news of the proclamation of the Armistice on September 8, upon which the internees asked the camp's command if they could take up arms, as well as take full control over the camp, in order to defend themselves in case of a German attack. When this request was turned down by the Italian command, numerous protests broke out in the three sectors of the camp, culminating in a fierce confrontation with the guards during which four internees were injured.

At last, on the afternoon of September 14, the approach of German troops led to the flight of the frightened Italian soldiers. Except for the sick who were incapable of movement, the camp emptied out completely within a short period of time, with more than 3,000 Slavic internees vacating the facility. Many made their way toward the Apennines. In large part, they joined the Italian partisans. Another group of about 700 Slavs was captured by the Germans and taken back to Renicci where, on September 23, 1943, they were deported to the Reich. In November, a "second Renicci camp" (first guarded by the militias and then the police) was opened by the newly founded collaborationist state of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). However, this camp only accommodated political internees and was not part of the provincial camps for Jews set up at the time (even in Italy) to carry out deportations of the Jews.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Renicci di Anghiari camp include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Renicci: Un campo di concentramento in riva al Tevere* (1998; Milan: Mursia, 2003); Giorgio Sacchetti, "Renicci: Un campo di concentramento per slavi ed anarchici," in Ivano Tognarini, ed., *Guerra di sterminio e Resistenza: La provincia di Arezzo (1943–1944)* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1990), pp. 225–261; Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Fašistična taborišča. Internacije civilistov v fašistični Italijia (1940–1943)* (Ljubljana: Publicistično društvo ZAK, prev. Nevenka Troha, 2011), pp. 235–238; Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 259–261; Daniele Finzi, *La vita quotidiana di un campo di concentramento fascista: Ribelli sloveni nel querceto di Renicci-Anghiari (Arezzo)* (Rome: Carocci, 2004); Božidar Jezernik, *Struggle for Survival: Italian Concentration Camps for Slovenes during the Second World War*, trans. Martin Cregreen (Ljubljana: Društvo za preučevanje zgodovine, literature in antropologije, 1999); and Irma Taddia, *Autobiografie africane: Il colonialismo nelle memorie orali* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1996).

Primary sources documenting the Renicci di Anghiari camp can be found in VaB, Anj, Rednoi broj 17/8-4, K. 316; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime," M4, B. 110, ins. 43/r "Campo di Renicci di Anghiari"; AUSSME, F. H8-Crimini di guerra, Racc. 104, Relazione dell'ex direttore del campo; and ITS, collection 6.1.1 (Predecessor Organizations), folder 106. The CNI of the ITS also contains a few references to Renicci prisoners. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

ROCCATEDERIGHI

Roccatederighi is located 85 kilometers (53 miles) southwest of the regional capital of Florence and 29 kilometers (18 miles) north of the prefectural capital of Grosseto. It was the site of a provincial camp for Jews under the Italian Social Republic

(*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). With characteristic diligence, the provincial head (*capo*) of Grosseto—Alceo Ercolani, who was in power from October 1943 to June 1944—adopted anti-Jewish measures even before receiving precise directives from the RSI. This pattern repeated itself in the case of the establishment of the Roccatederighi camp, which preceded Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi.[1]

In fact, on November 24, 1943, in a letter addressed to the director of the newly established camp, the command of the local legion of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN), the Interior Ministry, and the Grosseto police headquarters, Ercolani ordered as follows:

> It is henceforth instituted in the part of Roccatederighi (commune of Roccastrada) a concentration camp where all Italian Jews from the province of Grosseto will be detained, even if under discriminatory conditions. A responsible director will oversee the camp's watch and administration, and will have at his disposal Public Security (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) agents, an assigned militia unit and an adequate number of Carabinieri. Thus, I order that the said camp be put into operation from the 28th. For this purpose, I appoint Rizziello Gaetano as the director of the camp effective from Friday 26th . . . . Three PS agents, or auxiliaries, will be assigned with the director and will provide for internal surveillance of the camp's premises. By Saturday the 27th, the command of the 98th Legion will send to the site 20 militiamen along with one officer, munition for at least two machine guns and two submachine guns, and a sufficient number of bombs (grenades) for each militiaman.[2]

In a communication the next day addressed solely to the Interior Ministry, Ercolani specified that he would examine, on a case-by-case basis, those prisoners meriting "special consideration." He further noted that, to cover the costs of the "first purchases," he had identified 100,000 lire in the prefecture's general funds that would then "be reinstated by proceeds from movable and immovable pieces of property pertaining to the said Jews."[3] The Interior Ministry responded testily, writing "that the establishment and organization of concentration camps . . . [was] . . . in the competence of this Ministry only." It also asked for "clarifications regarding the establishment of the concentration camp in question, preferring a detailed account from the camp's designated director, Rizziello Gaetano."[4]

It remains unknown how many Jews in total were detained at Roccatederighi. However, it was reported that, on March 25, 1944, 80 Jews were brought there, of whom 39 were foreigners and 41 were Italians. It is believed that 17 prisoners may have been liberated due to poor health or old age.[5]

There is some information available on the camp's lodging situation and its overall capacity. The Grosseto chief of police, Vincenzo Mancuso, stated,

> Everybody is accommodated in four large rooms. The two rooms on the first floor are for men while the other two, on the second floor, are for women. Discipline and decency are followed, and the camp has always functioned normally to the extent that, ever since its establishment, there has not been reported any attempt to escape, nor any other incident of even a slight importance. Based on mutual agreement with the commissioner of the Roccastrada prefecture, the necessary camp supplies are provided through monthly ration vouchers while there is also an up-to-date camp's registry regarding loading and unloading of the rationed items. There would be a space for thirty more people; a corresponding number of beds is missing, however.[6]

Italian Jews tended to receive preferential treatment over foreign Jews. Some Italian Jews from the Grossetano region benefited from their friendship networks in the province, which enabled them to avoid deportation north of the Alps.

One group was transferred, in two successive waves, to other camps in Italy before deportation, mostly to Auschwitz. In contrast, the other group largely remained in Italy. On April 17, 1944, 21 detainees, of whom there were only 9 Italians, were transferred to the Fossoli transit camp. On June 7, another 25 were sent to Scipione di Salsomaggiore in the Parma province. In the end, 10 Italians and 4 foreigners remained at Roccatederighi, and the total number deported to Nazi Germany was 38.

Testimony on the Roccatederighi camp is sparse. Historian Luciana Rocchi notes that the detainees had some freedom of movement in the neighboring town and cultivated friendly relations with the locals.

A veil of ambiguity surrounds the behavior of the bishop (*Vescovo*) of Grosseto, who entered into a rental agreement with the provincial head, because the camp was established on property that was the site of an annual episcopal seminar. After the liberation of Roccatederighi, the local prefecture was given back the rent paid to the episcopate of Grosseto, which the bishop's offices had never deposited. Under such a circumstance, it can be argued that the episcopate of Grosseto was forced to cede its seminar space without compensation for the establishment of the camp.[7]

The Roccatederighi camp was closed on June 9, 1944, during the Allied liberation of Grosseto.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the provincial camp for Jews at Roccatederighi are Luciana Rocchi, ed., *La persecuzione degli ebrei nella provincia di Grosseto nel 1943–1944* (1996; Grosseto: Istituto Storico Grossetano della Resistenza e dell'Età Contemporanea, Amministrazione Provinciale di Grosseto, 2002); Rocchi, "Ebrei nella Toscana meridionale: La persecuzione a Siena e Grosseto," in Enzo Collotti, ed., *La Persecuzione contro gli ebrei in Toscana 1938–1943*, 2 vols. (Rome: Carocci, 1999), 1: 254–325; and Enzo Colloti, ed., *Ebrei in Toscana tra occupazione tedesca e RSI: Persecuzione, depredazione, deportazione (1943–1945)*, vol. 2 (Rome: Carocci, 2007).

Primary sources on the provincial camp for Jews at Roccatederighi can be found in ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142; and ACV-G. These sources are reproduced in Rocchi, ed., *La persecuzione degli ebrei nella provincia di Grosseto*.

Giovanna D'Amico
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.
2. Comunicazione della Prefettura di Grosseto firmata da Ercolani e rinvenuta in ivi, November 24, 1943, ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142, reproduced in Rocchi, *La persecuzione degli ebrei nella provincia di Grosseto*, pp. 41–42.
3. La comunicazione è a firma di Ercolani, ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142, reproduced in ibid., p. 43.
4. Riposta, December 7, 1943, ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142, reproduced in ibid., p. 47.
5. Risposta del questore di Grosseto, Vincenzo Mancuso, al telegramma n° 451 della Dgps, March, 25, 1944, ACS, Mi, Pubblica Sicurezza, "Massime" B. 142, reproduced in ibid., p. 50.
6. Ibid.
7. Contrato, November 26, 1943, ACV-G, f. Seminario di Roccatederighi, reproduced in ibid., pp. 44–45; Il Vescovo di Grossetto, al il Mi, Roma, September 19, 1944, ACV-G, f. Seminario di Roccatederighi, reproduced in ibid., p. 54.

SAN TOMASO DELLA FOSSA

Located in the province of Reggio Emilia, in the Emilia Romagna region, San Tomaso della Fossa is a small village roughly 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the town of Bagnolo in Piano and approximately 141 kilometers (87 miles) southeast of Milan. The internment camp of San Tomaso della Fossa opened on January 9, 1944, for internees sent from the closed internment camp at Montechiarugolo in the Parma province. Originally set up to hold citizens of "enemy nations," the Montechiarugolo camp had been closed down by the Germans for security reasons. The few internees left in the camp after the arrival of German forces were subsequently sent to the city of Santa Croce where they temporarily occupied one of the local school buildings. After a heavy bombardment by the Allied Air Forces on Reggio Emilia on the night of January 8, 1944, during which several buildings, including the school where the prisoners were staying, were damaged or completely destroyed, the internees were relocated to a former school building in San Tomaso della Fossa.

According to Peter Grant, the youngest San Tomaso internee, the camp held approximately half the number of detainees living in the Montechiarugolo camp at the time of the German troops' arrival.[1] More precisely, the contingent sent to San Tomaso della Fossa consisted of 60 men aged between 17 and 62, most of whom were from Great Britain (47 detainees); there were also citizens of France (13), the Netherlands (1), United States (1), Canada (1), and Australia (1), as well as one stateless Armenian Turk among the internees. An International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) report, which also identified the camp as Bagnolo in Piano, indicated that the internees' leader was Thomas Sydney.[2]

The camp was established in a former school building set back from the street, surrounded by a small vegetable garden and encircled by barbed wire. The prisoners occupied one of its three floors. On the ground floor, there were kitchens serving both the internees and the guards. The three bedrooms for internees each contained eight beds and were located on the second floor, along with four toilets. However, there were no showers available in the building, a subject of internees' complaints to the ICRC inspector during one of several visits to the camp.

With the German occupation of Italy that began on September 9, 1943, the vast majority of Italian concentration camps came under direct German military rule. However, as was the case with the San Tomaso della Fossa camp, their de facto administration and daily surveillance fell to the Italian authorities, in this case to the Reggio Emilia provincial police or the "Blackshirts" (*camicie nere*). In addition, with the Germans technically in power, the former internment facilities were transformed into individual transit camps, with the subjected internees—largely citizens of "enemy nations" and people identified as "Jews"—now facing the threat of deportation to the Reich.

From the first few weeks of its existence, life in the camp became very difficult because of the lack of washroom facilities and the overcrowding of the detainees. After a series of arrangements made between the Interior Ministry of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) and the German military command, the prisoners were gradually released beginning in March 1944; they were then housed with various families in the town. On July 3, 1944, there were still 29 internees in the camp: 22 British, 2 Americans, 1 Dutch, 1 Armenian Turk, 1 Iraqi, 1 Russian, and 1 Latvian.

On October 6, 1944, the German military command ordered the camp's closure. Six civilian internees were transferred to the prison of Verona. The large majority of ex-inmates succeeded in avoiding being transferred to territory still held by the Germans, due to the intervention of the prefect commissioner of Bagnolo in Piano, as well as the civilian population. Some internees appear nevertheless to have been taken to Germany where they were subjected to further imprisonment.

SOURCES Further reading on San Tomaso della Fossa may be found in Marco Minardi, *Tra chiuse mura: Deportazione e campi di concentramento nella provincia di Parma 1940–1945* (Parma: Comune di Montechiarugolo, 1987); Minardi, "I priogioneri di San Tomaso della Fossa: Internati civili nel comune di Bagnolo in Piano, 1943–1945," *RS* 37: 93 (July 2002): 51–71; Minardi, "La cancellazione: le leggi razziste e la persecuzione degli ebrei a Parma (1938–45)," *RSD* 1: 2 (July–December 1989): 65–93; and Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (Milan: Mursia, 2002).

The main archival sources are found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 145. Other mentions are in ACP, Cat. Beneficenza e Leva e Truppa. An ICRC report on

San Tomaso della Fossa may be found in NARA, RG-389 (US Army Provost-Martial General). A translation of this report from French to Italian is appended to Minardi, "I priogioneri di San Tomaso della Fossa."

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi and Jakub Smutný
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. Written testimony by Peter Grant, June 13, 2000, as cited in Marco Minardi, "I Prigioneri di San Tomaso della Fossa," p. 53.

2. B. Beretta, ICRC, Report on San Tomaso della Fossa near Bagnolo in Piano, June 25, 1944, as reproduced in ibid., pp. 62–63.

SASSOFERRATO

Sassoferrato is a remote small town in the hilly parts of the province of Ancona, 52 kilometers (32 miles) northeast of Perugia. It was the site of a concentration camp that began operation on February 27, 1943, according to the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the Interior Ministry's letter (*Circolare*) of June 8, 1940, Number 442/12267, for the internment of civilians from the former Yugoslavia in the Italian-occupied Balkans.

