

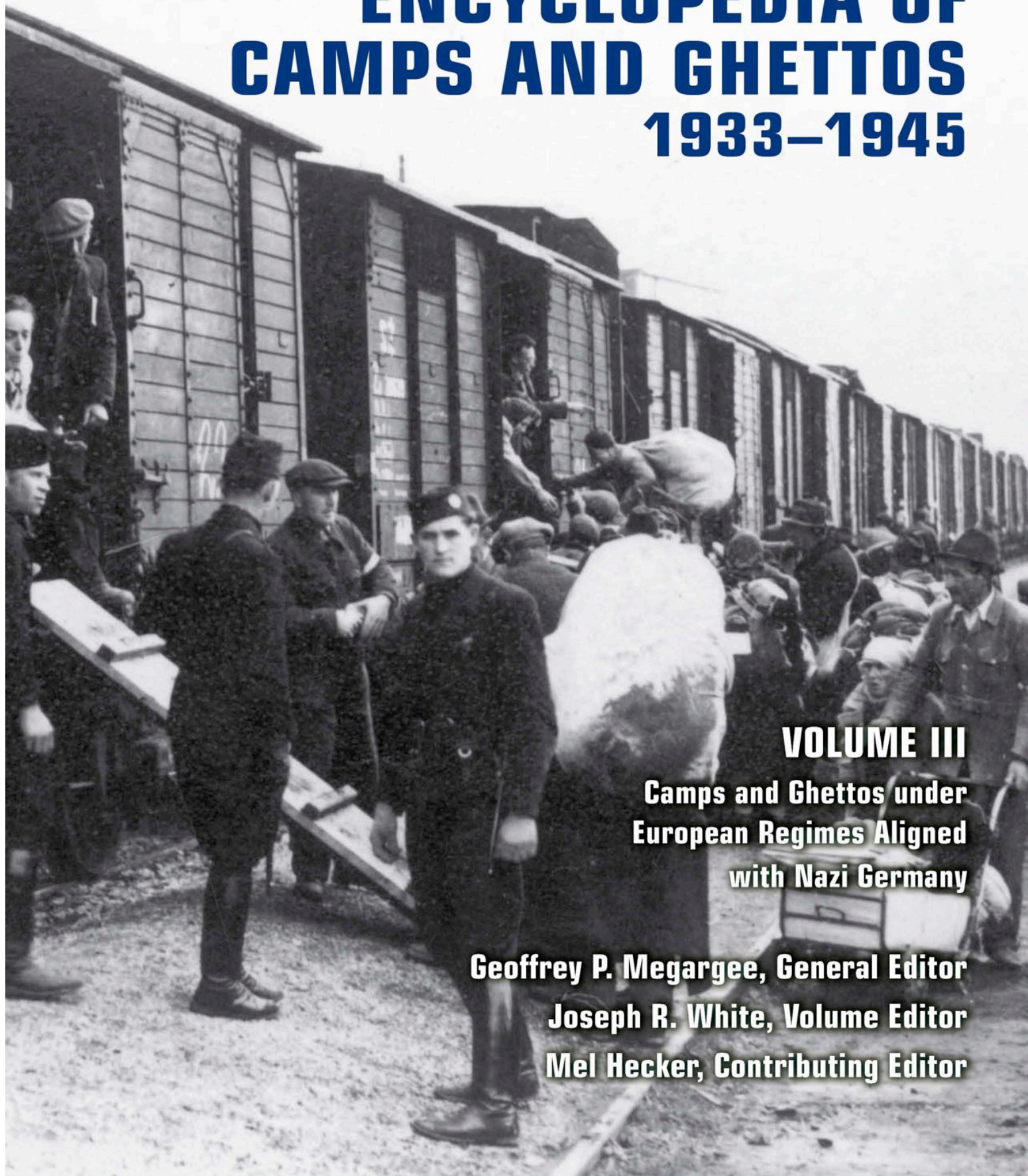
THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

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**

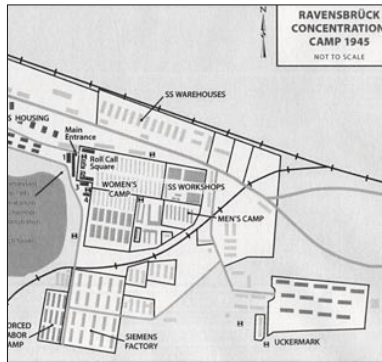


The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

General Editor Geoffrey P. Megargee

Volume Editor Joseph R. White

Contributing Editor Mel Hecker



A PROJECT OF THE **UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM**

Sara J. Bloomfield, Director

THE JACK, JOSEPH AND MORTON MANDEL CENTER FOR ADVANCED HOLOCAUST STUDIES

Wendy Lower, Acting Director

Jürgen Matthäus, Director of Research

Robert M. Ehrenreich, Director of University Programs

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
ACADEMIC COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL COUNCIL

Peter Hayes, Chair

Doris L. Bergen

Richard Breitman

Christopher R. Browning

David Fishman

Zvi Y. Gitelman

Paul Hanebrink

Sara R. Horowitz

Steven T. Katz

William S. Levine

Deborah E. Lipstadt

Michael R. Marrus

John T. Pawlikowski

Alvin H. Rosenfeld

Menachem Z. Rosensaft

George D. Schwab

Michael A. Stein

Jeffrey Veidlinger

James E. Young

All art above from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Photos courtesy of Lydia Chagoll.

THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME III

Camps and Ghettos under European Regimes
Aligned with Nazi Germany

Volume Editor **Joseph R. White**

Contributing Editor **Mel Hecker**

Advisory Committee

Doris L. Bergen

Peter Hayes

Christopher R. Browning

Michael R. Marrus

Published in association with the **United States Holocaust Memorial Museum**

INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS • Bloomington and Indianapolis

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED ALBANIA*

FIER

Fier (Italian: Fieri) is a major city in southwestern Albania, located approximately 32 kilometers (20 miles) to the west of Berat and 70 kilometers (45 miles) southwest of Tiranë. The city is in the Myzeqe Plains and is an important agricultural area rich in deposits of petroleum, natural gas, and bituminous coal. At the time of the Italian occupation Fier was under the authority of the Berat Prefecture and sub-prefecture. The camp at Fier was established in 1940, and the city also served as a place of compulsory residence, largely in relation to the Italian conflict against Greece.¹ The camp was used for civilians evicted from war zones and for political detainees, although the presence of British prisoners of war (POWs) was also reported.² The civilians—150 women and 100 children ages 2 to 6—were sent to the camp in late November 1940.³ At the end of December, 169 political prisoners were dispatched to Italy for one year's confinement. Most of these political prisoners were Greek, but some were Albanians suspected of anti-Italian activities based on intelligence gathered by the Italian military police on behalf of the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania.⁴ After this transfer, more than 420 prisoners remained at Fier.

In 1941, after the political prisoners were sent to Italy, the camp entered another stage of existence.⁵ Following the occupation of Yugoslavia the Italian authorities transferred Serbian POWs to Fier. However, they only stayed for a few months: on April 30, 1941, a communiqué announced that 500 of the POWs were soon to be transferred again to Italy through the nearby port of Valona (Albanian: Vlorë).⁶ At this time, the Albanian mayor of Fier, Abdon V. Micillo, directed the camp. The numerous sick prisoners were treated at the nearby Hospital No. 403 before being returned to the camp.⁷

As of January 29, 1942, the camp's registered political prisoners included Serbs, Kosovar Serbs, and Montenegrins; several ended up later being released, whereas others deemed too dangerous remained in confinement.⁸ Later that year detainees from other Albanian concentration camps, including Kolonjë, arrived in Fier. Deemed unusable because of its dilapidated buildings and frequent flooding, Kolonjë closed around February 14.⁹ Additional prisoners arrived from the camp at Peqin. Many of the Peqin prisoners were transferred in the first four months of 1942; some were later liberated.¹⁰

Available sources on these detainees provide only partial clues as to the prisoner population at Fier. Judging from the events surrounding the release of 112 people from Peqin (from late February through early June 1942), it appears they were Kosovars as so designated by the Italian military authorities. Twenty-six of these prisoners, ages 21 to 70, received positive

evaluations: this group consisted of 15 Serbs, 8 Croats, and 3 Montenegrins. Eighty-six other prisoners, ages 23 to 65—49 Montenegrins, 30 Serbs, 3 Russians, 2 Croats, 1 Bulgarian, and 1 Bosniak—received negative reports. It is unclear whether any of the 112 were Jewish. In the end, the Royal General Lieutenantcy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG), the Italian governing authority in Albania, having noted the opinion of the Albanian authorities from March 1942 favoring the release of all 112 prisoners, decided on June 11 to defer action because it found it inappropriate, "considering the current general situation and the state of public order," to return the 86 prisoners who received negative reports to their places of residence. The Italian Interior Ministry had already specified which individuals would not be allowed to work as laborers.¹¹ On or around July 1942, 52 Fier prisoners signed a petition declaring their innocence and pointing out that they had been in Albanian internment for more than a year, solely on administrative grounds, and that they now found themselves in economic distress. The petitioners were likely Serbs and Kosovar Serbs, almost all of whom had been arrested in July 1941, taken to Peqin, and transferred to Fier in January 1942.¹²