The camp was set up in the Abbey of the Holy Cross (*Abbazia di Santa Croce*), 1.5 kilometers (almost a mile) from the railway and 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) outside the town. It was a historic building, founded in the twelfth century for the Camaldolese monks and rebuilt many times subsequently. On October 25, 1941, the Inspector General of Public Security (*Ispettore Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza*) sent a report to the police chief, Guido Lo Spinoso, about the possibility of turning the abbey into a concentration camp. The report described a building of three floors. On the ground floor there was a large room that could be used for the guard corps, kitchens, and a vast refectory capable of holding more than a hundred people. On the second and third floors, up to 140 inmates could be housed in rooms of four persons each. There was also space for other guardrooms. The abbey was still occupied by four monks who could stay in their cells. Finally, there was a chapel and a large square that could serve as a place for the inmates to exercise. The building already had water and electricity, but needed some repairs and renovations. Twelve toilets were considered sufficient for 140 prisoners plus the guards. To augment the water supply, which came from a nearby spring, the report suggested cleaning and renovating a cistern in the center of the cloister to collect rainwater.

Five carabinieri, under the command of a chief, were employed to guard the prisoners from a guard post. Policemen were assigned to patrol the interior and maintain order. There was no camp director: the mayor (*podestà*) of Sassoferrato ran the camp. Once a week the director of the nearby camp of Fabriano, Antonio Vecchio, came to check that all was in order.

There were always far fewer inmates, all "ex-Yugoslavs," than the 140 anticipated. After it opened, the camp held 60 prisoners in March 1943; the population was 30 in May 1943 and 38 in August of that year. On September 3, when the delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross visited the camp, there were 34 Slovenes and 3 Croats in residence, all from the provinces of Gorizia, Fiume, and Zara. On September 15, 1943, following the Armistice, all the prisoners were freed. There is no definite information about the camp's functioning under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). The only document known is a telegram of December 30, 1943, from the prefecture of Osimo to the Interior Ministry that stated that no prisoners were to be transferred to Sassoferrato.[1]

SOURCES There is a brief mention of the Sassoferrato camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 190–191.

The only available sources on the Sassoferrato camp are in the ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 114 and 105.

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Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 105.

SCIPIONE

Scipione (Parma province) is almost 29 kilometers (18 miles) west of Parma and 391 kilometers (243 miles) northwest of Molat, Croatia (Italian: Melada). The Fascist Interior Ministry opened the Scipione concentration camp in July 1940 in the neighborhood (*comune*) of Salsomaggiore in an old castle, the property of the Victor Emmanuel II Orphanage in Parma, which was located some 4 kilometers (almost 3 miles) from the town of Salsomaggiore. In Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) documentation, the camp is referred to as "Salsomaggiore."[1] Equipped with electricity, plumbing, and a telephone, the castle accommodated up to 200 people in approximately 30 rooms of various sizes. In addition, it had a refectory, kitchen, laundry, and other amenities, as well as spacious inner courtyards enclosed within massive walls. Other than the castle, there were only a few other houses in Scipione at the time. Initially, public security agents, who were subordinate to the camp director, conducted internal and external security. From 1942 onward, the police assumed external security.

The internees confined at Scipione belonged mostly to the category of "dangerous Italians," although there were a few foreign Jews and enemy subjects. Beginning in August 1940, the camp was emptied when a large contingent of internees were transferred to the nearby Montechiarugolo camp. The transfer was so substantial that it led to Scipione's temporary closure in September 1940.

The Scipione camp reopened in the second half of August 1942 to accommodate "Slavic" civilian internees. They

Group portrait of prisoners in the Italian internment camp of Scipione di Salsomaggiore, c. 1942–1943.
USHMM WS #97271, COURTESY OF IVAN SINGER.

largely consisted of conscription-aged males from Slovenia, Dalmatia, and, more rarely, the disputed Venezia Giulia province. Some of the Slavic prisoners, according to documentation submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), were dispatched to Scipione from the Melada concentration camp.[2] Between late June and mid-July 1943, 120 Slavic prisoners were transferred to the Ferramonti di Tarsia camp (Cosenza) and 8 to the Farfa camp (Rieti), leaving only about 20 inmates at Scipione. A short time later, 139 internees and 8 Montenegrin prisoners, including 4 women, were sent to the camp. They were evacuees from the Lipari Islands camp and were all in very poor physical condition. Scipione reached a maximum occupancy of 173 internees on July 31, 1943.

Living conditions were poor because of dankness, poor heating, and an inadequate water supply. The situation was particularly miserable for "Slavic" internees who were denied Red Cross aid per the regime's orders. Insufficient food and poor health care resulted in illness and several cases of tuberculosis, pneumonia, and other debilitating diseases.

At the time of the Armistice, Scipione contained approximately 150 internees. On September 9, 1943, some managed to escape by climbing over the camp fence. Escapes continued the following day and became more numerous once German military vehicles appeared on the facing road. Thirty-one internees escaped within two days. Ten escapees were eventually recaptured by security personnel, who zealously carried out a manhunt. Later, the German command decided to release some prisoners deemed "less dangerous" and transferred others to other detention sites.

The castle in Scipione continued to function as a camp under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI). In late 1943, it held political internees and both Italian and foreign Jews who had been previously rounded up in the Parma province. As of December 27, 1943, there were 130 people interned there. The facility was thus considered a "provincial camp for Jews" (*campo di provinciale per ebrei*), in accordance with Police Ordinance No. 5 of November 30, 1943, issued by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the RSI. One of the Jews held in the camp's RSI phase from January 18 to April 20, 1944, Samuel Spritzman, ended up in Dachau/Landshut after an ordeal that took him from the SS police camp at Bolzano to Auschwitz in December 1944 and Gross-Rosen.[3] In June 1944, Scipione also served as a transit camp for 15 Jews from the Roccatederighi provincial camp (Grosseto) bound for Fossoli before deportation. The camp was finally disbanded in September 1944 after numerous partisan attacks.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Scipione camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 180–181; and Marco Minardi, *Invisibili: Internati civili nella provincia di Parma 1940–1945* (Bologna: CLUEB, 2010).

Primary sources documenting the Scipione camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 131, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 28 "Parma," s. fasc. 2 and 8. This camp is well documented in ITS collections: 0.1 (CNI); 1.1.14.1 (Camps in Italy and Albania); 1.1.14.6 (RCI index cards); 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Measures in Serbia); and 6.3.3.2 (T/D cases). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. ACS-CRI contains a listing of prisoners with French citizenship who were dispatched to Scipione. It is available in digital form at www.campifascisti.it.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. For example, see CRI card for Giovanni Zeigler, ITS, 1.1.14.6.
2. See the report by Pero Damjanović, "Le Camp de concentration dans l'Isle de Molat," ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 8, Doc. No. 82205664.
3. ITS, 6.3.3.2, T/D case 763679, Doc. No. 105667887.

SCUOLA SANTA CROCE

On September 9, 1943, after hearing word of the Armistice signed by Italy with the Allies, a group of prisoners incarcerated in the Montechiarugolo concentration camp in the province of Parma attempted to flee to avoid capture by German troops. Most of the fugitives found shelter in the surrounding countryside. They were foreign civilians, including some British and other citizens of states at war with Italy. Most were recaptured soon thereafter by the Germans and Italian public security (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) forces. The day after the attempted escape, the German military commander decided to close the Montechiarugolo camp for security reasons and to transfer the internees to the province of Reggio Emilia.

The prisoners were taken to the Santa Croce elementary school (*scuola*) on Via Antonio Veneri in the municipality of Reggio Emilia some 38 kilometers (24 miles) southwest of Florence. On October 1, 1943, the German authorities handed over the new camp and its internees to the command of the MVSN's militia (*milizia*). On December 28, 1943, the head of the province, Enzo Savorgnan, wrote to the Interior Ministry indicat-

ing that it would be impossible for the militia to continue running the camp; he requested the ministry's intervention either to transfer the internees to some "already extant" camp in the province of Parma or to contruct a new camp, to be set up under the control of the police agents.[1] This request was denied. In December 1944, the camp held 53 foreign civilians and some Italians. The camp closed on January 9, 1944, when the school was ground zero for a heavy Allied aerial bombardment, which did not cause any casualties. After the bombing, the camp population was transferred to the internment camp at San Tomaso della Fossa (Reggio Emilia Department).[2]

SOURCES The Scuola Santa Croce camp is briefly mentioned in Marco Minardi, *Tra chiuse mura: Deportazione e campi di concentramento nella provincia di Parma 1940–1945* (Parma: Comune di Montechiarugolo, 1987), p. 40; Minardi, "La cancellazione: le leggi razziste e la persecuzione degli ebrei a Parma (1938–45)," *RSD* 1: 2 (July–December 1989): 65–93; Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 180; and Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (Milan: Mursia, 2002).

The main archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 145. Other mentions of the camp can be found in ACBP, Cat. Beneficenza e Leva e Truppa.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 145.
2. Ibid.

SENIGALLIA

Senigallia, located some 95 kilometers (59 miles) northeast of Perugia, was a site of a concentration camp set up in December 1943 to confine Jews of the Ancona province. The Interior Ministry of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the puppet regime set up by the Germans under Mussolini in September 1943, decreed in Police Order No. 5 on November 30, 1943, that all Jews be arrested and imprisoned in special provincial camps, until specialized camps could be built for them.

The Senigallia concentration camp was set up in the UNES (*Unione Esercizi Elettrici*, Union of Electrical Concerns) estate, formerly a seaside vacation camp for children, and opened in January 1944. In May 1944, a letter that accompanied the monthly camp report sent by Ado Lusignoli, the Ancona prefect, to the Interior Ministry, noted the camp's transfer from provincial to municipal administration. He wrote, "For your ratification I present the accounts of the concentration camp [*Colonia UNES*] of Senegallia from 5/12/43 to 31/3/44, with attached receipts of the ordinary expenses. The corresponding salaries are for the service personnel responsible for the kitchens, cleaning, etc., while the personnel of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr) are exclusively responsible for guard duties. I note also that from 1 April the running of the aforementioned Camp was put into the charge of the town of Senigallia."[1]

According to historian Gilberto Volpini, the camp initially held 11 Jews and 4 Slavic prisoners. The first group of prisoners included the former president of the Jewish community of Gorizia, Attilio Morpurgo, as well as the Viterbo and Foà families.

Morpurgo and fellow prisoner Gina Viterbo jointly kept a diary of persecution while at Senigallia. The diary gives some insight into life for the small number of detainees, which was characterized by a blend of anxiety over the behavior of the Fascist militia with everyday kindnesses displayed by camp staff. Excerpts from the diary follow:

> **7 December** [1943]. Some days ago, laws were made public that were harsh against all Jews: the gathering in concentration camps of all Jews under the age of 70 and the confiscation of all their goods. Unfortunately we hadn't taken this news seriously, whereas all the others tried to hide in other places, changing their names. . . .
>
> **24 February** [1944]. Accompanied by Officer Fanucci and another Carabiniere we leave early in the morning with the courier Maganini for Senegallia, our destination the UNES, a concentration camp. It is a vacation camp for children, a lovely clean building with a nice garden and in a good position. We are treated fairly well, it's just that we are constantly agitated by the fear of being sent elsewhere, and we are always under the eyes of the Carabinieri.
>
> **1 March** [1944]. The Foà cousins arrive. I thought they had come from Marzocco to visit me but instead they tell me they too have been interned. We're all staying in one room and living a communal life. To leave the UNES requires the permission of the marshal of the Carabinieri and one must be accompanied. For the rest we stroll up and down in the courtyard like prisoners. The director, Signora Iolanda Diamantini, is fairly kind to us. Every now and then there is some change in the hierarchy with a chief who is more or less good. Days of joy when we receive mail with good news of our dear ones . . . Luckily, thank the Lord, the colony was never hit even though bombs fell nearby and we collected their fragments in the garden. More often, in late evening, we were frightened by the sudden entry of Fascists with guns and criminal faces and ugly ways, who with the excuse of having seen light from outside came in to see the Jews as if looking at rare animals.[2]

On May 5, 1944, Lusignoli ordered the camp's closure in advance of the possible deportation of the Jews. According to Morpurgo's diary, some of Senigallia's prisoners were subsequently dispatched to the small town of Osimo, 49 kilometers (about 30 miles) southwest of Senigallia. They briefly enjoyed

freedom, thanks to the town's temporary takeover by the Italian partisan unit, Squad of Patriotic Action (*Squadre di azione patriottica*, SAP). Morpurgo and Viterbo were finally freed when British forces captured Ancona on July 19, 1944.[3]

SOURCES The history of the Senigallia concentration camp is briefly recounted in Gilberto Volpini, *Una città in guerra: Senigallia 1943–1944* (Milan: Edizioni Codex, 2009), pp. 62–65. There is also online documentation, prepared by the Civic Committee for Safeguarding the Former UNES Colony and Waterfront (Comitato Civico salvaguardia ex Colonia UNES e Lungomare), found at www.genitor.it/istanza/ExUnesEnelI stanza.pdf.

The most important archival documentation on the Senigallia camp may be found in Ac Se, B. 557 and 566. A brief reference to the camp may also be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 114. The Morpurgo/Viterbo diary was published as "Diario," ed. Gioia Fugace, *Una città*, 11 (March 1992), www.unacitta.it/newsite/articolo.asp?id=54.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi with Joseph Robert White
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 114.
2. Attilio Morpurgo and Gina Virterbo, "Diario," ed. Gioia Fugace, *Una città* 11 (March 1992), www.unacitta.it/newsite/articolo.asp?id=54.
3. Entries for June 12 and 18 and July 19, 1944, in ibid.

SERVIGLIANO

Servigliano is located about 82 kilometers (51 miles) east of Perugia. The concentration camp in the town began during World War I as a prisoner of war (POW) camp to contain Austro-Hungarian and Turkish prisoners. The structure took up 3.5 hectares (6 acres) of space, surrounded by a 3-meter-high (9.8-feet-high) stone wall and divided into two sections. Inside the wall there were 32 wooden barracks that could hold, in total, 4,000 persons. Outside the wall were offices and living quarters for the camp administrators and the guards.

After it was renovated at the end of 1940, the camp officially reopened as a POW camp in January 1941. Greek, British, American, and French prisoners were held there until 1943. After the signing of the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the prisoners escaped, fearing they would be taken into German custody. Indeed the Germans appeared in the first days of October, occupying the camp and confiscating much of the remaining supplies. On October 5, 1943, the German military authorities decided to use the camp to hold Jews captured in the province. The Germans captured 41 Jews on that date and confined them in the camp. Another 28 Jews, arrested by the carabinieri on the order of the Ascoli Piceno provincial police chief (*questore*), joined this first group in the following days. Ten prisoners managed to escape during the night of October 15, 1943.

After the formation of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) in September 1943, the province of Ascoli Piceno—and thus the camp of Servigliano—once again came under Italian control. Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the RSI, stated that all Jews on the Republic's soil be interned in provincial camps. Given that the Servigliano camp was one of the few structures still working efficiently in central Italy, it was designated to concentrate all the prisoners of the neighboring areas. However, because the German troops had already taken the beds and other materials from the camp, its operational capacity was limited. In March 1944 there were only 306 prisoners in the camp: 245 Anglo-Maltese and 61 Jews, both Italian and foreign. In June 1944 the director of the camp was Di Carlo, the adjutant of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr). Surveillance was entrusted to 12 carabinieri who, without weapons, faced the constraints posed by the large size of the camp, the age of the barracks, and a lack of means to keep the inmates in place (the surrounding wall was not topped with barbed wire, and indeed had partly fallen down).

Living conditions for the prisoners were terrible. Food was distributed in a common dining hall set up by the camp director, but there was not sufficient food for everyone. Furthermore, the internees had no right to any cash subsidy. In March 1944, a group of partisans entered the camp secretly, urging the prisoners to flee, but they were ignored because the inmates feared for their survival outside the camp. In April, however, 10 Jews, helped by the inhabitants of the town, succeeded in escaping. On May 3, 1944, a British air attack on the camp set fire to the barracks, killing a woman and wounding another three people. The internees fled the bombardment, some remaining outside the camp as late as the following day; others found refuge in the town's schools, because the barracks provided no cover against additional attacks.

According to a report on the events by police officer Mario Bestoso, on the following day, May 4, a convoy of German soldiers arrived at the camp to transfer the Jews to the Fossoli camp. Of the 50 Jews still being held in the camp, at least 19 succeeded in saving themselves because they had been warned in time about the arrival of the Germans and had already escaped. The others, however, were taken and brought to Fossoli, where in May 1944 some of them were deported to Auschwitz. Ten were killed on arrival in Auschwitz, and others died later of starvation.

After the deportation, the police command (*questura*) ordered the camp commander to fix the damage caused by the bombardment and sent an additional 20 guards to prevent further escapes. On May 18, 12 Jews arrived at Servigliano from the camp at Corropoli; on May 27, another 38 inmates arrived, of whom 33 were Jews; and at the end of May the last group of prisoners arrived: 32 Chinese from the concentration camp of Isola del Gran Sasso.

With the approach of British troops, the local resistance began to press harder on the camp. On May 25 a group of perhaps 50 partisans surrounded the guard corps and encouraged the internees to flee, but only two—a Jewish married couple—decided to escape. The partisans returned during the

night of June 7, after the guards had already fled, and ordered the camp's closure: All the internees dispersed into the nearby area. One internee was killed by the retreating Germans on June 17. On June 25, the British army occupied the area.

Servigliano functioned from immediately after the war until 1955 as a gathering center for refugees, housing Italians from Yugoslavia or from the former colonies of eastern Africa. A plaque set into the remains of the surrounding wall by British soldiers in 1993 records the presence of the camp.

SOURCES The camp at Servigliano is mentioned in Costantino Di Sante, *L'internamento civile nell'Ascolano e il Campo di Concentramento di Servigliano (1940–1944)* (Ascoli Piceno, Istituto Storico, 1998).

Primary sources on Servigliano may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 140.

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SFORZACOSTA

Sforzacosta is almost 6 kilometers (almost 4 miles) southwest of Macerata and more than 39 kilometers (over 24 miles) southwest of Ancona. In 1940, the Italian War Ministry established the Sforzacosta prisoner of war (POW) camp in the commune of Macerata (Marcerata province). The designated building was a former tobacco factory located at the intersection of the Macerata-Tolentino-Foligno roads and 78 Picena Highway, situated not very far from a local train station (Civitanova-Fabriano route) and a small airport.

The camp was divided into three sectors and identified as a POW (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 56.[1] Until September 8, 1943, it held primarily British POWs. After the Armistice, many POWs managed to escape and went into hiding. On September 30, the German authorities decided to consolidate all the prisoners kept in camps and confinement in the Marcerata province at Sforzacosta; control of the camp was transferred from the Italian to the German authorities on October 23, 1943. The first to arrive were 58 Jews from Urbisaglia, followed by 19 women from Petriolo and, finally, 50 more women from Pollenza. According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the new prisoners included some non-Jews.

In February 1944, the Sforzacosta camp was dismantled. It was reopened toward the end of April 1944 for the detention of several young draft evaders and antifascists. They were divided into three groups: those capable of working in Nazi Germany, those capable of working in the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), and individuals unable to work. Internees belonging to the first group were first sent to the Suzzara camp (Mantua province) before deportation to the Reich. Suzzara is 288 kilometers (179 miles) northwest of Sforzacosta.

The Allied bombardment on May 17, 1944, accelerated the process of dismantling the camp. Sforzacosta closed for good a few days before the liberation of the Macerata province in June 1944. The closure occurred shortly after a small group of the remaining internees had fled the camp during the German retreat to the north.

SOURCES Secondary sources documenting the Sforzacosta camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 192; Giancarlo Leggi, "Angoscia e terrore nel campo di concentramento di Sforzacosta," in *Tolentino e la Resistenza nel maceratese* (Tolentino: Edizioni Accademia Filelfica, 1966), pp. 117–123; and Roberto Cruciani, ed., *E vennero 50 anni di libertà, 1943–1993: L'internamento nelle Marche* (Macerata: Cooperativa Artivisive, 1993).

Primary sources documenting the Sforzacosta camp can be found in ACS, Mi, DGPS, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 129; USSME, fondo Diari Storici; and ASM, fondo Questura, B. 2. For a testimony about Sforzacosta as a POW camp, see Raymond Ellis, *Al di là della collina, memorie di un soldato inglese prigioniero nelle Marche*, ed. Maria Grazia Camilletti, trans. Elisabetta Da Lio (Ancona: Affinità elettive, 2001).

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. SME, Ufficio PG, Situazione campi concentramento PG, March 31, 1943, USSME, fondo Diari Storici, B. 1243, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

SOLOFRA

The town of Solofra, which in 1941 had a population of 7,500, is located 22 kilometers (13.6 miles) southeast of Avellino and 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Naples in the province of Naples. The concentration camp at Solofra was one of the camps established at the beginning of the war for the internment of foreign civilians and antifascist Italians. Like all such camps, it fell under the Interior Ministry's control, with local supervision being provided by the police chief (*questore*) of Avellino.

Solofra opened as a women's concentration camp in July 1940 for the detention primarily of "prostitutes or politically suspect women" (*prostitute e sospetta in linea politica*).[1] It was set up in a private house belonging to the Bonanno family, on Via Misericordia in the center of town. It had two floors and a small garden. The kitchen, dining hall, and offices were on the first floor; on the second floor were about 10 rooms, each of which held from three to six women. There were also two showers and two bathrooms with sinks. Once a week, the showers had hot water. An outside company initially provided the food service, being paid 5.90 lire per meal. Later, two cooks in the camp prepared the meals.

By July 15, 1940, there were 14 foreign women in the camp. The number rose quickly, and by October 17 the number of imprisoned women had increased to 48; of these, 31 held French citizenship, and another internee was French by birth, but held Italian citizenship. There were also two Belgians, one British woman, one Brazilian, one Pole, one Russian and one Russian-born woman without a passport, four Greeks, two Turks, one Chilean, one Venezuelan, and one Egyptian.

The women in Solofra were interned because they were suspected of being dangerous to the war effort. Although Amelia G. was interned as a "suspected prostitute," she was imprisoned because she had traveled extensively abroad, and the prefect of Trento, who had requested information from the counterespionage center at Bolzano (the city where the woman had lived), indicated that she should be incarcerated in a concentration camp. Amelia G. was interned on July 17, 1940, little more than a month after the war began, and remained at Solofra until August 1943.

Another prisoner, Maria C., was imprisoned because she was a French citizen. However, she worked in Ragusa as a waitress in a brothel (*casa di toleranza*). The prefect of Ragusa ordered her to be interned because in the course of her alleged work in a brothel she could have come into contact with soldiers and so gained access to military secrets. Maria C. remained at the Solofra camp for a few months and then, because of health problems, was confined in the town of Pennabilli; in October 1942, she was repatriated to France.

The number and nationality of the internees fluctuated. By February 12, 1941, there were 44 inmates at Solofra; by June 15, 1942, there were only 27. On July 1, 1942, there were 24; 23 on August 1, 1942; 26 on September 30, 1942; 23 on October 15, 1942; 29 on December 31, 1942 (of whom 27 were described as Aryan and 2 as Jewish); 26 in February 1943; 25 on March 31, 1943; 26 on April 15, 1943, and 30 on June 30, 1943, the eve of the fall of Mussolini's regime. In February 1943 there were three Russians without passports, two Belgians, two Greeks, one Turk, one Englishwoman, one Czechoslovak, one Romanian, one Dutch, three Italians, and one German-born Italian.

In all that time, the only documented work for these prisoners was to clean the concentration camp. An unsigned note on Interior Ministry letterhead dated July 7, 1941, stated, "In all the concentration camps there was a staff member responsible for cleaning, who was initially not chosen from the prison population; but now, following pressure from some internees, the staff member will be chosen from among the internees themselves, who will be assigned a small monthly payment."[2] In fact, inactivity was the main problem facing the internees, who, apart from strolling in the garden, reading, or playing cards or chess, had absolutely nothing whatsoever to occupy their time, creating not a few problems of discipline and conflicts among the residents.

The camp was formally under the command of the town mayor (*podestà*), Costatino De Maio. As in all Italian women's camps, there was also a female director, in this case Giuditta Festa, who took the job beginning in July 1940 with a payment of 500 lire a month; she was assisted by Pasqualina Troise, who was paid 300 lire a month. Festa remained in her job at least until April 1942, when she wrote a letter to the Internal Ministry that outlined her employment history: "After the foundation of the Fascist Party branch of Avellino in 1925, I was part of the Directorate of Fascist Women, I worked the whole time as Patroness of Maternity and Childhood, Director M. R. Fascist Visitor [of the Needy], and member of the Red Cross in summer camps for children [where children were sent to enjoy fresh air], in 1921 I poured my efforts and labors into the organization of the Party with a truly Fascist spirit."[3] In the letter she spoke proudly of her work as director of the camp and of helping her country in time of war.

The director could count on a few carabinieri to help supervise the camp and keep the prisoners in order, which does not seem to have been a particularly burdensome task. A fixed sentry station for the carabinieri had been planned about 100 meters (328 feet) away from the Solofra camp. There is no trace, at least not in surviving documents, of any attempts to escape the camp, even though there was no shortage of opportunities to do so. Three times a week, in fact, the internees were allowed to have a two-hour stroll along the road leading into the countryside. Only on being informed of the Armistice of September 8, 1943, did some inmates succeed in escaping, by climbing over the garden wall.

Most likely because the internees had nowhere else to go, the camp did not disband until January 1944.

SOURCES There is a brief mention of the Solofra camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 230–231.

The available primary sources on the Solofra camp are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115, 120, and 123. Information about the women interned at Solofra is contained in their personal files in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis (internati).

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 115, as quoted in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del Duce: l'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 230.
2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 120.
3. Ibid.

SONDRIO

Sondrio is located in the Lombardy region, 94 kilometers (almost 59 miles) northeast of the regional capital of Milan. The Sondrio concentration camp was set up in a commune-owned building on Nazario Sauro Street in the town of Sondrio in late 1943, and it opened in January 1944. The Sondrio police managed the camp, whereas the commune was responsible for expenses related to heating and water consumption. This division of responsibilities prompted a financial dispute between the commune and the provincial administration.[1]

Despite the description in an oral account (*procès-verbal*) of the concentration camp as being intended for Jews, there is no definitive evidence that any Jews were ever held in the camp. Some testimonies and memoirs refer to the detention of Jews in local prisons in the Sondrio province; for example, those by

Alberto Cavaliere and Sofia Schafranov.[2] In fact, most Jews in the area were arrested in December 1943 before the camp was fully operational.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Sondrio are Bianca Ceresara Declich, “L’8 settembre in provincia di Sondrio: I vari aspetti della resistenza civile. Dal contrabbando di beni al contrabbando di persone,” *GR:Sr* 18: 1 (2009): 107–121; and a newspaper article, “L’ultima rivelazione storica: Un campo lager a Sondrio,” *PdS*, January 27, 2012, www.laprovinciadisondrio.it/stories/Cronaca/581317/.