The administration of the Fier camp gradually passed from the military authorities to the Albanian Interior Ministry, particularly the local sub-prefecture. Throughout 1942, the Italian Army continued to send POWs to the Fier camp who had been captured in military operations or roundups. Among the prisoners was a Bulgarian Jew of "ex-Yugoslav" nationality captured on April 7 and released on May 18. He was supposed to return to his place of origin, but stayed in Tiranë.¹³ Some internees continued to be released, and there were also escapes.¹⁴ In late 1942, a number of Fier political internees (Kosovar Serbs from Prizren and Pejë) were the subject of a release request by the Orthodox bishop of Prizren. However, the majority of the prisoners remained in the camp because the Italian police deemed them dangerous as communists or opponents of the Axis.¹⁵

Available documents indicate that the essential characteristics of the Fier concentration camp remained unchanged through 1943, and interned Kosovar Serbs continued to be held in great numbers. One important change should be noted, however: in the first half of the year, the Fier camp held Jewish detainees from Serbia who most likely came from Priština where, according to confidential information, the vice commissioner of the local Albanian police had demanded that some likely suspects provide payoffs to avoid being handed over to the Germans. According to this report, he proceeded to conduct mass arrests of those accused of harboring communist sympathies and then had them dispatched to the camps.¹⁶

SOURCES On the regime's system of repression within the context of Fascist policy in the Balkans, see Bernd Jünger Fischer, *Albania at War (1939–1945)* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1999); Brunello Mantelli, ed., "L'Italia fascista

*For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled Albania, see page 396.

potenza occupante: lo scacchiere balcanico," *Qualestoria*, 30: 1 (June 2002): 13–184. Secondary sources mentioning the Fier camp and giving general information on the political, economic, and cultural situation in Albania under Italian occupation are Silvia Trani, "L'unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, trans. Adrian Belton (2003; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007). For more detailed information and documents, see Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012). For a first guide to the records about Jews in the AQSH and some of the concentration camps where they were interned, see Nevila Nika and Liliana Vorpsi, eds., *Guidebook: A Reference to Records about Jews in Albania before, during, and after the Second World War* (Tirana: General Directorate of Archives of the Republic of Albania, 2006).

For what seems to be the first plan for a camp organized by the Italian Ministry of the Interior for the political confinement of Albanians considered undesirable by the Lieutenancy dating back to May 1939, see Asmae, Sottosegretariato di Stato per gli Affari Albanesi (SSAA), Ufficio I, Questioni politiche 1939, b. 13, fasc. 29, Notiziari politico-militari per S.E. il Ministro, Appunto 15 maggio 1939. For the joint commission of Italians and Albanians created in June 1939 with the task of identifying those individuals held to be politically dangerous, criminals, and the families of fugitives who would face confinement, compulsory residence, and close surveillance or later internment in camps, see Decreto Luogotenenziale 2 giugno 1939, n. 15 "Provvedimenti a carico di alcune persone pericolose per la P.S.," *Gazzetta ufficiale del Regno d'Albania*, April 12–July 15, 1939.

Primary sources documenting the Fier concentration camp can be found in AQSH and ACS. For Fier both as a site of compulsory residence and a concentration camp in its first period, see AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940, D14, pp. 24–31; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D31, pp. 52–102 (concerning the forced residence); AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940 D31, pp. 251–294; and AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940–1942, D134 (concerning the camp and the interned Greek and Albanian civilians, political prisoners, and British POWs). For history of the camp in 1941 and 1942 (general information; evacuation in 1941; release of prisoners; numbers of Serbs, Kosovo Serbs, and Montenegrin inmates interned; Jewish inmates; prisoners coming from Peqin and Kolonjë; deportation to Italy; POWs; and escapes), see the following sources: AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D252–255, pp. 1–4; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D255, pp. 5–12; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D69, pp. 32–41; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941 D32; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, DI/302, pp. 1–6; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–38; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 DI-303, pp. 94–103, 150–169; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943 DI-1198, pp. 85–93; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 222–223, 338–351; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1943, D386/2; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 D303, pp. 294–303; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 D303, pp. 315–327; AQSH, F149 Kryemin-

istria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 D306, pp. 167–175, 186–195. For the last period, and for the Jews and Serbs from Priština, see: AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1943, D65; AQSH, F164 PFS, V1943, D77, pp. 1–56; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana (1939–1943), B. 3, fasc. 254. VHA holds one testimony by a Greek Jewish POW held in Fier: Solomon Saltiel, (#39393), February 22, 1998.

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. To respect the uniformity of the editorial guidelines of the *Encyclopedia* it has been decided in references to Albanian archive sources not to use the abbreviation Fl for Fleta or F for Faqja but rather the abbreviation pp. Therefore the fonds are cited as follows: V (Viti=Year), D (Dosja=Folder), F (Fondi=Archival Fond) and pp. (for Fleta and Faqja). AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940, D14, pp. 24–31; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D31, pp. 52–102.

2. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396, December 9, 1940; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940 D31, pp. 251–294, December 17, 1940; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940–1942, D134.

3. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396, December 9, 1940.

4. AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940 D31, pp. 251–294, December 17, 1940.

5. AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D252–255, pp. 1–4.

6. AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D255, pp. 5–12.

7. AQSH, F154 KPK, V1941, D69, pp. 32–41.

8. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941 D32.

9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–38, February 2 and 4, 1942.

10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56, February 19, 1942.

11. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 DI-303, pp. 94–103, February 27, 1942; pp. 150–169, March 26, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943 DI-1198, pp. 85–93, June 11, 1942.

12. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 222–223, July 27, 1942, and pp. 338–351.

13. AQSH, F153 DQP, V1943, D386/2; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 294–303.

14. Ibid., pp. 315–327; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121, September 28, 1942.

15. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1943, D65.

16. AQSH, F164 PFS, V1943, D77, pp. 1–56; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana (1939–1943), B. 3, fasc. 254, June 1943.

FUSHË ARRËZ

The municipality of Fushë Arrëz (Italian: Fush Arstit or Fusha Arsit) is located in northern Albania, approximately 44 kilometers (27 miles) east of Shkodër and 84 kilometers

(52 miles) north of Tiranë. The concentration camp at Fushë Arrëz was constructed as early as September 1940; this date marked the signing of the first contracts and the beginning of construction carried out by the Italian company Simoncini based in Durazzo on behalf of the Italian Army Engineers.¹ The camp was most likely constructed in anticipation of military operations against Greece and the subsequent influx of prisoners of war (POWs) and/or arrested civilians. In the following days and months the building site manager, surveyor Mario Ruggieri, constructed the Fushë Arrëz supply center, a furnace, and a group of winterized buildings.² By November 1940, Ruggieri was already engaged in military engineering activities on the Greek-Albanian front during war operations, and construction of the camp's principal structures was probably finished by the end of that month.³

In the aftermath of the occupation of Kosovo and the revolt in Montenegro in 1941, the camp was used to incarcerate Kosovars (Serbs and Montenegrins) as part of the camp system in northern and central Albania.⁴ In the first months of 1942 there were reports of a group of Montenegrins from Pejë being interned at both Pukë and Fushë Arrëz.⁵ Kosovars originally destined for internment at Gërman beginning in January 1942 were sent as well to those two camps because of their additional need for forced labor for road maintenance, particularly building the connection between Krujë and Burrel for which funds had already been obtained.⁶

In response to pressing security needs and to realize efficiencies in the transportation network and the allocation of work assignments, the population held at the camps at Fushë Arrëz and Pukë was later expanded to include "the most destitute and dangerous Serbo-Montenegrin families from Kosovo."⁷ The political authorities decided to transfer these "undesirables"—people deemed dangerous for political reasons—to Prezë.⁸ However, it was first necessary to determine the Albanian government's responsibility for paying for the camps' provisioning. On April 12, after meetings with the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers, the General Lieutenancy, and the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania, an agreement was reached according to which the provisioning of internees of all these camps was "for technical reasons" to be "materially assumed by the Italian military authorities" and later paid for by the Albanian political authorities (also through the companies that employed the workers).⁹ The civilian authorities were also responsible for the "technical modalities regarding provisions," while "military authorities remained in charge of expenses related to the camps' readjustment and health care assistance."¹⁰ According to Generale di Corpo d'Armata Camillo Mercalli, Fushë Arrëz and Pukë received this new wave of internees beginning in early April 1942.¹¹

It is likely that the Fushë Arrëz camp closed in the first half of 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Fushë Arrëz camp under Italian occupation include Silvia Trani, "L'unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento*

delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, trans. Adrian Belton (2003; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) (esp. pp. 290–298 on the forced Albanianization of the new provinces).