Primary sources documenting the Sondrio camp can be found in ASC-S and ISSREC. Two published primary sources on the deportation of Jews in the Sondrio province are Ferruccio Scala, *Io, il Ferry: Storia, cronaca e costume nella penna di un giornalista* (Sondrio: Bettini, 2006); and Alberto Cavaliere, *I campi della morte in Germania: Nel racconto di una sopravvissuta a Birkenau* (1945; Milan: Paoline, 2010).

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Comune di Sandrio, Estratto del Processo Verbale di Seduta del Commissario Prefettino, No. 826, Ogg.: “Campo di concentramento ebrei,” May 29, 1944, ISSAEC.
2. Cavaliere, *I campi della morte in Germania*, p. 21.

TOLLO

Tollo concentration camp (Chieti province) was located in a small village on the Adriatic Sea, approximately 8 miles east of Chieti. The Interior Ministry opened it in late 1941 for the specific purpose of interning “ex-Yugoslavs” from Dalmatia. The facility was set up in a private building belonging to the industrialist Giuseppe Foppa Pedretti and was deemed suitable for holding a hundred people.

A local mayor directed the camp, with security provided by the police, who set up three points of surveillance around the building and one guard post inside. Health care was assigned to a local doctor. The internees were allowed to move around a designated area of the neighborhood during daytime hours.

The building had electricity and consisted of two floors with a total of 15 rooms. The first floor contained a kitchen-refectory, common room, toilets, and offices for security personnel; the second floor was reserved for the internees’ lodgings. The first inmates reached Tollo in February 1942 from Zara-Trieste. The group comprised 42 Dalmatians labeled as “dangerous communists,” who came from Italian concentration camps located in Albania and Montenegro. The maximum occupancy (99 internees) was reached in July 1942.

Located in the village center, this camp did not have effective security measures. The building was constructed as a private residence and did not even have balcony railings or window bars. In fact, many internees were able to leave the building unnoticed. For this reason the prefect of Chieti sent a request to the Interior Ministry in February 1943 demanding the closure of the camp and the subsequent transfer of the internees to places capable of guaranteeing better security. In May, after several investigations (which largely confirmed the concerns voiced by both the prefect and police) the Interior Ministry made the decision to move all the 98 Yugoslav internees then living at Tollo: 50 were sent to the concentration camp of Bagno a Ripoli (Florence), approximately 290 kilometers (180 miles) northwest of Tollo, and the other 48 to Corropoli (Teramo), approximately 66 kilometers (41 miles) to the northwest.

Later, the camp was used to hold Italian civilian internees who had committed rationing violations. The facility remained officially open until October 1943, but with long periods of inactivity.

SOURCES A secondary source that describes the Tollo camp is Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L’internamento civile nell’Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Tollo camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4 (Mobilitazione civilie), B. 118, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 12 “Chieti,” s. fasc. 9.

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TONEZZA DEL CIMONE

Tonezza del Cimone is some 89 kilometers (55 miles) northwest of Venice in Vicenza province. In accordance with Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), the provincial prefect designated Tonezza del Cimone as the site for a provincial camp for Jews.[1] On December 10, 1944, a message arrived from the prefect that the Umberto I Alpine estate (*Colonia alpina Umberto I*) was to be temporarily requisitioned for the concentration of Jews. Its establishment entailed the arrest and internment of all Jews in the province, which began that same day; the seizure of their property; and the preparation of suitable space for a temporary camp while they awaited orders concerning their subsequent fate.

The camp officially opened on December 20, 1943. Three days later 45 Jews arrived from Arsiero—6 kilometers (3.7 miles) south of Tonezza—accompanied by 5 carabinieri. On reaching the estate, the prisoners were examined by a doctor. From the very beginning, the health situation appeared to be difficult because the majority of those arrested were elderly people or children, whose clinical cases were extremely diverse and required special care. Taking into account the medical condition of each person examined, the doctor asked for dietary supplements, such as butter, rice, milk, and sugar, in accordance with regulations.[2]

All but 42 prisoners were taken to Vicenza, nearly 37 kilometers (almost 23 miles) southeast of Tonezza, which was also a point of collection for Jews interned at the Olympic Theater (*Teatro Olimpico*) camp. From the Vicenza station the Jews were transported to Verona, located more than 44 kilometers (almost 28 miles) southwest of Vicenza, where convoy no. 6 was

in the process of being assembled. Convoy no. 6 left Milan Central Station, which is about 141 kilometers (almost 88 miles) west of Verona, on January 30, 1944, reaching Auschwitz on February 6. None of the remaining 42 Jews imprisoned at Tonezza del Cimone survived.

The Tonezza camp closed on January 30, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tonezza del Cimone camp are Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *L'alba ci colse come un tradimento: Gli ebrei nel campo di Fossoli, 1943–1944* (Milan: Mondadori, 2010); Paolo Tagini, *Le poche cose: Gli internati ebrei nella provincia di Vicenza* (Verona: Cierre edizioni, 2006), in particular the contribution of Antonio Spinelli, "Il campo provinciale di Tonezza del Cimone," pp. 191–226; and Ranzolin Antonio, ed., *Un'azione umanitaria: La Colonia alpina Umberto I di Vicenza* (Vicenza: Grafiche Urbani, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the Tonezza del Cimone camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, "Massime" M4, B. 106; AFCDEC, fond Comitato Ricerche Deportati Ebrei, fond DU (documents photocopied from A-UCEI: "Inventory of the Jews deported from Vicenza, who were interned at the Umberto I estate of Tonezza and handed over to the Nazi SS on January 30, 1944"); and ACT.

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.
2. Comunicato del Ministero dell'Agricoltura e delle Foreste, July 16, 1943, Ogg.: "Trattamento alimentare internati civili (rastrellati)," ACS, Dgps, Dagr, Mi, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 106, f. 16, s.f. 1, ins. 24/7.

TORTORETO

Tortoreto is a small town in the province of Teramo, 45 kilometers (28 miles) northeast of Pescara and 57 kilometers (36 miles) south of the Adriatic port city of Civitanova Marche. In July 1940, the Interior Ministry established a men's internment camp in Tortoreto. It operated in two buildings that, despite being located in the same communal district, were at a distance of about 8 kilometers (almost 5 miles) from each other. One was located in Tortoreto Alta, the city's historic center atop a hill, in a private house that was the property of the De Fabritiis family and could accommodate up to 25 people. The other building was in Tortoreto Stazione (still part of Tortoreto, but later was an autonomous commune named Alba Adriatica) in an old mansion, Villa Tonelli, close to a railway station; it could accommodate roughly 75 people. These buildings were not fenced in.

The camp began operation at the end of July 1940 and had six different directors during its existence; initially the mayor ran the camp, followed by public security officials who resided in Tortoreto Alta and who would periodically inspect the other camp. Responsibility for guarding the exterior of the camp and providing security inside was entrusted to several officers and policemen (*carabinieri*); in the summer of 1942, the combined force reached a total of 64. Several local doctors provided medical care to the internees.

Initially, the camp of Tortoreto (whose population peaked at 103 internees in September 1940) accommodated exclusively foreign Jews and stateless persons, many of whom came from Fiume (later: Rijeka, Croatia). They were followed by "aliens" from Venezia Giulia (i.e., those belonging to Slavic ethnic minorities whom the Mussolini regime persecuted with great vigor); and, lastly, Italians. Among the Jews interned in this camp was Saul Steinberg, a Romanian who became a famous cartoonist and illustrator for *The New Yorker* after the war.

Conditions in the two facilities differed. The Casa de Fabritiis (the building in Tortoreto Alta) had significant drawbacks, mainly in terms of water supply and hygienic services. In addition, there was no proper kitchen in the building, so the authorities permitted the internees to seek food in various local inns. The Villa Tonelli building, although damaged, was more spacious, better organized, and was equipped with both an infirmary and refectory; it also had seven rooms on the first floor and several others on the second floor, each housing between 10 to 15 people. During the day, all internees were permitted limited access to nearby areas. Initially, the internees of Villa Tonelli were even allowed to visit the historic city center on the days when the local marketplace was open, and in the summer, they could go swimming in the sea twice a week. But as the months passed, the authorities gradually imposed tighter restrictions on their movement.

In May 1943, after receiving several anonymous reports and complaints by military officials, who were leery of contacts between the internees and possible fifth columnists and about possible acts of sabotage at a nearby railroad, 90 Tortoreto inmates, mostly Jews, were transferred to other camps. Those interned in Tortoreto Stazione were sent to Nereto, after which this detention site ceased functioning. The site in Tortoreto Alta, however, resumed activity in July 1943 as a main internment facility for Italians charged with rations-related offenses. The camp was closed on September 6, 1943, following the transfer of the last two internees.

SOURCES This slightly edited entry on the Tortoreto camp is based on the author's "Mappatura dei Campi—Abruzzo-Molise," in *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia Fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 222–223. See also Costantino Di Sante, *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 193–194; and Pasquale Rasicci, *Alba Adriatica: I 50 Anni, Ieri-Oggi 1956–2006* (Colonnella: Grafiche Martintype, 2005).

Archival holdings on the camp at Tortoreto are held in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136, f.16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 41 "Teramo," ss. ff. 9, 11.

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Trans. Jakub Smutný

TOSSICIA

Tossicia is almost 14 kilometers (more than 8 miles) southwest of Teramo, more than 25 kilometers (almost 16 miles) south of Civitella del Tronto, and 120 kilometers (nearly 75 miles) northeast of Rome. The Interior Ministry set up the Tossicia camp (Teramo province) in August 1940 in two buildings located in the town's center owned by the Mirti and de Fabi families. The Tossicia camp is also known as the Mirti House (*Casa Mirti*). In November 1941, a third building belonging to the di Marco family was added to the camp. The three structures accommodated approximately 120 people. Even though the Mirti House was equipped with a small dining room and lacked bathrooms and an infirmary, the Italian authorities nevertheless held 80 people there. Similar conditions existed in the de Fabi and di Marco houses.

The living conditions in the Tossicia camp were some of the worst among the camps established by the Interior Ministry. Government subsidies were insufficient, hygienic and sanitary conditions were poor, and rooms were constantly overcrowded. The three buildings were never modernized or renovated.

The mayor of Tossicia, Nicola Palumbi, directed the camp, and the carabinieri provided security for all three buildings. Initially, the internees were foreign Jews, in large part Germans, to whom a substantial group of Chinese was added later. The camp reached its peak population of 127 internees on January 31, 1941. In the following month, the Jews were transferred to the Civitella del Tronto camp, while more Chinese internees arrived in Tossicia.

On May 12, 1942, the Interior Ministry ordered the transfer of all internees from Tossicia to provide room for Yugoslav Roma families from Slovenia. On June 22, 1942, 35 Roma were transferred to the camp.[1] Eventually, more than 100 Roma lived in Mirti House under gruesome conditions. In the summer of 1942, several men engaged in agricultural work for which they received a small salary or food. The women were left to beg. Between August 11, 1942, and September 6, 1943, nine babies were born inside the camp. Eight of the Roma managed to escape.

Italy's apostolic nuncio, Francesco Borgongini-Duca, and a Franciscan priest, Giuseppe Ravaioli, visited the camp in April 1943. On August 19, 1943, a delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) met with the internees.[2]

The camp shut down on September 26, 1943, after the prisoners collectively abandoned it before disappearing into the surrounding areas.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tossicia camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 223–224; Costantino Di Sante, *I campi di concentramento in Italia: Dall'internamento alla deportazione (1940–1945)* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2001), pp. 177–206, esp. pp. 194–195; Italia Iaconi, "Campi di concentramento in Abruzzo durante il secondo conflitto mondiale: 1940–1945 Tossicia," *RSSFR* 6: 1 (1985): 199–210; and Italia Iacoponi, *Il Fascismo, la Resistenza e i campi di concentramento in provincia di Teramo: Cenni storici* (Colonnella: Grafiche Martintype, 2000), pp. 194–201.

Primary sources documenting the Tossicia camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 136; and ITS, 1.1.0.7 (Informationssammlung des ISD zu verschiedenen Haftstätten und Lagern), and 1.1.14.2 (Italienische Kartei), available in digital form at USHMMA. Some documentation on the Tossicia camp is available at www.campifascisti.it.

Andrea Di Stefano
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Uffici dipendenti dalla sezione prima (1894–1945), Ufficio internati (1939–1945), A4 bis, internati stranieri e spionaggio, 1939–1945, B. 5, fasc. 38 (Teramo), as cited by www.campifascisti.it.
2. A-ICRC, C Sc, Service des camps, Italy, August 19, 1943, as cited by Capogreco, *I campi del duce*, p. 224.

TREIA

Treia is a small town about 78 kilometers (49 miles) northeast of Perugia in the province of Macerata in central Italy. On Italy's entry into the war in June 1940 the Interior Ministry opened the camp to house foreign female civilians in a villa called Villa Spada or Villa La Quiete, a huge structure belonging to the local noble family atop a hill. The two-story building was approximately a kilometer (0.6 miles) outside the town in an isolated location within a huge fenced park. The villa had a large kitchen, an interior courtyard, two large verandas, four toilets with running water, and two rooms with baths. It was also the only camp in the area that was furnished with a bathtub, but not hot water. Because it had nearly 30 rooms, the camp had a nominal capacity of 100 internees, but the camp's population never rose above 40. In October 1942, when the camp was about to be closed, there were 28 inmates: female citizens of states at war with Italy, mostly British and French, and one Italian Jew.

The camp's biggest problems stemmed from the incompetent police personnel (*Pubblica Sicurezza*) sent to the camp to act as its director. The first was Cavaliere Nicola Martinez, a retired police commissioner (*commissario a riposo*), who was replaced in December 1940 by Nicola Ferrigno, another retired commissioner, who held the post until the camp closed. The carabinieri furnished the guards and had a small guard post inside the villa.

A female director was standard in Italian women's camps: here the female directors came and went in rapid succession. The first, Luisa Marchesini, quit on August 16, 1940, for health reasons. Her replacement, Alberta Villa, quit in October 1940 to resume her previous post as an elementary schoolteacher. Severa Bianchini took her place, but she too only lasted for a short while, and her replacement, Maria Appignanesi, was fired in March 1941 for not being up to the job. The last female director, as noted in the records, was Irma Mancini, who took the job in March 1941.

As in all the women's camps, problems of "morality" among the staff were numerous. The first director, Martinez, was replaced because of the numerous rumors circulating about him, his favoritism, and his poor running of the camp. After an inspection of the camp, in December 1940, Chief Inspector Francesco Ciancaglini sent a very harsh letter to the Interior Ministry describing Martinez as a man of "little moral sense" with

> absolute incomprehension of his duty, ignorant, and weak (*infrollimento*) . . . . Having taken over all relations with the inmates, he entered into the intimate life of each one, depriving the female director of all authority toward whom no regard was shown. From this behavior of his derived an excessive intimacy between him and the inmates, some of whom, more clever and of doubtful morality, took advantage of this to offer him words of flattery and enticements, with the goal of obtaining preferences and favors.[1]

Martinez's replacement, Ferrigno, found on arrival that he had to sort out a relatively difficult situation caused by widespread corruption among the camp personnel. In April 1941, an anonymous denunciation made to the police chief suggested that a staff member was systematically opening mailed packages intended for inmates and stealing some of their contents. In a long report from July 1941, Ferrigno related that he had fired both a servant, who had made her house available to the internees to liaise with their lovers, and a food supplier who had been delivering rotten food to make some money on the side. Ferrigno also suggested that the camp physician be replaced, because he was selling fake illness certificates and had taken over various rooms of the camp, cramming the inmates into the rooms that he did not want for himself. More than that, he rented out the land surrounding the camp, which was state property, to a tenant farmer, requiring him to hand over the produce he cultivated. Ferrigno also discovered that the camp physician, as the property's former administrator, was charging rent for the villa of 3,500 lire, rather than the 3,000 lire that the physician himself had initially asked for, thanks to the good graces of a state official. Ferrigno dismissed a carabiniere who took payments from the inmates in exchange for favors and stole provisions from the camp's food supply. In short, the physician, the carabiniere, and the camp servant, who all had taken the villa's park as a tenant farm, had created a little company to make as much money as possible out of running the camp. The physician was sent away, and Dr. Appignanesi, the director of the Treia hospital, became the camp's doctor in November 1940.

Notwithstanding the new director's efforts, a visit from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) undertaken by W. De Salis on June 27, 1942, found extremely primitive conditions, above all regarding the bathing arrangements, because of a lack of showers and hot water. Despite these privations, the internees' spirit was high, thanks to the camaraderie that had developed in the camp. Through the director's help, the report continued, the inmates were able to raise rabbits, canaries, and a pig. They also cultivated vegetables, which improved the nutritional value of the camp's food. They were permitted to write two letters a week, and the director granted them many favors.

Despite the new director's efforts, visits by ICRC and the U.S. Embassy (which as the Protecting Power looked out for the interests of British citizens until hostilities broke out between Italy and the United States) noted a very difficult situation in the camp due to the lack of maintenance. The building's owner, in fact, had refused to pay for repairs, with the result that the roof was in danger of collapsing and the walls dripped with water. The windows were also in a very bad state. In December 1942, the ministry decided to close the camp and to transfer the inmates to the nearby camp of Petriolo.

SOURCES There are few mentions of the camp in published literature beyond Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, trans. Loredana Melissari, 2 vols. (Scandicci: La Nuova Italia, 1993–1996), 2: 62–65, which gives information about camps in the Macerata area; and the entry in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 193–194.

The main archival sources on the camp at Treia are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 104, 128, and 129.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTE

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 128.

TREMITI ISLANDS

In the Adriatic, the Tremiti Islands consist of San Nicola island, located some 24 kilometers (15 miles) north of the Gargano Peninsula (Puglia region), and San Domino, the largest of the archipelago. The island group is 73 kilometers (46 miles) north of Foggia, the provincial capital. San Nicola had been used as a place of confinement since ancient times, and the Fascist regime continued this tradition by sending political and other prisoners there. San Domino was already home to a colony of common criminals when a decision was made in 1937 to abolish that camp and to confine instead a group of political detainees—women and approximately 200 homosexuals—who exhibited poor discipline in other colonies. From this point onward, confinement on the Tremiti Islands assumed an essentially punitive function by keeping mainly those considered "undisciplined" and "incorrigible." The detainees worked as agricultural laborers.

After the general expansion in 1940, the Tremiti Islands had the capacity to receive 780 prisoners. While maintaining one director and administrative staff, the confinement colony split into two parts: the island of San Nicola continued to receive mostly detainees, while San Domino became a concentration

camp. Internees at Tremiti belonged to different categories: "enemy subjects," foreign detainees, "dangerous Italians" (among whom were some Jews), and "aliens." In the beginning, the living conditions were not particularly difficult. At the San Domino camp the internees oversaw their canteens and even set up a library later on. Many internees were allowed to work for local farmers who lacked the manpower to maintain and cultivate their farmlands. The situation worsened beginning in the autumn of 1941 because of problems with provisioning. The Tremiti Islands were the only deportation islands whose internees were not evacuated in the summer of 1943 following the fall of Benito Mussolini. Nonetheless, on September 20, 1943, approximately 100 internees (in large part Slavs) seized a large vessel and fled to Bari, where they united with a group of partisans operating in the area.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Tremiti Islands camps are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Adriano Dal Pont, *I lager di Mussolini: l'altra faccia del confino nei documeti della polizia fascista* (Milan: La Pietra, 1975); and Vito Antonio Leuzzi, Mariolina Pansini, and Francesco Terzulli, eds., *Fascismo e leggi razziali in Puglia: Censura, persecuzione antisemita e campi di internamento (1938–1943)* (Bari: Progedit, 1999). A study on the persecution of homosexuals by the Mussolini regime, which includes a description of the Tremiti Islands camps, is Gianfranco Goretti and Tommaso Giartosio, *La città e l'isola: Omosessuali al confino nell' Italia fascista* (Rome: Donzelli, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Tremiti Islands camps can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ufficio confino politico, Affari generali, B. 13, 740/14, s.f. 2 "Tremiti" (1939); and ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), B. 125, s.f. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 17 "Foggia," s.f. 5 "S. Domino di Tremiti"/5.

Frida Bertolini
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UGLIANO

The island of Ugliano (Slovenian: Ugljian) lies 203 kilometers (126 miles) southwest of Zagreb and just west of the city of Zara (today: Zadar, Croatia). Occupied in 1941 by the Italian Army, it then formed part of the Civil Governorate of Dalmatia and lay in the jurisdiction of the prefecture of Zara.

On June 24, 1941, the prefect of Zara wrote to the Interior Ministry to state that the Italian VI Army Corps had set up a concentration camp for political internees—those suspected of undertaking anti-Italian activities—on Isolotto Calogero, a little island next to Ugliano. The camp was established on May 10 and received its first eight internees five days later. The prefect provided the names of the inmates and the reason for their internment:

1. Dragomir Bačić, son of Antonio and Marinovic Frada, born at Blatta on December 16, 1908, teacher, resident there, belonging to the Serbian national party and Anglophile;
2. Dr. Ivo Separavac, son of the late Martino, and Maria Petkovich, born on March 18, 1898, at Blatta, resident there, member of the Croat party and noted anti-Italian;
3. Inka Orel, son of Giovanni and the late Filomena Javovic, born November 23, 1911, at Vallegrande, postal worker, active communist at Blatta;
4. Marco Zanetc, son of the late Giovanni Otaz and the late Mara Separavic, born November 23, 1898, at Blatta, secretary of the city administration, Serbophile and bitter anti-Italian, resident at Blatta;
5. Franco Cetenic, son of Antonio and the late Amicizia Ivaz, born September 6, 1903, at Blatta, lawyer, Serbophile communist, resident at Blatta;
6. Ioro Dimitrovick, son of the late Emilio and Iecla Vovacovi, born June 26, 1908, at Bencovazzo, anti-Italian propagandist;
7. Voja Zirojevic, son of Spascijc and Mirka Bsatica, born at Brche on April 1, 1901, resident at Livne, communist propagandist;
8. Ante Buljan, son of the late Stefano and the late Caterina Panza, born at Sanj on March 12, 1900, spreader of false news about the new Croat state and incidents that supposedly took place at Zagabria, absolutely unfounded.[1]

It is not known how long this first concentration camp at Ugliano functioned.

On August 10, 1941, an Interior Ministry memorandum expressed the concern of the governor of Dalmatia, Giuseppe Bastianini, over the arrival of four to five thousand refugees from Serbia and included a request for the creation of new concentration camps. In March 1942 the Office of the Prime Minister (*Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri*) asked the Ministry of Finance to grant the necessary funds for the construction of a concentration camp on the island of Ugliano for the internment of Dalmatian Jews. His request was approved quickly: on April 30, 1942, the Interior Ministry requisitioned from the Undersecretary for War Building a good supply of lumber for the construction of a concentration camp on that island. The construction company belonging to Eugenio Parrini received the contract; this company had already undertaken the construction of the camps of Pisticci and Ferramonti di Tarsia.

In the initial plan the camp was to have a capacity of 1,000 prisoners, but on September 7, 1942, Governor Bastianini wrote to the Interior Ministry to ask for an additional five million lire to double the camp's capacity. The governor intended to move at least half of the 2,300 prisoners in the Melada camp to Ugliano, because those prisoners were living in tents that would not survive the imminent autumn rains. To this end, the civil engineer of Zara presented a project that foresaw the construction of three pavilions, each capable of holding 372 internees. It would, however, be possible to triple the capacity by building "special" camp beds with four levels: "The rooms are 18.55 by 5 meters [61 by 16 feet], with a height of 4.30 meters

and 4.20 meters [14.1 and 13.8 feet] on the first floor, and as in each of these will be $32 \times 4 = 128$ internees, and with four large rooms per floor there will be $128 \times 4 = 512$ internees per floor, and thus $512 \times 2 = 1{,}024$ internees for each pavilion."[2]

The construction proceeded slowly, because the local populace refused to work on the construction of the camp, and the Italian workers, despite their very high pay, were frightened of attacks and behaved with extreme nervousness. It was not until the end of June 1943 that the buildings were finally completed and the camp was ready to house more than 2,000 internees. However, there were still no guards assigned to the camp, and so on June 19, 1942, the prefect of Zara wrote to the Interior Ministry to ask for a police commissioner to serve as camp director and for 50 policemen, with at least 12 machine guns.

According to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the camp hosted 300 inmates for a very short time: they arrived in August 1943 and left immediately after the Armistice of September 8, 1943.

SOURCES All secondary information on the Ugliano camp comes from Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 136.

Archival holdings on the camp may be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 138.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 138.
2. Ibid.

URBISAGLIA

Located in the province of Macerata, the town of Urbisaglia is approximately 32 kilometers (20 miles) west of Civitanova Marche, a port city on the Adriatic coast, and 106 kilometers (66 miles) northwest of Pescara. Opening on June 1, 1940, the men's internment camp at Urbisaglia was one of the first set up by the Interior Ministry in advance of Italy's imminent entry into World War II. It was established in several rooms of a large mansion that belonged to the Princes Giustiniani-Bandini, located roughly 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from Urbisaglia's city center. The mansion is adjacent to the famous gothic abbey of Chiaravalle di Fiastra located on the boundary line between the Tolentino and Urbisaglia municipalities.

The mansion had already been used as an internment facility for prisoners of war (POWs) during World War I. The large hall on the building's ground floor had been used as a refectory; there was also an old kitchen previously in place that was put back into operation. The upper floors (large rooms on the second floor and small rooms on the third floor and in the attic) were equipped with 100 beds for prospective internees. The canteen's management was entrusted to a female cook from a nearby village and her several assistants.

A public security commissioner directed the men's-only camp. Over time, different functionaries assumed this duty in succession. The Urbisaglia commissioner's authority also extended to the nearby camp of Pollenza. Several policemen (*carabinieri*) stationed inside the mansion conducted external surveillance.

The first inmates, Italian Jews, arrived in the camp on June 16, 1940, and another 80 foreign Jews and stateless persons (mostly Germans, Austrians, Poles, and Romanians) arrived at the end of July. In the beginning of the spring of 1941 foreigners from Venezia Giulia (those belonging to Slavic ethnic minorities whom the Mussolini regime persecuted vigorously) arrived, followed by "ex-Yugoslav" civil internees who started arriving in 1942. Allied nationals were also interned at Urbisaglia, albeit for very short periods of time.

The 60 Italian Jews interned in the camp included some relatively well-known figures: Raffaele Cantoni, Carlo Alberto Viterbo, Eucardio Momigniano, Gino Pincherle, Renzo Bonofigli, Odoardo Della Torre, and Leone Del Vecchio. After several months of internment, many of them were either transferred or released.

In the first two years of the camp's operation, living conditions were decent. There was a large and lush park directly overlooking the villa, which had a positive impact on the prisoners' psychological condition, providing them with a place to exercise. The inmates could work together with local farmers on the estates of the Princes Giustiniani-Bandini; they could even go to Urbisaglia or Macerata for group shopping or medical visits. In addition, their relatives were free to visit them.

The building had a heating system and was generally well maintained. During the first several months of camp life, the internees had the opportunity to listen to a radio apparatus that they could rent by subscription. The Jews had a room at their disposal in which they set up a very small synagogue; they also formed an "assistance committee" that provided monthly economic support to needy coreligionists. There were language courses organized for the internees, along with a newly set-up library. Health care was officially entrusted to an Austrian Jew, Dr. Paul Pollak, who was remunerated by the Interior Ministry on a monthly basis.