Primary sources regarding the Fushë Arrëz concentration camp can be found at AQSH. For the camp construction, see AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D587, pp. 20–29. For the Fushë Arrëz camp in 1942 (especially regarding the Kosovo Montenegrins interned there and in the Pukë camp and the question of provisions), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI220, pp. 37–46; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302 pp. 7–14, 15–22; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 328–337; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74, 112–121.

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D587, pp. 20–29, November 28, 1942.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. For this camp system, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, September 21, 1942.

5. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI220, pp. 37–46, March 9, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302 pp. 7–14, March 23, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 328–337, December 1942.

6. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9, February 7, 1942.

7. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74, March 21, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302, pp. 7–14, March 21, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942.

8. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942 (Mercalli's order given on February 26, 1942).

9. Ibid., April 12, 1942; *ibid.*, pp. 15–22, April 27, 1942.

10. Ibid., pp. 15–22, May 22, 1942.

11. Ibid., March 21, 1942.

GËRMAN

Gërman (Italian: Ghermani, Germani) was a village in today's commune of Komsî, Mat District (Rrethi i Matit), Albania, located over 4 kilometers (almost 3 miles) southwest of Burrel, 14 kilometers (9 miles) northwest of Klos, 30 kilometers (almost 19 miles) northeast of Prezë, and almost 32 kilometers (approximately 20 miles) northeast of Tiranë. Occasionally referred to in documents as Burrel, Gërman was one of five internment camps used by the Italian and Albanian authorities to detain Montenegrins, Serbs, and Bulgarians in the furtherance of "albanization." The other four camps were Kavajë, Klos, Prezë, and Pukë. Some of those camps had already held Montenegrin prisoners of war (POWs).¹ They were located roughly along a diagonal strip extending from central Albania toward Albania's north, from southwest to northeast.

The Gërman camp's history can be divided into three phases. In the first period, it was a POW camp.² The facility was designed to confine Montenegrins serving in the Royal Yugoslav Army and was operated by the Italian Army at least from April 1941.³ The camp held approximately 1,300 people in two separate complexes: one held 800 people in nine buildings, and the second one held 500 detainees in eight buildings.⁴ There are records of several Yugoslavs with Montenegrin nationality being released from the camp in May 1941.⁵

Preparations for the arrival of new prisoners in the camp's second phase began in August 1941. In September as part of a program of albanization, the authorities decided to transfer non-native Montenegrins and Kosovar Serbs from Priština, Pejë, and Gjakovë to Gërman via Shkodër. Jurisdiction over Serbs and Montenegrins, who were concentrated in camps in Kosovo and were to be deported to internment camps in Albania, fell to the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers through the offices of the High Commissioner (*Alto Commissario*). In September 1941, the total number of prisoners in the camp was 1,520.⁶

In September 1941, the Italian military and the Albanian authorities made a joint request to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers that custody for the Serbs and Montenegrins be entrusted to the carabinieri.⁷ This request was granted in November 1941.⁸ In a letter dated December 6, 1941, the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania informed the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG) that there were eight buildings at Gërman for about 500 people that required renovation, whereas the other nine buildings that could accommodate 800 people were ready.⁹ The "POW camp of Ghermani" was officially ceded to local authorities after the approval by Generale di Corpo d'Armata Camillo Mercalli on December 17, 1941.¹⁰ From this day on, the Albanian Interior Ministry had authority over the camp. According to Mercalli's report in January 1942, the Gërman camp was primarily intended to receive Montenegrins who had been concentrated in Pejë.¹¹ In response to pressing security needs, planned infrastructure improvements, and to realize efficiencies in the allocation of work assignments, the population held at the Gërman camp, as well as those at Fushë Arrëz and Pukë, was expanded to include "the most destitute and dangerous Serbo-Montenegrin families from Kosovo."¹²

The Gërman camp was declared ready on March 25, 1942, and was initially set up to accommodate 1,000 people.¹³ On April 12, the Presidency, RLG, and Superior Command FF. AA. Albania decided that its provisioning would be "materially assumed by Italian military authorities," with expenses covered by Albania and the companies deploying forced labor.¹⁴ In the summer of 1942, some forced laborers at Gërman were released and other detainees escaped.¹⁵

The camp's second phase lasted until August 31, 1942. According to the International Tracing Service (ITS), there were 716 male prisoners ages 11 to 80 at Gërman; they were mostly Montenegrins, but also included Serbs and Albanians.¹⁶ Among them, 202 had been arrested in 1941, mostly from July to September, with another 510 arrested in the first five months of

1942. Given that four detainees died and that people from both groups were arrested primarily in Montenegro and Serbia, it is difficult to believe that these figures include the internees transferred from camps in Kosovo to the Gërman, Fushë Arrëz, and Pukë camps. Taking into account the distribution of Serbs and Montenegrin Kosovars in these sites, the Gërman camp must have admitted more Montenegrin detainees coming from Kosovo than were included on the lists prepared for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

The 716 prisoners mentioned in the list were sent to Gërman in different waves—the first on March 14 and the rest in April and May 1942. In many instances they were sent there a short while after their arrest. The inclusion of families in this list would have put the ICRC on notice about the albanization campaign, whereas the listing of only male internees gave the appearance that only resisters were arrested. Of the group present at Gërman during its second phase, 11 were disabled (later transferred to other camps), 50 were liberated, and 4 were taken to prisons or tried by a tribunal. With the camp's closure the remaining detainees were transferred to the camps in Kavajë (230) and Klos (429), between August 31 and October 5, 1942.

The Gërman camp's third period began in September 1942. Continuing police operations rounded up approximately 100 additional men and women. The Presidency then requested the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania to make camps in Gërman and Prezë available for these prisoners.¹⁷ In September 1942, with the transfer of the detainees from the Gërman camp and following the May annexation of the "redeemed lands" (Dibrano, Kosovo, and Mtothija) for Greater Albania, the RLG asked which authorities were responsible for the internees in the five camps.¹⁸ The Albanian Interior Ministry continued to exercise ultimate authority over such camps.

The process of setting up the Gërman camp for the new wave of internees lasted until the end of December 1942. Approximately 700 people, including at least 100 women, were arrested as late as October 1942. In spite of an initial reluctance by the Italian and Albanian authorities, the Albanian Fascist Militia oversaw internal security, and the 95th Carabinieri Battalion ran external security.¹⁹ The previous Gërman camp commandant, Capitano Martire, was nominated to serve again as commander.²⁰ The camp was made available to the Presidency in October and declared ready as of November 21, 1942, when all its installations were handed over to Interior Ministry official Dalip Hysen Kamenica, who was also in charge of provisions.²¹

The deportation of detainees to Italy continued during the camp's third period. Toward the end of 1942, several internees from the Gërman and Klos camps were sent to the Prezë and Kavajë camps and from there to Bari, Italy, where they were dispersed to camps on the Italian peninsula. Some Italian Interior Ministry documents from 1943 indicated that the camp's security was initially entrusted to Italian Ninth Army soldiers, who were subsequently replaced by 80 carabinieri used "for the external security of prisons in Burrel and the concentration camp of Germani."²² On March 26, 1943, the Pukë

camp, which held male and female Serbian Kosovars, Montenegrins, and Orthodox priests deemed politically dangerous, was closed and its detainees were transferred to Gërman.²³ In June 1943 several Bulgarian Jews were sent to Gërman; they came from Manastir and were sent to the camp by order of the Elbasan police.²⁴

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Gërman camp and Italian-occupied Albania are Silvia Trani, “L’unione tra l’Italia e l’Albania (1939–1943),” *Clio*, 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, “Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile,” in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L’internamento civile nell’Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism’s European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Poruke: Zapisi iz zice: Jusovaca, Kucà, Rogosica, Skadar-Tepa, Bari, Foda, Kolfiorito di Folino* (Tito-grad: Istorijski Institut sr Crne Gore, 1998); Silvia Trani, ed., *L’Unione fra l’Albania e l’Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* (Rome: Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); and Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën bebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012), pp. 202–230. For Montenegrins interned in different camps in Albania, including Gërman, see Federico Goddi, *Fronte Montenegro: Occupazione italiana e giustizia militare (1941–1943)* (Gorizia, Leg, 2016).

Primary sources documenting the Gërman camp can be found at AQSH and at ITS. For general information about Gërman, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121. For the first period of the camp (also its general capacity and structures), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9; and AQSH, F267, Komisariat i Lartë Civil për Kosovë, Strugë e Dibër, V1941, D67, pp. 1–102. For the second period (preparation and equipment, Kosovo inmates, the entrusted authorities, etc.), see AQSH, F267 Komisariat i Lartë Civil për Kosovë, Strugë e Dibër, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, D I/302, pp. 7–14; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46 (about the Montenegrins at Vermosh); AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 85–93; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I-303, pp. 234–242; AQSH, F166 Ministria e Tokave të Lirume, V1942, D64, pp. 1–49; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D86, pp. 19–30 (on communists and rebels, and releases and jailbreaks at Gërman); ITS, I.1.14.1, folder 1 (for the list of second-phase prisoners submitted to ICRC). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. On the third period (preparation and equipment, inmates, camp staff, Bulgarian Jewish inmates), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–18; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I/302, pp. 31, 38, 39–42, 43–44, 45, 46–47, 49, 51, 52–53, 56–57; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D465, pp. 2–3;

AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policisë, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51; and AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1943, D79, pp. 54–64. A published prisoner testimony is Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Kolfiorito 1943* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004).