Yet, among the most unpleasant aspects of the internment in Urbisaglia, especially in the first several months of the camp's operation, was overcrowding. Because of this problem, Raffaele Cantoni complained strongly about camp conditions, appealing to the international standards regarding the protection of POWs. In response, he was labeled as a troublemaker and transferred to the Tremiti Islands camp. Furthermore, according to a report drawn up by the camp's director in September 1941, two law enforcement officers (Cosimo Carlucci and Antonio di Stefano) were guilty of acts of harassment toward the internees. In the winter of 1942, there were also reports about difficulties in obtaining food along with several cases of malnutrition.

The fall of Mussolini on July 25, 1943, did not bring about any changes in the conditions of the Urbisaglia camp internees, then including both foreign civilians and Italian "aliens."

Later, with the announcement of the September 8 Armistice, the fear of German capture circulated among the prisoners and the security staff. Many inmates jumped over a small wall separating the camp from the main road and fled to the countryside. Those who had no money or did not know where to take refuge decided to remain inside the camp.

On September 13, 1943, acting on the general provisions issued by the chief of police, the camp's director formally released all of the internees still remaining in the camp. However, on September 27, all the former internees were required to reenter the camp following an order issued by the Macerata police. The majority obeyed the new order because they trusted the authorities, who claimed to be guarantors of their safety. However, between September 29 and 30, both the internees who had reentered the camp voluntarily and those rounded up across the countryside (including many escapees from the nearby camps of Pollenza and Petriolo—approximately 100 people, both men and women)—were loaded onto several trucks escorted by German soldiers and transferred to a POW (*prigionieri di guerra*, PG) camp, PG No. 56, located in Sforzacosta in the Macerata province.

After serving as a collection center for civilians rounded up in the area, Urbisaglia remained formally under Italian direction and surveillance until October 23, 1943.

SOURCES This entry is a slightly edited version of the author's works, "L'Internamento degli Ebrei Italiani nel 1940 e il Campo di Urbisaglia-Abbadia di Fiastra," *RMI* 697: 1 (Jan.–Apr. 2003): 347–368; and "Mappatura dei Campi—Marche," *I campi del duce: l'internamento civile nell'Italia Fascista, 1940–1943* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 191–193. See also Roberto Cruciani, *E Vennero . . . 50 Anni di Liberta: 1943–1993—L'Internamento nelle Marche* (Macerata: Cooperativa Arti Visive, 1993).

Archival sources for the Urbisaglia internment camp are found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 128, f. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 2 (Affari per provincia), ins. 22 "Macerata," and A-ICRC, C Sc, Service des camps, Italie (August 23, 1943).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

USTICA ISLAND

Ustica Island (*Isola di Ustica*) is approximately 65 kilometers (40 miles) north of Palermo in the Aeolian Islands. The island was used as a colony of confinement (*colonia di confino*) following the promulagation of the Exceptional Laws of November 1926 and, during World War II, as a concentration camp.

A number of prominent antifascists, many of whom were leading members of the Italian Communist Party (PCd'I) of the early 1920s and the Italian Social Democratic Party (PSI), were interned at Ustica in the colony during the early years of the Fascist regime: They included Amadeo Bordiga (PCd'I), Antonio Gramsci (PCd'I), Nello Rosselli (PSI), Giuseppe Romita (PSI), and Giuseppe Scalarini (lead cartoonist for the socialist newspaper, *Avanti*). Also interned at Ustica was an early Fascist turned regime opponent, Alfredo Misuri, the founder of Fatherland and Liberty (*Patria e libertà*). Additional prominent internees during the island's phase as a confinement colony included the anarcho-syndicalist Spartaco Stagnetti and a former Turkish colonel from Libya, Hessein Queri Pasha (Italian: Pascià).[1]

The cartoonist Scalarini commented extensively on Ustica's phase as a colony of confinement. He felt that his experience at Ustica was tolerable: "The island makes a good impression on me: the hills are covered in greenery and, down at the basin, there is a bunch of little white houses above which towers the facade of a church, all painted in yellow."[2] But what really made a difference was that, as a man with health problems and of advanced age (he was older than 50 when he was sent to the colony), he was allowed to bring along his family: "They say that Galileo developed his theory of motion by observing with his feet on the ground a lamp on the cathedral in Pisa; my own theory, in itself no less luminous, of calling my family to come to Ustica, was developed on a steamship while watching a detainee embracing his dear wife."[3]

The island's charm and the greater liberty that the internees could enjoy were evident in correspondence from the inmates, and at least in the beginning they helped ease the suffering of imprisonment, even for men in poor health, such as Antonio Gramsci, who was assigned to confinement on November 18, 1926, after being arrested in a roundup 10 days earlier that had targeted leftists. He arrived on the island on December 7. From what he writes in a letter to his wife, Gramsci appeared calm: "You have no idea how happy I am to be able to wander about from one place to another, both in the country and on the island, and to breathe the air of the sea." But he had a politico-cultural project in mind: to create a "prison university," with classes organized together with the roughly 30 fellow politicians in the less than 40 days of his imprisonment at Ustica. They were "lessons in literacy but also culture," both under the direction of Amadeo Bordiga.[4] It was a civic education workshop with great moral and intellectual potential opening to the locals on the island who could certainly reap the benefits of the presence of men of such an intellectual attainment. In addition, the classes were "an opportunity for many detained antifascists to deepen their political knowledge and to strengthen the motivations for their activism."[5] Gramsci was removed from Ustica on January 20, 1927, and confined to the prison at San Vittore of Milan.

The internees also ran an agricultural cooperative that offered not only staples, such as pasta and bread, but also lard and marmalade at reasonable prices. In 1927, the cooperative was closed and was later merged with detainee-run canteens. According to Scalarini, the detainees with different culinary traditions, such as from Rome, Tuscany, Trieste, and Emilia-Romagna, took turns doing the cooking.[6]

Although Scalarini and Gramsci had favorable impressions of the confinement colony, former Fascist Alfred Misuri took a different view. Detained at Ustica in May 1927, he wrote, "The island is overpopulated, poor, dirty, with scarce food resources, and very little water; there are around 1,500 inhabitants there, 400 convicts, more than 400 political detainees, and

an unspecified number of law enforcement officers with their respective families."[7]

According to historian Camilla Poesio, the medical services were very poor, and the infirmary, although not completely lacking in medication, lacked oil for heating water. There was only one doctor available, but his competence was questionable. Gradually, the visits of relatives were reduced, as occurred on other confinement islands as well. Between 1926 and 1930, the size of the contingent of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN) was increased by more than two-thirds, but even the enhanced guard force was inadequate. On August 15, 1927, an Ustica detainee, described as a common criminal, murdered the political internee Spartaco Stagnetti. The Ustica confinement colony closed in 1932, with most of the remaining political internees dispatched to camps at Ponza and Ventotene.

During World War II, the Italian authorities established a concentration camp on the northeastern part of Ustica. As of March 1941, the concentration camp had 318 internees, but had a total capacity of 2,020. The camp's population increased when a group of "ex-Yugoslav" communists was sent to the island. By November 1, 1942, there were 2,065 inmates in the camp: 895 were prisoners (the majority were common-law prisoners and only a few were political), and the remaining 1,170 were internees, mostly Slavs, who were subjected to very poor hygienic and sanitary conditions. Some of the Slavic internees had been sent from the Pukë camp in Italian-occupied Albania and had undergone investigations by the Italian military tribunals in the Balkans, which were dropped for insufficient evidence. They were nonetheless interned at Ustica and elsewhere as security threats.[8] When the island was cleared out in late June 1943, the "ex-Yugoslavs" were sent to the camps at Le Fraschette di Alatri, Chiesanuova, and Renicci.[9]

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Ustica colony of confinement and concentration camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Camilla Poesio, *Il confino fascista: L'arma silenziosa del regime* (Rome: Laterza, 2011); Riccardo Albani, Massimo Castera, and Giovanna Delfini, eds., *Non a Ustica sola . . . , Atti del Convegno "Nello Rosselli storico e antifascista"* (Florence: Giunti Editore, 2002); Nino Giacino, "Antonio Gramsci un 'concittadino onorario,'" *LCSDIU* 3 (April 2001): 15; and Franco Foresta Martin, "Ustica sul finire degli anni Venti," *LCSDIU* 8 (September 2005–April 2006): 54–55.

Primary sources documenting the Ustica camp can be found in ACS, USSME, and ITS (1.1.14.1). The ITS documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. A published testimony from the confinement colony period is Giuseppe Scalarini, *Le mie isole* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1992).

Giovanna D'Amico
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Governo della Libia, Direzione Affari Politici, Rapporto e assegnazione al confino per il libico musulmano Hussein Queri Pascià, September 25, 1942, ACS, MAI, Dgap, Archivo segreto, B. 16, Fasc. 9, Sf. 1.2-4 (Indigeni processati e condannati), cited at www.campifascisti.org.it.
2. Scalarini, *Le mie isole*, p. 71.
3. Ibid.
4. Quotations in Giacino, "Antonio Gramsci un 'concittadino onorario,'" p. 15.
5. Ibid.
6. Scalarini, *Le mie isole*, pp. 92–94.
7. As quoted in Martin, "Ustica sul finire degli anni Venti," pp. 54–55.
8. XVIII CdA to Supersloda, Rapporto sui nove internati richiesti dai partigiani per uno scambio di prigionieri, February 28, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 78, reproduced at www.campifascisti.org.
9. For the Ustica prisoners sent to Chiesanuova, see "Liste von Internierten im KZ-Lager Renicci (Anghiari)," ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. No. 459314.

VALLECROSIA

Vallecrosia is located 125 kilometers (78 miles) southwest of Genoa, the regional capital, in the Imperia province, Liguria region. The provincial camp there was established inside a building already in use by the Italian Army. The camp became operational on February 9, 1944. Ninety-two soldiers of the National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr) oversaw the camp. Despite the camp's maximum occupancy of 150, only 40 people were detained at Vallecrosia. The prisoners were mostly antifascist political detainees and relatives of draft evaders. According to a report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there were also some French prisoners held at Vallecrosia. The report complained that they were periodically taken out of camp to remove unexploded ordnance. The German authorities took the French detainees into custody on September 4, 1944.[1]

The majority of Jews living in Imperia province were arrested in November 1943 during roundups, involving primarily the towns of Sanremo, Ventimiglia, and Bordighera. A second wave of arrests took place in April 1944. Six Jews passed through the Vallecrosia camp: five females (two daughters, ages 12 and 20, arrested together with their mother in Bordighera on February 15, 1944, and two elderly women captured in Sanremo) and one male, a doctor previously held at the Calvari di Chiavari camp in the Genoa province.

The camp closed on August 2, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Vallecrosia provincial camp are Circola Brandale di Savona, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Liguria* (Acqui Terme: Impressioni Grafiche, 2009); Gustavo Ottolenghi, "Il campo di Vallecrosia," *PI* 19: 93 (2002): 24–25; Rosario Fucile and Liana Millu, *Dalla Liguria ai campi di sterminio*, ed. Gilberto Salmoni (Genoa: Associazione nazionale ex deportati, 2004); Paolo Veziano, "La persecuzione antiebraica in provincia di Imperia (1938–1945)," *Itinerari della Memoria in provincia di Imperia* (Imperia: Provincia di Imperia, 2005), available at www.memoryofthealps.net/download/GRUPPO01~pdf_imperia

/Imperia-Libro.pdf; and Matteo Stefanori, "'Ordinaria amministrazione': I campi di concentramento per ebrei nella Repubblica sociale italiana" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, Università degli studi della Tuscia and Université de Paris X Nanterre, 2011).

Primary sources documenting the camp at Vallecrosia can be found in IsrecIm and ITS, Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano.

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NOTE

1. ACVG, "Liste indicative des prisons et des camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administre par l'ennemi," May 24, 1949, pp. 7–8, ITS, Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517.

VENICE

Venice is almost 394 kilometers (245 miles) north of Rome. When the German Army took control of Mestre and Venice on September 9, 1943, the German authorities began to implement the "Final Solution" in Italy. On December 5, 1943, in an urgent communication, Superintendent Cordova ordered the local authorities of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) to proceed with the immediate arrest of full Jews (those without non-Jewish ancestry).[1] The roundup took place during the night of December 5, 1943. It was particularly harsh. A squad of public security agents broke into the houses of Venetian Jews, rousted them from their beds, and arrested them. The police then went to the Venetian Jewish community's nursing home, broke the locks, and stormed in; the elderly, frightened and stunned, were brutally removed from their beds. These unfortunates were first deported to the Marco Foscarini Boarding School and later transferred to the prison of Santa Maria Maggiore where they awaited dispatch to a concentration camp. Arrests continued on the following days. On December 7 and 8, 105 men and women were registered in the prison of Santa Maria Maggiore, while their 19 children, ages 3 to 14, were confined in three different institutions for minors.

In the week that followed, the Venetian detainees were transferred from prison to the Jewish nursing home, which had been converted into a provincial camp for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*); its purpose was to detain them for a short time while preparations were made for their transfer to the Fossoli camp. During the 15 days of the camp's existence, children also arrived from boarding schools in order to be reunited with their families.

On December 28, 1943, Superintendent Cordova announced the deportation of some 100 Venetian Jews. Food supplies provided by the nursing home were distributed among those selected. On December 31, the public security commissioner for the Venetian Railways informed the provincial chief of the departure of 93 Jewish prisoners accompanied by a military escort on board a train headed to the Fossoli concentration camp. On January 18, 1944, another deportation train, which included some children, left Venice for the same destination. On February 22, 1944, everyone then being held in the Fossoli camp was deported to Auschwitz II-Birkenau. On August 17, 1944, an additional 21 of the 32 patients over 70 years of age were deported from the nursing home, along with their community chief Rabbi Adolfo Ottolenghi, who chose to share the same fate.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Venice camp are Renata Segre, ed., *Gli ebrei a Venezia 1938–1945: Una comunità tra persecuzione e rinascita* (Venice: Il cardo, 1995); and Paolo Sereni, "Gli anni della persecuzione razziale a Venezia: Appunti per una storia," in Umberto Fortis, ed., *Venezia ebraica: Atti delle prime giornate di studi sull'ebraismo veneziano (Venezia 1976–1980)* (Rome: Carucci, 1982), pp. 129–151.

Primary sources documenting the Venice camp can be found in AFCDEC and ASVen. Two published accounts are Letizia Morpurgo Fano, *Diario: ricordi di prigionia* (Venice: Comunità Israelitica di Venezia, 1966); and *Israel* 30: 24 (May 24, 1945).

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NOTE

1. Fonogramma della Questura a tutti i commissariati di Pubblica sicurezza, Comando Carabinieri e 49th Legione MVSN, e per conoscenza al capo della provincia in sede, Venezia, December 5, 1943. ASVen, Gabinetto di Prefettura, vers. 1, 1943, fasc. 4099.

VENTOTENE

Ventotene is a little island outside the Gulf of Gaeta in the province of Latina some 70 kilometers (43 miles) west of Naples, with a surface area of less than 1.5 square kilometers (0.6 square miles). The island had been used as a place to isolate prisoners under the Bourbon dynasty of Naples. From 1861, the unified Kingdom of Italy continued its use as a detention site for prisoners considered particularly dangerous. After the promulgation of the Exceptional Laws in 1926, the Fascist regime began to send its political opponents to Ventotene. At first the antifascists were held in a Bourbon-era, nineteenth-century fortress, a massive structure with the appearance of a medieval castle that also held the local section of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN, also called the *Camicie nere* or Blackshirts) that guarded the inmates. In the 1940s, large rooms (*cameroni*) were constructed to serve as common cells for the prisoners, giving the internal exile colony (*colonia di confino*), as it was called, its final form. The building complex included barracks and twelve identical pavilions. Each was divided into two rooms, with shared washrooms divided from the rest of the pavilion by a wall that did not reach the ceiling. Each also had an anteroom where roll call took place every evening. Each room was equipped with 20 beds, separated by bedside tables.

In 1939, political prisoners previously kept on the nearby island of Ponza were transferred to Ventotene, increasing its population to its peak size; most of the inmates were communists. The political detainees were prisoners who were brought to the island to undergo "political confinement" (*confino politico*), a type of imprisonment used by the Fascist police against antifascists. In December 1942, the total number of inmates was only 45, including Italians, foreigners, and one Jew. In February 1943, there were 77 Italian internees, 33 of whom were Jewish. In May 1943, there were 191 internees, mostly Italians, and in June this number rose to 225. In February 1941 the political detainees numbered 676; in January 1943, 675; in July 1943, 660. Among the prominent antifascists were the future president of the Republic of Italy, Alessandro (Sandro) Pertini, and the future Secretary-General of the General Italian Confederation of Labor, Giuseppe Di Vittorio.

With Italy's entrance into the war, living conditions in the camp quickly became very difficult. Food was rationed and became very hard to find. For every detainee the government provided a daily subsidy of 5 lire, of which 3.5 were given to the camp food administrator, a functionary chosen by the inmates. The internees who were able to receive food from their families could survive; those who had only the money given from the government had great difficulties because the subsidy was inadequate to buy sufficient food of good quality. The camp food was of such poor quality in part because local merchants capitalized on the situation by providing practically inedible food to the kitchens. Some inmates, like Oliviero Natali, died of hunger and were buried in the island's tiny cemetery. The communists were among the internees who fared better because they pooled all the food parcels sent to them by their families. In one instance, the communist "collective" succeeded in providing supplementary rations that helped counteract a serious caloric deficiency. Political prisoner Pertini conducted an extensive correspondence while confined at Ventotene, at times complaining to the Interior Ministry, the mayor (*podestà*) of Ventotene, and then-camp director Francesco Meo about rations for detainees who, like himself, suffered from tuberculosis.[1]

Some of the inmates could work. A document from November 1942 from Police Inspector General Salvatore Li Voti, informed the Interior Ministry that the colony director had authorized 87 "individual agricultural workers" to work in the fields for various families of the area.[2] The number of inmates permitted to work was 237, even though the document did not specify what type of work they were permitted to undertake. Li Voti suggested that other inmates should perform road maintenance; for that work they would be given an additional 2 lire daily and a supplementary bread ration. Taking advantage of this opportunity, one of the most well-known political prisoners, Altiero Spinelli, a future deputy of the Italian and European parliaments, tried in vain to raise chickens, but had to give up due to the lack of chicken feed. Other political prisoners, particularly the communists, set themselves the task of producing potatoes, but driven by hunger, they ended up eating the seed potatoes provided by the colony's administration.

The first wartime director of the colony was the head Police Commissioner Francesco Meo, replaced at the end of 1941 by Marcello Guida. Both of these directors left a poor record of running the camp, although this did not prevent Guida from becoming police chief (*questore*) of Milan in the 1970s. The directors counted on a detachment of a special police unit (*Milizia confinaria)* formed especially to provide surveillance of political prisoners.

The coup d'état of July 25, 1943, against Mussolini brought great jubilation to the inmates, although the director, Guida, and members of the *Milizia confinaria* remained at their posts. The director and inmates reached an agreement that, while awaiting their liberation by the new government, the prisoners would behave themselves. In exchange, the director abolished practically all the restrictions on freedom of movement, the morning and evening roll calls, and the nightly closure of bedroom doors.

One of the first actions of Marshal Pietro Badoglio's new government was to free some internees and political prisoners. On July 27, the chief of police, Carmine Senise, decreed the freedom of all the imprisoned antifascists, except for communists, anarchists, and those guilty of spying. Subsequently, even foreign civilian prisoners and communists were liberated, though with great difficulty, in part because of the Allied sinking, on July 22, of the postal boat *Santa Lucia*, which had maintained the link between the island and mainland. On August 8, 1943, Pertini petitioned Badoglio for liberation from Ventonene, in a letter signed by fellow prisoners Francesco Fancello, Altiero Spinelli, Mauro Scoccimarro, Lazar Fundo, Ante Babich, and Antonio Francovich. They were released shortly thereafter.[3]

In August 1943, a proposal called for removing the island camp from the militia's control. According to a report of the prefect of Littoria dated August 18, 1943, the Blackshirts had maintained the "old mentality of the party," and violent episodes had only been prevented through the mediation and work of the ordinary police of the island.[4] The colony, along with that on the island of Ponza, closed in August 1943 due to provisioning difficulties.

SOURCES The sources of information on Ventotene are relatively rich because of the internment of many prominent antifascists there. See Adriano Dal Pont, *I lager di Mussolini: L'altra faccia del confino nei documeti della polizia fascista* (Milan: La Pietra, 1975). Other references may be found in Silverio Corvisieri, *La villeggiatura di Mussolini* (Milan: Baldini e Castaldi, 2004), pp. 267–285. See also entries in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 203–204; and *Enciclopedia dell' antifascismo e della Resistenza*, 6 vols. (Milan: La Pietra, 1968–1989).

The most important archival sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 9; Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 111 and 127. For a personal account of life in Ventotene, see Altiero Spinelli, *Come ho tentato di diventare saggio—Io Ulisse* (Bologna: il Mulino, 1984). Pertini's correspondence is found in *Sandro*

Pertini: dal confino alla Resistenza; lettere 1935–1945, ed. Stefano Carretti (Manduria (Taranto): Piero Lacaita Editore, 2007) and is collected in several archives, especially ANSP, and ACS, collection Casellerio politico centrale, fasc. Pertini Alessandro.

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NOTES

1. See Pertini to Francesco Meo, November 19, 1939; Pertini to the mayor of Ventotene, October 11, 1941; and Pertini to Mi, May 3, 1942, in *Sandro Pertini*, pp. 83, 95, 108–109, and culled from ACS, Casellerio politico centrale, fasc. Pertini Alessandro.
2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 127.
3. The Badoglio petition is found in *Sandro Pertini*, p. 121, and copied from ACS, Casellerio politico centrale, fasc. Pertini Alessandro.
4. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 127.

VERONA

Verona, located on the Adige River in northern Italy, is 168 kilometers (104 miles) east of Milan. The establishment of a camp for Jews at Verona followed the promulgation of Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI); it directed the creation of "provincial concentration camps" for Jews in all parts of the RSI.[1] According to historian Liliana Picciotto, the Verona camp was located on Pallone Street.[2] The most detailed document about this camp found to date is a dossier of the 40th Legion of the local National Republican Guard (*Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana*, Gnr), dated December 5, 1943.[3] It stated the need to "set up a guard for the concentration camp for Jews" on the basis of the provisions given by the head of the province, as well as per various agreements reached between him and the "German command." The order further stipulated the following:

> Available force: (1) A platoon of 30 legionnaires under the command of one particularly energetic subaltern officer will report at the Cittadella Bridge tomorrow, December 6, at 12 P.M., in order to take over the premises designated to accommodate those in charge of guarding the Jewish detainees. (2) The legionnaires will be carrying their own individual armaments and other equipment. (3) The designated official commander, in addition to his responsibility over the guards, will provisionally assume the task of director of the concentration camp. (4) Based on the inspection carried out today by Aiutante Maggio of the Legion, and with regard to the verbal dispositions given by Aiutante Maggio to SCM [sublieutenant; *Sottocapomanipolo*] Raffaele Colucci, the commander of the guard will assign sentries to their posts based on the location of the occupied premises, bearing in mind that the entire responsibility for the service rests solely with him. (5) This command will ensure that the already acquired rations will be distributed properly. (6) Further orders relating to the functioning of the camp follow.[4]

No information exists as to the overall size and capacity of the camp, such as the number of prisoners and their living conditions. Altogether, according to Picciotto, there were 460 Jews deported from Verona to German-occupied Poland via the Fossoli transit camp.

SOURCES Some information on the provincial concentration camp for Jews at Verona can be found in Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (1991; Milan: Mursia, 2002). Citations in the notes refer to the 1991 edition.

Primary sources on the camp at Verona can be found in ASVR. The order for the establishment of such provincial concentration camps for Jews is found in ACS.

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NOTES

1. Ordine del polizia n. 5, ACS, RSI, Presidenza del Consiglio, Gabinetto, Provedimenti, legislativi sottoposto all'esame del Consiglio dei ministri (1943–45), B. 33, file 3/2-2.
2. Fondo prefettura di Verona, "Amministrazione Beni Ebraici," cartella Loewenthal Roberto e Rosenwald Anna, ASVR, as cited in Picciotto, *Il libro della memoria*, p. 834.
3. Comunicazione del Comandante della legione della GNR di Verona, December 5, 1943, ASVR (collection unknown).
4. Ibid.

VICENZA

Vicenza (Vicenza province) is more than 44 kilometers (almost 28 miles) northeast of Verona. Although the prefect of Vicenza designated Tonezza del Cimone as the provincial concentration camp for Jews, the Olympic Theater (*Teatro Olimpico*) in Vicenza held eight Jews during this period as well. According to documentation submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), the three men and five women confined to the Olympic Theater were born between 1869 and 1893, and seven of the eight prisoners were foreigners.[1] In late January 1944, the Jews held at the Olympic Theater were dispatched along with the Jews from the Tonezza del Cimone camp as part of convoy no. 6, which departed northern Italy from Milan Central Station. The convoy arrived at Auschwitz on February 6, 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Vicenza (Olympic Theater) camp are Liliana Picciotto Fargion, *Il libro della memoria: Gli ebrei deportati dall'Italia (1943–1945)* (1991; Milan:

Mursia, 2002); Paolo Tagini, *Le poche cose: Gli internati ebrei nella provincia di Vicenza* (Verona: Cierre edizioni, 2006), in particular the contribution of Antonio Spinelli, "Il campo provinciale di Tonezza del Cimone," pp. 185–220; and www.campifascisti.it.

Primary sources documenting the Vicenza (Olympic Theater) camp are ACS, Mi, Dgps, A5G II GM, B. 151, f.230, ebrei, s.f. Ebrei, "Elenco di ebrei prelevati dal Teatro Olimpico, Atti pervenuti dalla Segreteria del Capo della Polizia, senza lettera d'accompagnamento"; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, RSI 1943–1945, B. 8, f., Questura di Vicenza, "Operazioni di polizia nella provincia, Vicenza 1944," December 29, 1943, in the same folio, "Vicenza, Relazione settimanale sulla situazione politica ed economica della provincia"; and ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 2, available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTE

1. Elenco degli Ebrei presenti al Teatro Olimpico (Vicenza), January 30, 1944, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 2, Doc. No. 459450.

VINCHIATURO

Vinchiaturo is a town in the province of Campobasso about 77 kilometers (48 miles) northeast of Naples, in one of the poorest regions of southern Italy. In 1940, the town of Vinchiaturo numbered fewer than 5,000 inhabitants and was chosen as a site for a detention facility because it lacked any industrial or military significance.

The concentration camp opened in June 1940, according to the instructions of the Royal Decree (*Regio decreto*) of July 8, 1938, No. 1415, and the Interior Ministry letter (*Circolare*) of June 8, 1940, No. 442/12267. The Interior Ministry organized and ran the camp that was designated as a camp for civilian women, Italian and foreign, considered dangerous to the war effort.

The Vinchiaturo camp was located at Via Libertà 13, a three-story building, in the built-up part of town that was the property of Dr. Domenico Nonno. Inside there were three rooms capable of accommodating a total of 60 beds. The building had running water and electricity, two kitchens, and three toilets.