Tommaso Dell’Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, lettera della RLG alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri e al Ministero degli Interni albanesi, September 21, 1942.
2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, lettera di Camillo Mercalli, il Generale Comandante Superiore delle FF. AA. in Albania, alla RLG, December 16, 1941.
3. Di ufficiali montenegrini dell’esercito jugoslavo internati a Gërman si ha notizia ancora nell’ottobre 1941, *ibid.*, pp. 55–102.
4. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, December 16, 1941.
5. AQSH, F267, Komisariat i Lartë Civil për Kosovë, Strugë e Dibër, V1941, D67, pp. 1–54, September 3, 1941.
6. *Ibid.*
7. AQSH, F267 Komisariat i Lartë Civil për Kosovë, Strugë e Dibër, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101, September 17, 20, 1941.
8. Quest’appunto citava espressamente i baraccamenti della zona di Burrel (AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, November 22 1941).
9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, comunicazione, December 6, 1941.
10. *Ibid.*, documento, in cui si parla della Sottoprefettura di Burreli, ovvio riferimento al titolo, più corretto, di Mat, December 17, 1941.
11. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9, relazione di Mercalli, February 7, 1942.
12. Per la citazione, AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74, comunicazione di Mercalli alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri albanese, March 21, 1942 (stesso documento in AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, D I/302, pp. 7–14. Per i campi citati - che avrebbero accolto sia i lavoratori sia le loro famiglie - e per la ripartizione dei lavori, *Ibid.*, lettera di Mercalli alla stessa Presidenza, April 12, 1942).
13. *Ibid.*, documento, March 21, 1942.
14. *Ibid.*, documento, April 12, 1942; la Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri albanese assunse ufficialmente l’impegno sul trasferimento degli internati e il loro vettovagliamento alla fine del mese (lettera della Presidenza al Comando Superiore FF. AA. in Albania, April 27, 1942); il carteggio della fine di marzo 1942 in AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46.
15. AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D86, pp. 19–30, documento in cui i detenuti sono ancora definiti PG, August 14, 1942.
16. ITS, I.1.14.1, folder 1, “Liste von Internierten, die am 31.8.1942 im KZ-Lager Kavaje und Kloss (Albanien) noch inhaftiert waren,” October 5, 1942, Doc. Nos. 459377–459396, stamped ICRC.
17. La scelta delle due località era stata decisa durante colloqui tra Mercalli e Mustafa Merlika Kruja (AQSH, F149

Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–9, documento del capo dell'Ufficio Militare della Presidenza albanese, colonnello Maddi, September 14, 1942); per il riferimento alle operazioni di polizia cfr. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I/302, p. 31, documento, October 7, 1942.

18. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, September 21, 1942.

19. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I/302, pp. 31, 43–44, 45, 49, 51, documenti, October 7, 21, 31, November 2, 1942.

20. Ibid., October 31, 1942.

21. Ibid., pp. 38, 45, 49, 46–47, 51, 52–53, 56–57, documenti, October 14, 31; November 2, 17; December 9, 1942.

22. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D465, pp. 2–3 comunicazione del 16 giugno 1943 dell'Ufficio Politico del Ministero dell'Interno albanese alla RLG.

23. Ibid., p. 2 documento, March 29, 1943.

24. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51, documento, June 1943; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1943, D79, pp. 54–64, documento, in albanese, June 29, 1943 (la struttura è denominata “Campo di concentramento di Gërman, Burrel”).

KAVAJË

Kavajë (Italian: Kavaja) is a city in west central Albania that is located more than 27 kilometers (17 miles) southwest of Tiranë. Beginning in 1939, the camp operated as a place of internment for both Albanians and the families of fugitives.¹ After the July 1941 revolt in Montenegro, Kavajë was one of five concentration camps, along with Klos, Prezë, Pukë, and Gërman, where the Italian Army interned so-called Kosovar undesirables and elements deemed dangerous to public security, along with Montenegrin hostages and rebels.² Located in a malarial area, it consisted of dilapidated wooden houses capable of housing 250 to 300 people. The Italian Army directed the camp with a major in charge, in addition to four lower ranked officers and a garrison for security. Since the camp was isolated and well suited for establishing the necessary surveillance, the Permanent Police Counselor also identified Kavajë as an ideal place for the concentration of foreign Jews residing in Albania, who were already subject to the expulsion provision of April 1940 issued by the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG). This measure was not initially executed because of the closure of the borders by the neighboring countries and the state of war.³

A proposition by the Permanent Police Counselor in July 1941 to institute a sole concentration camp for foreign Jews in Albania (with Kavajë as the implied choice) was, in principle, received with favor by the RLG in August 1941. The plan was never realized despite coming up again in subsequent months. Instead, a special service dealing with reports and information on foreign Jews was established at RLG's request,⁴ and a large number of foreign Jews were interned and forced into compulsory residence in Berat during the conflict with Greece.⁵

A group of 192 foreign Jews were sent to the camp by the end of July 1941. They were mostly from Serbia and Bosnia and

had been rounded up in Montenegro on July 22 and 23. They were then locked up and held on the confiscated steamboat *Re Alessandro*. Subsequently, they were transferred onto another boat, the *Kumanovo*, which on July 26 headed toward the port of Durazzo according to the orders of the Italian prefect in Albania, Francesco Scassellati Sforzolini. On July 28, the ship arrived in port, and on the instructions of the local prefect of Cattaro, the refugees were transported by coach to the Kavajë camp where the military authorities took over.⁶

These refugees, interned separately from other Kavajë detainees, came from all the neighboring countries as well as several Central European nations. They comprised 192 people (83 women, 14 children, 12 elderly, and 83 adults capable of work). The professions represented among them included merchants, industrialists, and sales representatives, and many were students.⁷ In the course of their brief stay at Kavajë, the 192 Jewish refugees called on several Italian Jewish communities asking for aid, release, or free internment (*confino libre*) in Italy. In September 1941, they secured support from the Union of the Italian Jewish Community (*Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane*, UCII) and the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM).⁸ The refugees stayed at the camp for only about three months until October 1941, when 187 of them were transferred to Durazzo and, then after arriving in Bari, were dispatched to the Ferramonti di Tarsia concentration camp.⁹ Previously, two detainees had been hospitalized in Tiranë, and one had been declared a citizen of Croatia and thus authorized to return temporarily to Dubrovnik under escort. In November two internees were liberated after being recognized as being of the “Aryan” race and Germanic origin.¹⁰

On February 8, 1942, the Albanian Office of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Cabinet announced that, following the requests of the UCII addressed to the RLG, the Kavajë concentration camp was to be closed.¹¹ However, the camp continued to be used for compulsory residence and the detention of hostages and civilian internees brought there in January and February 1942¹² and of individuals and families of Albanian fugitives sent there in March 1942¹³; another wave of deportees arrived in July. As of July 28, 1942, there were 859 detainees interned at Kavajë: most were Montenegrins who had been captured in Montenegro between July 1941 and May 1942, but they also included Bosniaks, several Serbs and Croats, at least one Kosovar, one Russian, and five born in the United States. Among them was probably at least one Jew. The internees ranged from 13 to 76 years old. Thirty-nine disabled people and 22 hospitalized (including one disabled) detainees were released on July 20, and 3 more internees were released on July 23.¹⁴ There is also mention of several Serbian Jewish refugees in Kosovo who were sent to Kavajë before August 1942 (although it is not clear whether they stayed inside the camp or were forced into compulsory residence in the town).¹⁵

In August 1942, 230 detainees from the Gërman camp were transferred to Kavajë.¹⁶ As was clear from several testimonies, many were soon liberated or transferred to other camps in Italy. According to one source, there were 120 people interned at the

camp of Kavaja in September 1942, receiving 5 lek per day as an allowance.¹⁷ Furthermore, the question of who had authority over the camp's detainees was finally resolved in the same month, with the Albanian Interior Ministry assuming responsibility over all internees belonging under the Albanian authorities and the governorship of Montenegro taking charge of all internees coming from their jurisdiction, even those who had later been transferred elsewhere.¹⁸ This transfer of authority allowed for an acceleration of revision and repatriation procedures (meaning a change in internment status) for the Montenegrins who were deemed not dangerous and not undesirable.

In early 1943, a number of foreign Jews were forced into compulsory residence in Kavajë, apparently in accord with a letter issued by the Central Police Command in August 1942.¹⁹ The camp continued to be used to hold foreign Jews, Montenegrins, and Serbs until July 1943. Several sources suggest that Kavajë consisted of several sections within one camp.²⁰ According to Italian police sources, as of April 30, 1943, of the approximately 400 foreign Jews in Albania, 79 were interned at Kavajë (another 29 were detained at Krujë, and still more were kept in forced residence or resided in different municipalities across the country, including Tiranë). Most of the foreign Jews originated from occupied Yugoslavia, with smaller numbers coming from Bulgaria, Greece, Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, Poland, Spain, and Croatia.