The number of inmates varied from 25 in August 1941 to 56 in May 1943, with a median of around 45. Some of them were Jews: 20 in February 1941 and 20 in December 1942. In May 1943 there were 39 inmates, all women, of whom 7 were Italian, 2 Polish, 1 Spanish, 5 German (of whom 2 were Jewish), 3 Croats, 15 Yugoslavs (2 Jews), 3 Russians, and 3 of "uncertain" nationality.

In May 1943, the camp director—who, based on the size of the camp, probably headed the camp for the entire time it was operational—was the mayor (*podestà*). As in all the women's camps, there was also a female director. Following up some complaints from a note sent, probably anonymously, to the Interior Ministry, Inspector Antonio Panariello came to the camp for an inspection. His report of March 5, 1942, provides insights into many forms of "disservice" done to the internees.[1] For example, inmates could attend Mass only on Thursdays, so as to avoid too much contact with the populace: "Finding, however, that these complaints were fair, it was arranged that the aforementioned inmates should hear Mass on Sunday and on the other feast days, sitting together in the first pew of the church, carefully overseen by the female director." The female director was also accused of sitting too close to the confessional in order to listen to the confessions.

From a health viewpoint the camp's greatest failing was the lack of a bathroom. As Panariello noted in his report, "There are two little rooms for washing oneself with running water, sufficient for the internees who find themselves in the camp." However, the inspector did not "consider it worthwhile to spend money installing a bathroom, as there is the possibility of adapting other rooms for washing. If there are women with syphilis or other venereal diseases, they are not contagious in the act of cleaning."[2]

Many problems arose from the "oppressive social misery" stemming from the fact that the internees were from different social backgrounds; Panariello felt these issues could not be resolved. Among the internees were both middle-class women and women interned because they were prostitutes. There were two suicide attempts. Immediately after her internment, Elsa Ratz tried to throw herself out a window, and a little later Ietta Engl tried to poison herself. Other inmates got into a slapping match and were punished with various numbers of days of imprisonment. Other discipline problems also existed: "Almost all the internees speak Italian. It is prohibited to speak in one's own language except during meals and in the meeting room, because this has often provoked arguments."[3] Problems also stemmed from boredom, owing to the lack of any means of distraction; in addition the delivery of mail was slow because letters had to be censored before being given to the inmates. Letters in German had to pass through the police (*questura*) of Campobasso because there was no one capable of reading German at Vinchiaturo, which provoked complaints from the German-speaking inmates. On the food, Panariello noted,

> The internees have, for six lire a day, 200 grams [7 ounces] of bread, a quarter-liter [half-pint] of milk in the morning, at midday a sufficient soup of pasta, or pasta and vegetables, and a second dish like liver, or meat when it can be found, or eggs, and in the evening minestrone and cheese, or greens. The cards [of accounts] are, naturally, kept by the directors. It is not forbidden for the inmates to procure something else with their other two daily lire, and some, with their own means, buy a piece of meat or some eggs on top of the rest, or indeed some other dish.

Panariello concluded his report by recommending the greatest possible understanding and humanity necessary to make life in the camp as pleasant as possible.

In June 1943, to relieve overcrowding in the camp and on the insistent request of the delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 10 internees were transferred. The camp was closed on September 10, 1943.

SOURCES There is a brief mention of the Vinchiaturo camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 224–225.

The only available primary sources are in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 116; and in Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A4 bis, B. 9.

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NOTES

1. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 116, Panariello report, March 5, 1942.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

VISCO

Visco (Udine province) is 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Udine and 22 kilometers (14 miles) southwest of Gorizia. The camp at Visco was one of the largest concentration camps for civilian internees in Fascist Italy. It was also one of the last built before the Armistice of August 8, 1943, and remained in operation for just a few months. It was established in the Borgo Piave barracks (today known as the former Luigi Sbaiz barracks), a military complex built in 1915 on the outskirts of Visco on a road leading to the neighboring walled town of Palmanova. The decision to set up the camp on this site was made by Generale di Brigata Umberto Giglio, an Intendant of the Superior Command of the Italian Armed Forces "Slovenia and Dalmatia" (*Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia*," Supersloda).

The Italian authorities established the Visco camp with great urgency in December 1942 because they anticipated receiving a great influx of "ex-Yugoslav" prisoners as a result of the major German, Italian, and Ustaša anti-partisan offensive planned for the coming January, Operation White (*Weiss*). The original plans called for Visco to accommodate 10,000 people, while providing an extensive infrastructure that was to distinguish it from similar sites. However, Visco's capacity never exceeded 4,500.

All military equipment was taken out of the Borgo Piave barracks to make room for this renovation and expansion. Nine of the 18 preexisting structures were repurposed as a 400-bed hospital, equipped with toilets and sinks. The other nine buildings were either cleaned up or turned into offices, accommodations, an Italian officers' canteen and, in part, kitchens for internees. Among the improvements made in the site's conversion to a camp was expansion of the water system. The prisoners' accommodations consisted of 332 barracks and 22 large tents. A 2-kilometer-long (1.2-miles-long) double barbed-wire fence enclosed the camp, which in turn was divided into four sectors. Three sectors were reserved for men, and the fourth was for women and children. Several watchtowers were erected outside the perimeter, spaced about 100 meters (328 feet) apart.

A carabinieri officer, Tenente Colonello Salvatore Bonfiglio, commanded the Visco camp. His deputy was Tenente Raffaele Covatta. From June 7, 1943 onward, a little more than 300 soldiers, including officers, doctors, noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and the rank and file, provided security. In terms of organization and prisoner movement, the camp was under the close watch of the Italian Second Army's Superintendency, which designated Visco and Arbe (Rab) as its principal camps for operational needs.

The first major group of internees, consisting of 300 exhausted Slovenes and Croats bearing signs of hunger edema, arrived from Arbe in late February 1943. Between February and March several other large transports arrived from the camps at Gonars and Monigo and directly from Ljubljana. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), at least one prisoner was deported from the Diaz Barracks camp in Fiume (Croatian: Rijeka) to Visco during this period.[1] On June 15, 1943, 435 Montenegrin internees from the Prevlaka camp joined the camp's population.[2] The latter group consisted largely of former Royal Yugoslav Army officers and troops. On arrival, the new internees were shaved, undressed, and searched, and their belongings were seized.

In comparison with other Italian camps for "ex-Yugoslavs," the living conditions at Visco were relatively tolerable. Twenty-two people died during the camp's existence, most of whom were prisoners who entered the camp in a debilitated state. Seven of these deaths were reported between March and May 1943.[3] Three more internees perished in the civilian hospital in Palmanova. No children died. The accommodations were mostly clean and dry, but food was scarce, amounting to approximately half of the daily caloric requirements. To compound matters, the Italian Army suspended all aid shipments of food from the archbishop of Gorizia, Monsignor Carlo Margotti.

The adult men and women internees were put to work in various labor assignments to prevent their organizing in other ways, such as plotting revolts. There were specific provisions for the treatment of children and teenagers: they were confined in a fenced-in area, where they could play games and receive age-appropriate instruction. Some of the adult women prisoners served as their teachers and caregivers.

The prisoners formed a choir and fielded several soccer teams. They also published a mimeographed bulletin, *The Highlight—Visco* (*Višek—Visco*). The first copy appeared on March 8, 1943.[4] The internees also established clandestine political and military training courses and formed a liberation committee representing the camp's three Yugoslav nationalities: Slovenes, Croats, and Montenegrins.

The arrest of Benito Mussolini on July 25, 1943, prompted the Italian authorities to gradually take a more lenient attitude toward the internees. In consequence, the prisoners' political activities, whose objective was a revolt to liberate the camp, came out into the open. A few days before the Armistice of

August 8, 1943, Supersloda ordered the release of some 1,000 internees. The release was in response to pressure from the local Catholic Church and labor shortages in occupied Slovenia. At the Palmanova train station, the released prisoners boarded a special convoy bound for Ljubljana. The train was unable to depart, however, because of railway disruptions in Ajdovščina (Italian: Aidussina), Slovenia. After the Armistice, the Italian authorities continued to hold the remaining internees.

The news of Gorizia's liberation by partisans reached the camp by September 11. In turn the liberation committee went to the camp director with two proposals. The first sought permission to contact the insurgents to arrange for the evacuation of Visco's internees, and the second requested permission for the internees to take charge of maintaining internal order. With the acceptance of these proposals, three internees, after agreeing to return before nightfall, left the camp in a truck headed for Gorizia. On their return, the small delegation found the camp already deserted. Fearing the worst, on the morning of September 14, the liberation committee had given instructions for the camp's evacuation. In the meantime, the soldiers on guard had spontaneously abandoned their positions, thus creating, with the camp director's knowledge, conditions for peaceful liberation. In many cases, the former Visco internees seized whatever arms were available.

More than 3,000 former internees—split into several groups that each included women, elderly, and children—left Visco heading slowly eastward. A platoon formed by the internees' military organization headed each group, leading the march along the Romans-Gradisca-Miren route with the aim of reaching the Slovenian partisan zone. Occasional armed clashes with German and Italian units along the path near the Romans road and across the Isonzo River claimed a number of lives.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Visco camp include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 237–238; Alessandra Kersevan, *I campi di concentramento per internati jugoslavi nell'Italia fascista: I campi di Gonars e Visco*, *Atti del Convegno*, *Palmanova*, *29.11.2003* (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2004); Ferruccio Tassin, "Da fratelli in una Europa più grande a nemici per il culto della nazione: Il campo di concentramento di Visco," in Boris M. Gombač and Dario Mattiussi, eds., *La deportazione dei civili sloveni e croati nei campi di concentramento italiani: 1942–1943: I campi del confine orientale* (Gorizia: Centro "Leopoldo Gasparini," 2004), pp. 63–78; Božidar Jezernik, *Struggle for Survival: Italian Concentration Camps for Slovenes during the Second World War* (Ljubljana: Društvo za preučevanje zgodovine, literature in antropologije, 1999); and Ferruccio Tassin, *Sul confine dell'Impero* (Visco: Comune, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the Visco camp can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 109 and 110; AUSSME, fond M3, B. 64 and 69; A-RS, collections AS 1840 10 and 1887 105; and ITS, collections 0.1 (CNI) and 1.2.7.23 (Persecution measures Serbia). The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Some of these documents are reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it.

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NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Josip Blečić, Doc. No. 53794455.
2. VI CdA al Supersloda, Telescritto Nr. 4606, AUSSME, fond M3, B. 69, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.
3. Supersloda, Decessi verificatesi nei campi concentramento dal 1 gennaio al 31 maggio 1943, June 26, 1943, AUSSME, fond M3, B. 69, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.
4. *Višek—Visco*, A-RS, 1887 105, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

VO' VECCHIO

Vo' (Padova province) is more than 167 kilometers (104 miles) southwest of Trieste and almost 21 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Padova. The history of the Vo' Vecchio (also called Vo' Euganeo) camp is emblematic of the numerous small provincial camps for Jews (*campo provinciale per ebrei*) set up in haste and with insufficient means. Such camps often appeared in isolated places and lacked essential facilities and goods, such as cots, mattresses, blankets, and eating utensils. The Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI) established the camp in the Venier Villa in the village called Vo' Euganeo (Padova province; today: Vo' or Vò) in accord with Police Order No. 5, issued on November 30, 1943, by Interior Minister Guido Buffarini Guidi of the RSI. Located on the Euganean Hills between Este and Abano Terme, the camp opened on December 3, 1943, and remained in operation for the next seven and a half months.

In terms of anti-Jewish measures, the Padova province fell under the region called the "Adriatic Coastal Zone of Operation," the capital of which was Trieste. The Jewish internees at Vo' Vecchio had not been sent to the large national concentration camp of Fossoli, but had remained in place awaiting decisions from the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) of Trieste. On July 17, 1944, 47 Jews from Vo' Vecchio were dispatched to Trieste and stayed there in detention for the amount of time necessary to prepare the "transport."[1] At that time, the German-run Risiera di San Sabba camp had already been functioning for several months, dispatching trainloads of deportees on a regular basis. The prisoners from Vo' Vecchio had been assigned to leave on convoy no. 32T scheduled for departure on July 28, 1944, but the train was canceled. They finally left on July 31 on convoy no. 33T headed to Auschwitz. On the day of their arrival, August 3, most of these deportees, who were unable to work, were sent to their death.[2]

Following the deportation, the Vo' Vecchio camp closed, and Venier Villa came under German command. The German authorities quickly installed an Organisation Todt (OT) post in the villa, whose workers fortified the area's canals.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Vo' Vecchio camp are Francesco Selmin, ed., *Da Este ad Auschwitz: Storia degli ebrei di Este e del campo di concentramento di Vo'* (Este: Editrice Cooperativa Giordano Bruno, 1988); Fabio Galluccio, *I lager in Italia: La memoria sepolta nei duecento luoghi di deportazione fascisti* (Civezzano: Nonluoghi libere edizioni, 2002); Giuseppe Mayda, *Storia della deportazione dall'Italia 1943–1945: Militari,*

ebrei e politici nei lager del Terzo Reich (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2002); and Italo Baratella, *Este, 4-12-1943: L'arresto delle Zevi* (Padua: Zielo Edizioni, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the Vo' Vecchio camp can be found in AFDEC; ACS, and ITS, collections 1.1.14.1 (Persecution Measures in Italy and Albania) and 3.1.1.3 (F18 files). The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

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NOTES

1. Questura di Padova all' Mi, Dgps, Ogg.: "Documentazione relativa ad israeliti," June 15, 1956, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 2, Doc. No. 459477.
2. "List of the formerly Interned in Concentration Camp of Vo Eugane (Padova)," July 6, 1945, ITS, 3.1.1.3, folder 59, Doc. Nos. 78782355–78782356.