At the end of May 1943, there were 195 Jews at the camp. The Italian police were concerned by the Albanian authorities' frequent interventions in the internees' favor. Such intercessions often led either to release from the camp, with subsequent transfer to Tiranë or elsewhere, or provided concessions that gave the internees greater freedom of movement and made possible their participation in different economic activities. The police were also worried about the lack of surveillance in the Kavajë camp. This issue became more serious because of overcrowding. According to analyses by antisemites among the police, the large inmate population gave rise to dangerous "grouping centers."²¹ In June 1943, the camp became so full that it could no longer accommodate more detainees.²²

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Kavajë camp are Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Ferramonti: La vita e gli uomini del più grande campo d'internamento fascista (1940–1945)* (Florence: La Giuntina, 1987); Silvia Trani, "L'unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma* (Rome: Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali, Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); Capogreco, "I profughi ebrei rastrellati in Montenegro nel luglio 1941 e il loro internamento in Albania e in

Italia," in Laura Brazzo and Michele Sarfatti, eds., *Gli ebrei in Albania sotto il fascismo: Una storia da ricostruire* (Florence: La Giuntina, 2010), pp. 153–167; and Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012).

Primary sources regarding the Kavajë concentration camp can be found at AQSH, VaB, ITS, ACS, ASMAE, and other Italian archives (AUCEI; ACDEC). For Kavajë as a place of confinement and compulsory residence for Albanians since 1939, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1939, DI-21, pp. 341–350; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1940, D14–15, p. 126; AQSH, F154 KPK, V1942, D7, pp. 1–11; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306, pp. 1–8. For general information in 1941 about Kavajë and the other four internment camps, see AQSH, F149, Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121. For Kavajë as the planned concentration camp for all the foreign Jews in Albania and their surveillance, see AQSH, F153 DQP, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F161/9 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D943; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D157, pp. 1–7. On the 192 Jewish refugees captured in Montenegro and interned in Kavajë concentration camp, see AQSH, F153 DQP, V1941, D160, pp. 34–36; VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 551 f. 1, d. 28–48, f. 2, d. 1–29; K. 551A, f. 4, d. 1–37; K. 542, f. 11, d. 16; K. 544, f. 5, d. 17; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 10; ASMAE, SSAA, B. 66; AUCEI, Attività dell'Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane dal 1934, DELASEM Series, B. 45C (ex 44 M), fasc. 4 Assistenza a internati; ACDEC, Fondo Israele Kalk, VII/1-II, 2. For the confinement of a great number of foreign Jews in Berat in forced residence during the war against Greece, see AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D79, XH 504–505. On the camp in the first half of 1942, see ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania; AQSH, F203 Drejtorja e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D997/2, pp. 1–56; AQSH, F235 Prefektura e Durrësit, V1941, D176; AQSH, F203 Drejtorja e Përgjithshme and KKSH, V1942, D997/3; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 170–174. Information about inmates interned in the Kavajë camp between July and September 1942 can be found at ITS, 1.1.32.1, Doc. Nos. 459397–459434 (1–36); and ITS, 1.1.32.1, Doc. Nos. 459377–459396 (1–20). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. See also AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 304–314. On the resolution of the administrative question for all the five camps including Kavajë, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121. On the Kavajë camp in 1943, see AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D79, XH 503, 505; AQSH, F153 DQP, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51; and ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania. A published testimony is Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943*, ed. Dino Renato Nardelli, trans. Olga Simcic (1988; Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004).

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1939, DI-21, pp. 341–350; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14–15, p. 126; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D7, pp. 1–11; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306, pp. 1–8.
2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121, September 21, 1942.
3. AQSH, F153 DQP, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F161/9 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D943, January–July 1941.
4. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D157, pp. 1–7, March 10, 1942.
5. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, XH 504–505, August 1940–June 1941.
6. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1941, D160, pp. 34–36; VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 551 f. 1, d. 28–48, f. 2, d. 1–29; K. 551A, f. 4, d. 1–37; K. 542, f. 11, d. 16; K. 544, f. 5, d. 17; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania, B. 10; ASd-MAE, SSAA, B. 66.
7. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania.
8. AUCEI, Attività dell'Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane dal 1934, Delasem Series, B. 45C (ex 44 M), fasc. 4 Assistenza a internati.
9. Ibid.; ACDEC, Fondo Israele Kalk, VII/1-II, 2.
10. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. A16 Stranieri ed ebrei stranieri, B. 8, fasc. D/17 Ebrei stranieri internati in Albania.
11. Ibid.
12. AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D997/3; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 170–174.
13. AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D997/2, pp. 1–56; AQSH, F235 Prefektura e Durrësit, V1941, D176.
14. "Liste von Internierten die am 28. 7. 1942 im KZ-Lager Kavaje noch inhaftiert waren," ITS, 1.1.32.1, Doc. Nos. 459397–459434.
15. AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 68–69.
16. "Liste von Internierten, die am 31.8.1942 im KZ-Lager Kavaje und Kloss (Albanien) noch inhaftiert waren, in realtà: Elenco internati Campo Concentramento di Ghermani Aggiornato a tutto il 31 agosto 1942, Soppresso e trasferiti nel campo di Kavaje e nel campo di Kloss," October 5, 1942, ITS, 1.1.32.1, Doc. Nos. 459377–459396.
17. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 304–314.
18. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121.
19. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, XH 503, 505; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.
20. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.
21. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania.
22. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.

KLOS

Klos is a city in Albania's north central region lying on the Mat River, approximately 30 kilometers (19 miles) northeast of Tiranë and just over 13 kilometers (8 miles) southeast of the town of Burrel. According to historian Davide Rodogno, following the occupation of western and central Kosovo (along with other territories in Macedonia and Montenegro), the Italian authorities engaged substantially in the forced "albanization" of the region, in the process ethnically cleansing the Serb, Montenegrin, and Bulgarian minorities. To facilitate this action, it was thought necessary by "local military authorities to treat a certain number of internees as undesirable elements dangerous to public security."¹ After the Montenegrin revolt that broke out in the summer of 1941, "there were also many Montenegrin hostages and rebels sent to Albania by the Governorship of Montenegro for reasons of security and alleviation of the then logistical situation."²

The regional defense command of Albania decided to intern such people by deporting them to five internment camps: Klos, Kavajë, Prezë, Pukë, and Gërman. Some of these camps already held Montenegrins as prisoners of war (POWs).³ These camps were located roughly along a diagonal strip extending from central Albania toward the north, from southwest to northeast.

The Klos camp probably opened in the summer of 1941 under Italian military control.⁴ In the first period of the camp's existence, the barracks confined approximately 2,000 internees, mostly Montenegrins and Serbian Kosovars. The prisoners were further classified into several categories (undesirable, dangerous, hostages, and rebels). The majority of inmates were civilians, although there were also some soldiers from the Royal Yugoslav Army; the detainees included many members of the Yugoslav Communist Party and Montenegrin or Serbian Jews. The site is described as a POW camp, which likely was its original function before the summer of 1941. Such distinctions are not always fine, especially in Albania given the continually evolving nature of the camps informed by events in the war and the decisions taken by foreign governments, mainly around the border areas.⁵

As a result of overcrowding and the lack of properly equipped internment camps in Albania, the authorities initiated transfers of several internees to the "old provinces" (Italy). According to Rodogno, those transferred were predominantly communists, whereas interned families, the elderly, women, children, and the sick remained in camps in Albania and Montenegro.⁶ Between January and late February 1942, at least six groups of internees from Albania, of approximately 50 individuals each and composed largely of Montenegrins, communists, or anti-Italians, were transferred from the Klos camp to Zara via Cattaro, to be sent later to camps elsewhere

in Italy.⁷ A female Montenegrin internee from the Klos camp was hospitalized in June 1942 by the military authorities at the Valona hospital's Department of Psychiatry for signs of "psychosis while in a state of excitement."⁸

After the May 1942 annexation of the "liberated lands" (Dibranë, Kosovo, and Metohija) for Greater Albania, in September 1942 the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG) asked the Albanian Presidency of the Council of Ministers which authority was responsible for the internees in the five camps. This situation was all the more urgent, given the lack of "provisions defining a government that would entertain jurisdiction over the prisoners as well as the scope of measures due to be taken against them."⁹ The military authorities claimed that the internees were the responsibility of RLG and that it should act accordingly. However, the RLG assigned responsibility to the Albanian Interior Ministry for "interned elements that fall under the Albanian authority, or, that operate within the territory of the Kingdom of Albania—and therefore relate to military authorities subordinated to the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania—even if said elements have been subsequently sent to Albania or Italy."¹⁰

From this point on, these two bodies, the RLG and the Albanian Interior Ministry, were responsible for provisions in regard to internees. The issue was pressing because the internment facilities were "often set up rather hastily." Their new task was to reduce the number of internees on a case-by-case basis.¹¹ The complexity of Italo-Albanian institutional relations, established after the occupation, had a profound effect on the living conditions and fate of internees in the Italian camps in Albania.

There were two phases in the Klos camp. The first phase, from July 1941 to fall 1942, involved the camp's formation, the inflow of prisoners, the structure's regular functioning until the transfer of many internees to Italy, and the definitive assignment of the camp under the Albanian Interior Ministry. The second period ran from the fall of 1942 until March 1943.¹² Sources from the Italian Red Cross (*Croce Rossa Italiana*, CRI) listed 904 Montenegrin internees at Klos as of mid-February 1942; on July 31, 1942, the number of Montenegrins increased to 1,200, of whom 300 were women.¹³ According to a document submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), dated July 28, 1942, there were 662 women and children interned at Klos.¹⁴ The deportations of detainees to Italy continued during the second phase, following changes in internment sites and for reasons of security and space. However, the route of these deportations differed from earlier ones: toward the end of 1942 some internees (in particular the Montenegrins) were sent from the Gërman and Klos camps to the Kavajë and Prezë, and, from there, to Durazzo and Bari where they were dispatched to camps on the Italian mainland.

Toward the end of February and the beginning of March 1943 the Albanian Red Cross (*Kryqit të Kuq Shqiptar*, KKSH), which already had learned about the situation in Klos in the preceding months, reported to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) about the "imminent dissolution of the internment camp in Klos."¹⁵ The Prisoners Office,

a research service associated with the Italian Red Cross, took the opportunity to request from the KKSH, the Italian Interior Ministry, and the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry the whereabouts of those internees who were transferred, the numbers of military and civilian detainees, as well as what other camps existed in Albania. In late March the Italian Interior Ministry responded that Klos and the other camps in Albania were not under its jurisdiction.¹⁶ By that time the Klos camp had most likely closed.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Klos camp and the political, economic, and cultural situation in Albania under the Italian occupation are Silvia Trani, "L'unione tra l'Italia e l'Albania (1939–1943)," *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Silvia Trani, ed., *L'Unione fra l'Albania e l'Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* (Rome: Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); and Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Poruke: Zapisi iz zice: Jusovaca, Kucà, Rogosica, Skadar-Tepa, Bari, Foda, Kolfiorito di Folinjo* (Titograd: Istorijski Institut sr Crne Gore, 1998).

Primary sources documenting the Klos camp can be found at AQSH; VaB; A-CICR; ITS (1.1.14.1, folder 1) and ACS, ASMAE. For general information about Klos and the other four camps, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D 1-1198, pp. 112–121; for more on Klos, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 66–85. For Bulgarian inmates at the Klos camp and its temporary function as a POW camp, see AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56 (see this fond also for the KKSH request for information on the Klos camp). Information about Montenegrins interned in Albanian camps and those deported to Italian camps can be found at A-CICR, G 17/501, B. 139, March 13, 1942 (J. Pictet to R. Voegeli) and July 31, 1942 (Note pour M. Voegeli: internés monténégrins en Albanie); ASMAE, GABAP, B. 52 (for the latter topic, see also VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 559, f. 6, d. 31 and d. 35). For Klos as an internment camp, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 140–159. Information about the closing of the Klos camp can be found at ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 110, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 1 (Affari generali), Ins. 47 (Campi di concentramento) in Albania. Additional documentation about the Klos camp can be found in ITS, 1.1.14.1 (Lager in Italien und Albanien), available in digital form at USHMM. A published prisoner testimony is Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004).

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, lettera della RLG alla Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri e al Ministero degli Interni albanesi, September 21, 1942.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino*, p. 7.
5. On the presence of Bulgarians during the period preceding June 1942, see AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e Kryqit Kuq Shqiptar, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56.
6. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino*, pp. 38, 40.
7. VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 559, f. 6, d. 31 and d. 35.
8. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 66–85.
9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 112–121, September, 21 1942.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 140–159.
13. Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, p. 357, citing A-CICR, G 17/501, B. 139, March 13, 1942 (J. Pictet to R. Voegeli) and July 31, 1942 (Note pour M. Voegeli: internés monténégrins en Albanie).
14. ICRC, “Internati: donne e bambini (di età inferior ai 10 anni) del Campo Concentramento ai Kloss,” July 28, 1942, ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. Nos. 459343–459375.
15. AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56.
16. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4 (Mobilitazione civile), B. 110, fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), s. fasc. 1 (Affari generali), Ins. 47 (Campi di concentramento) in Albania.

KOLONJË

Kolonjë (Italian: Kolonja or Kolonia) is a municipality in western Albania located on the Myzeqe Plains some 11 kilometers (almost 7 miles) north of Fier and 60 kilometers (37 miles) southwest of Tiranë. During the Italian occupation, the town was in the Berat Prefecture and the Fier sub-prefecture. Kolonjë was established as a prisoner of war (POW) camp and first appears in official documents in late August 1941. Because the POWs were transferred only a few months after they were captured, and given the camp's location in Albania, inland and far removed from the southern border, it is plausible that Kolonjë was actually built before this date, most likely at the time of the Italian conflict against Greece. Indeed, a surveyor's report from November 1942 indicated that the Italian Army contracted for its construction as early as September 1940.¹ The camp consisted of several buildings owned by the sub-prefect of Fier, Hasan Delvina, who allowed the military to use the structures as a POW camp.²

After the transfer of the POWs, the camp was temporarily closed. However, on November 18, 1941, the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania reactivated the camp by transferring a group of “ex-Yugoslav” civilian detainees from the Peqin camp. The buildings were returned to their original owner, Delvina, and thus responsibility for the provision of camp supplies and

the guards reverted to the Berat Prefecture.³ The prisoners initially consisted of 137 Kosovar civilians sent to Peqin by order of the military and civilian authorities in Kosovo.⁴ They originated primarily from the areas of Prizren and Uroševac (Albanian: Ferizaj). Twenty-five of them, probably all Serbs, were released before the transfer to Kolonjë following a first revision in their confinement status.⁵ Another group of 26 prisoners came mostly from Priština, Pejë, and Prizren. This group, ages 21 to 70, consisted of 15 Serbs, 8 Croats, and 3 Montenegrins. The remaining group of 86 people, ages 23 to 69, came from Peć and Priština: this group included 49 Montenegrins, 30 Serbs, 3 Russians, 2 Croats, 1 Bulgarian, and 1 Bosniak, all of different occupational backgrounds.⁶ According to Generale di Corpo d'Armata Camillo Mercalli, the transfer to Kolonjë, which took place in late January 1942, was effected for the following reasons: “(a) to vacate the school premises in Peqin (. . .); (b) as the arrangements at Peqin were only provisional, to find a better placement for the internees; (c) to facilitate the abovementioned process of revision (of status) and assignment.”⁷ Mercalli claimed that the buildings in Kolonjë were “vacated and without need of repairs.”⁸

But Kolonjë soon turned out to be only a temporary waystation for these detainees. As early as February 2, 1942, the Albanian Interior Ministry ordered the transfer of the detainees to Fier for four reasons. First, the buildings at Kolonjë were found to be uninhabitable. Second, the estimated repair costs would have been too high. Third, flooding on the Myzeqe Plains produced the dual effects of isolating Kolonjë from Fier and simultaneously contaminating the drinking water.⁹ Finally, the plains were malarial.¹⁰ The transfer of detainees and the camp's evacuation took place between February 11 and 14, 1942.¹¹ On February 18, Mercalli ordered that all the buildings were to be immediately demolished and the recovered material taken to the military warehouse in Valona, thus effectively putting an end to the Kolonjë internment camp.¹²

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Kolonjë internment camp can be found in AQSH. For Kolonjë as a POW camp, see AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D587, pp. 20–29; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–18. For Kolonjë as an internment camp in late 1941 and the “ex-Yugoslav” inmates coming from Peqin, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–27; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103. For the camp's closure and the return of the inmates to the Fier internment camp, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–38, 94–103; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 1–6.

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D587, pp. 20–29, Report of Mario Ruggieri, November 28, 1942.
2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–18, Political Office and Albanian Interior Ministry report, December 15, 1941.

3. Ibid., November 28, 1941; December 13, 15, 19, and 24, 1941; *ibid.*, pp. 19–27, December 24, 1941 and January 6, 1942.
4. Ibid., pp. 10–18, December 19, 1941; *ibid.*, pp. 19–27, January 16, 1942.
5. Ibid., January 19, 22, and 26, 1942.
6. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103, February 11 and 27, 1942.
7. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 19–27, Mercalli letter to the Albanian Interior Ministry, January 16, 1942.
8. Ibid., pp. 10–18, November 28, 1941.
9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 31–38, Telegram, Albanian Interior Ministry to Berat Prefecture, February 2, 1942; other documents: *ibid.*, February 2 and 4, 1942.
10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 1–6, February 18, 1942.
11. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103, February 11, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 1–6, February 14, 1942.
12. Ibid., February 18 and 26, 1942.

KRUJA

Kruja (Albanian: Krujë) is located in central Albania, more than 20 kilometers (almost 13 miles) north of Tiranë. It is unclear precisely (whether in 1940 or 1941) when the Italian authorities in Albania opened the Kruja concentration camp (*Campo di concentramento internati di Kruja*) 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) from the city. The city of Kruja was also a place of residence with compulsory surveillance (*domicilio obbligatorio con vigilanza*). According to contemporary legislation, all individuals sent to Kruja were either ordinary criminals or their relatives, political detainees, or people detained for “racial” reasons. Some inmates were foreign Jews: one was David Thiano, who sought medical treatment in Italy, but, after staying in a hospital for two months, was transferred to the Kruja camp in April 1941. A number of other inmates were the relatives of common criminals, imprisoned to encourage criminals to give themselves up. For example, in 1940, the family of an absconded Albanian criminal responsible for inflicting serious injuries on his victims was interned at Kruja; the family members were released as soon as their escaped relative was apprehended. Such detention was in keeping with the provisions of the Italian military authorities: families of absconded criminals were interned in camps far away from their homes or even sent to Italy, and often their houses were burned down and property destroyed or confiscated to force criminals to give themselves up.¹

The Kruja camp functioned until 1943 under the direction of the Albanian authorities. At least in 1941, it is likely that the local police chief, Qemil Sefa, served as the camp’s director. In April 1941, there were 89 inmates in the camp, most of whom, if not all, were Greek Jews residing in Albania. All of them had been transferred from the Shikora Villa camp to the Kruja camp on April 9, 1941; the last one from this group arrived in Kruja, after staying since late February in the Shkodër hospital, on April 12.² According to some Italian sources, the

number of foreign Jews present in Albania at the end of April 1943 stood at 400, of whom the majority were “ex-Yugoslavs”; the rest were Bulgarians, Greeks, Germans, Russians, Poles, Spaniards, and Croats. In all, 108 were interned in camps, including 79 in Kavaja and 29 in Kruja (the others were subject to the provision of compulsory residence in several main towns of the country).³ Hence, Kruja was one of the main places for the detention of foreign Jews in Albania.⁴

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Kruja camp are Apostol Kotani, *Shqiptarët dhe Hebrenjtë në shekuj* (Tiranë: Shoqata e Miqësisë Shqipëri-Izrael, 2007); and Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare. Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012).

Primary sources documenting the Kruja concentration camp can be found at AQSH and ACS. For information about the internment of civilians in concentration camps and in towns in the country, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria V1943 D I-1198, pp. 65–74, March 14, 1942; for internment in Kruja, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1939, D I-21, pp. 1–8; and AQSH, F154 Komanda Karabinierisë, V1940, D14, pp. 24–31. Information on the Kruja camp in 1941 can be found in AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policisë, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51, January–April 1941; and AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policisë V1940 D63, pp. 1–53, April 1941. Information on the Kruja camp in 1943 can be found in ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana (1939–1943), B. 6, fasc. 10, Movimento ebraico in Albania, Ebrei in Albania, Report April 20, 1943.

Tommaso Dell’Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 65–74, March 14, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1939, DI-21, pp. 1–8; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14, pp. 24–31.
2. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policisë, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51, January–April, 1941; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policisë, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53, April, 1941.
3. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana (1939–1943), B. 6, fasc. 10, Movimento ebraico in Albania, Ebrei in Albania, Report April 20, 1943.
4. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policisë, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51, 162, 165, May 1943.

KUKËS

Kukës (Italian: Kukes) is a town in Albania’s northeast, located almost 32 kilometers (17 miles) southwest of Prizren, Kosovo, and more than 96 kilometers (almost 60 miles) northeast of Tiranë. It is the seat of Kukës County. According to historians Davide Rodogno and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, the Italian authorities established a camp at Kukës to imprison Montenegrin civilian detainees. According to historian Dragan S. Nenezić, however, there were also Serbs and Macedonians

present in the camp. Given the large number of Montenegrins present at Kukës, it is plausible that the camp was established as early as 1941, if not earlier, following the Italian occupation of Yugoslavia that encompassed the territories of Montenegro, Kosovo, and Macedonia.

As with similar sites in Albania, Kukës was probably used initially as a prisoner of war (POW) camp under military administration before being repurposed for the confinement of other detainees, such as political prisoners. The camp was located along a line extending from Albania's northwest to northeast that included other camps as well: Shkodër, Pukë, and Fushë Arrëz. Thus far, documents do not indicate an intention on the authorities' part to construct concentration camps precisely along this northern line. Considering the extreme importance and sensitivity of the borderland, however, it is very likely that the decision to build these camps in these locations was intentional.

In 1940, the provincial police headquarters in Kukës responded to a request from Tiranë for information about the town's Jewish population, noting that there were no Jewish residents present in the province.¹ Nonetheless, due to the subsequent events of war, the increased number of detainees in the camp, and the influx of refugees from surrounding areas, the presence of Jews in the camp (and the entire region in general) was likely.

Currently, the archival sources relating to the Kukës camp are scant. Some documents from the second half of 1941 show that one of Kukës's functions was to serve both as a gathering and transit camp for prisoners coming from the nearby areas, mainly Kosovo, before subsequent transfers to other Italian-built camps across Albania, such as Peqin.² It is most likely for this reason that the Kukës camp was referred to in a document of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) dated July 31, 1942, as a detention site in Albania with more than 4,000 Montenegrins. This information was based on a report by the Albanian Red Cross (*Kryqi i Kuq Shqiptar*; KKSH) that, when possible, monitored the camp and reported on the presence of detainees.³

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the Kukës camp are Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Kukës concentration camp can be found in AQSH and A-CICR. For information on the absence of Jews residing in the Kukës province, see AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, August 22, 1940. On Kukës as a probable transit camp for the further deportation of inmates to other Italian-run concentration camps in Albania, see AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 1–54. Information about Montenegrins interned in the Kukës camp can

be found at A-CICR, G 17/501, B. 139, July 31, 1942. For news on one inmate in the camp given by the KKSH, see AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56, September 1942.

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, August 22, 1940.
2. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 1–54.
3. AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56, September 1942.

PEJË

Pejë (Italian: Pec; Serbian: Peć) is a historic city in western Kosovo, approximately 153 kilometers (95 miles) northwest of Tiranë and more than 72 kilometers (45 miles) west of Priština. Together with Prizren and Gjakova, Pejë was a center of the Metohija, a historic region ceded to Albania after the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia along with portions of Montenegro (namely the city of Plav; Albanian: Pllavë). As confirmed by some Italian testimonies in late May 1941, the region's main cities served as destinations for Slavic Kosovars taking refuge from Albanian persecution. With the handover of civilian power to the Albanian High Commissioner, there was also a transfer of oversight to the Albanians regarding Serbs and Montenegrins concentrated in the military sectors of Prizren, Pejë, Gjakova, and Priština.¹ In fact, camps were created in these and other places to concentrate Slavic refugees already residing in Kosovo, as well as refugees later fleeing from the surrounding areas. In early September 1941, the camps of Pejë and Gjakova incarcerated 906 Serbs and 317 Montenegrins classified as nonnative. Seventy-six trucks were needed for the transport of both the people and some 40 tons of supplies. According to the directions of the Albanian High Commissioner Feizi Alizoti, the refugees had to be sent from Kosovo to the Gërman (Burrel) camp via Shkodër.² Based on other sources, in November 1941 the camps of Pejë, Gjakova, and Prizren imprisoned 1,600 Serbs and Montenegrins.³

On September 21, 1941, after a petition filed by the Serbian and Montenegrin families outlining the disastrous living conditions in the Priština camp, the Italian Army, along with the Albanian High Commissioner, drew up a plan of assistance for the Montenegrin and Serbian refugees from Kosovo concentrated at Pejë, Plav, and Priština. According to this plan, the Albanian prefect, the local party representative (*Federale*), and an inspector from the Albanian Fascist Party (*Partia Fashiste Shqiptarë*, PFSH) assisted by Italian authorities were to be in charge of providing this assistance. These officials were responsible for identifying refugees deemed harmless by the regime, who were then to be allowed to receive care from their local friends and families under carabinieri supervision. In addition, the officials were supposed to find a "humane" way of

supporting the others who remained in the camps and surrounding areas. This support included providing the heads of families with a daily cash allowance (3 lek for one person, 8 lek for two-member families, and 1 lek more for each additional member) payable once a week through local PFSH agents, carabinieri, and military authorities. The PFSH was to provide assistance to sick children and infants, whereas medical assistance was assigned to communal health care officials.⁴ However, it appears that this program was only marginally realized, if at all.

In the fall of 1941 and most likely earlier, the Serbian and Montenegrin Kosovars were joined by Slavs from Serbia and Montenegro, as well as Jews fleeing Nazi persecution in Serbia and elsewhere. Carabinieri maintained information on the continuous movement of Jewish families from Kosovo from November 1941 onward.⁵ In December, the Prizren Prefecture confirmed the presence of both Jews who sought to remain in Kosovo and the Serbian relatives of native Serbs.⁶ In January 1942, Mustafa Merlika Kruja, president of the Albanian Council of Ministers, reported on other Jewish refugees with false documents, as well as Serbs and Montenegrins moving to Pejë. Many of these refugees were arrested for political or public security reasons before being dispatched to camps in Albania, such as Prezë.⁷ The enormous influx of people was an opportunity for the Albanian authorities to accelerate the process of forced albanization in Kosovo and of ethnically cleansing the region of Serbs and Montenegrins. In December 1941, the Pejë Prefecture claimed that 6,000 Montenegrins, both men and women, were disseminating anti-Italian propaganda. It further asserted that the internees were armed, in spite of carabinieri supervision. The prefect thus sought to obtain arms from the Albanian central government while in the meantime issuing permits for Montenegrin families to return to Serbia and Montenegro. Both the Italian Army and the carabinieri attempted to hinder this repatriation because of difficulties it caused with neighboring countries and wanting to heed the concerns of German occupiers regarding the crossing of borders in war zones.⁸

In March 1942, Prefect Boletini announced that there were 11,000 members of ethnic minorities ("outlanders") registered at Pejë, including 2,000 males aged 20 to 60. According to these sources, there were 20,000 Slavs in the Pejë province. At the same time, the Albanian government ordered the deportation of 3,000 Montenegrins and their families to old Albania. Boletini declared such a provision dangerous from a political and security point of view and a bad economic decision, because there were roughly 300 males able to work among the 3,000 to be deported. In addition, the transfer of 3,000 people would require substantial expenditures and the use of many vehicles to transport their goods. Boletini further pointed out that such a course amounted to the Slavic colonization of old Albania, with the concomitant danger of increasing ethnic tensions. In addition, the continuous presence of such a high number of refugees at Pejë was considered extremely risky because of ties between families and their male relatives in the resistance. Boletini argued that the only solution was to repa-

triate the Serbs and Montenegrins to their countries of origin after pressuring the German and Italian authorities in Serbia and Montenegro, respectively, to permit them to cross the demarcation lines.⁹

A large part of the Kosovar Serbs and Montenegrins nevertheless ended up in internment camps in old Albania or Italy. On July 17, 1942, the lawyer Lelio Vittorio Valobra, a member of the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM), wrote to the Permanent Counselor to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Tiranë to intervene in favor of the Jewish refugees from Belgrade still interned in camps across Kosovo. In particular, he pointed out the case of 23 Jews who found themselves in grave economic circumstances and on probation in Prizren.¹⁰ According to Albanian sources, in August 1942, 69 of the Jewish refugees who had arrived in Kosovo from Serbia and were staying in Priština were sent to Kavajë, Gërman, Kruja, and Shijak; 27 others from Prizren followed.¹¹ It is likely that all the camps in Kosovo followed the same pattern as the one in Priština, with closure probably in late 1942 before temporarily reopening in the subsequent months and then shutting down with Benito Mussolini's fall in July 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Kosovo under the Italian occupation and the rule of the Albanian authorities, which make some references to the camps and the refugees (and the Holocaust in this area), include Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, "Campi di concentramento," in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Dragan Cvetkovic, "Holocaust in Yugoslavia—An Attempt at Quantification (Methodology, Questions, Problems, Results . . .)," and Nenad Antonijević, "Holocaust in the Area of Kosovo and the Metohija during World War II and its Context," both in *Israeli-Serbian Academic Exchange in Holocaust Research: Collection of Papers from the Academic Conference, Jerusalem-Yad Vashem, 15–20 June 2006* (Belgrade: Muzej Jrtava guenotsida, 2008), pp. 359–369 and 408–424; Jovan Ćulibrk, *Istoriografija holokausta u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet, Institut za teološka istraživanja, Fakultet bezbednosti, Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2011); Jovan Ćulibrk, *Historiography of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Institute for Theological Research, 2014); and Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012).

Primary sources documenting the Kosovo concentration camps can be found in AQSH and AUSSME. On the origin of these refugee camps for Serbs, Montenegrins, and Jews from both inside and outside Kosovo and their development during 1941, see AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Naltë Civil për Kosovë, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 1–9. For information on Jews escaping to Kosovo from Nazi persecution and the Italian and Albanian authorities' attitude toward them and to Serbs and Montenegrins as well, between 1941 and 1942, see AQSH, F167

Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D433, pp. 1–8; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D430; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 51–52; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 493, Comando IV CdA, Diario Storico-militare, December 1941 to January 1942, Allegati n. 24, Prefettura di Peja December 23, 1941; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 7–14. On the news in the summer of 1942 about Jews still in camps or under surveillance in Kosovo and those already sent to old Albania, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85; and AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 68–69.

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101, September 3 and 17, 1941.
2. Ibid.
3. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 1–9, November 1941.
4. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101, September 12 and 21, 1941.
5. Ibid., D73, pp. 1–43, November 14, 1941.
6. Ibid., December 1, 1941.
7. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D433, pp. 1–8, January 1942; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D430, January 13, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 51–52, March 5–6, 1942.
8. AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 493, Comando IV CdA, Diario Storico-militare, December 1941 to January 1942, Allegati n. 24, Prefettura di Peja, December 23, 1941.
9. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI-302, pp. 7–14, March 23, 1942.
10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85.
11. AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 68–69.

PEQIN

Peqin (Elbasan Prefecture), a town in central Albania, is about 29 kilometers (18 miles) west of Elbasan and 32 kilometers (approximately 20 miles) south of Tiranë. In July 1939, Peqin became one of Albania's localities of internment (*località di internamento*) or colonies of confinement (*colonia di confino*), which held mostly Albanian regime opponents.¹ As early as 1941, the Italian authorities established an internment camp at Peqin (Montenegrin: Pećin). According to the scant documentation available, the camp consisted of repurposed local schools. Peqin initially held Montenegrin political detainees who participated in the revolt against the Italian occupation.² Among the Montenegrin prisoners in the first period of its existence was Miladin Popović, a communist who played a formative role

in the establishment of the Communist Party of Albania (*Partia Komuniste e Shqipërisë*, PKSh) after his release from the camp in the autumn of 1941.

Throughout 1941, the camp held prisoners from other places, mainly Kosovars (particularly from Pejë). The internees included Serbs, Kosovar Serbs, and one Jewish merchant from Priština; that merchant was eventually released. Other prisoners were “ex-Yugoslavs” and at least two Albanian Kosovars, who were communist suspects; the Kosovars were released in November 1941 on the grounds that the local Albanian authorities responsible for their arrest, who had not been appointed by the government, had exceeded their authority by sending them to the Peqin camp.³ Many of the Kosovo detainees stayed for a while in the Kukës camp, approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Prizren, on their way to Peqin.⁴

The limited information available on a group of internees held at Peqin since July 1941, most of whom were Kosovars, indicates that the detainees were farmers, merchants, judicial administrators (including high-ranking officials), craftsmen, and at least one Orthodox priest. The prisoners with tuberculosis were sometimes sent to the hospital in Tiranë, where they received medical treatment from Italian physicians.⁵ In February 1942 two internees, most likely Serbs, were sent to an unspecified sanatorium at the request of the Elbasan Prefecture.⁶

Between late 1941 and early 1942, the first groups of detainees were transferred from Peqin to Kolonjë and Fier. On November 18, 1941, the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania ordered the transfer from Peqin of 137 “ex-Yugoslavs”—Kosovar civilians sent to Albania on the order of both the military and civilian authorities—to the former prison camp in Kolonjë.⁷ The 137 Kosovars originated mainly from the zones of Prizren and Uroševac (Albanian: Ferizaj). Twenty-five of them, most likely all Serbs, were released before the transfer to Kolonjë following the first revision of their internment status.⁸ The other 112 Kosovars, whose revision of status was pending, were subsequently transferred from Kolonjë to Fier in late



Men imprisoned in the Albanian internment camp of Peqin, flanked by their guards.

USHMM WS #44516, BEIT HATFUTSOT, THE OSTER VISUAL DOCUMENTATION CENTER, COURTESY OF THE CULTURAL CENTER OF JEWS OF LIBYA, TEL AVIV.

January 1942. In a letter to the Albanian Interior Ministry, Generale di Corpo d'Armata Camillo Mercalli explained the reasons for their transfer: "(a) to vacate the school premises in Peqin . . . ; (b) the arrangements at Peqin were only provisional while the best solution for the placement of the internees elsewhere was being sought; (c) to facilitate the above-mentioned process of revision (of status) and selection."⁹ One group, mostly from Priština, Pejë, and Prizren, consisted of 26 people ages 21 to 70 (15 Serbs, 8 Croats, and 3 Montenegrins) who were later released after their transfer to Fier. The remaining 86 people (49 Montenegrins, 30 Serbs, 3 Russians, 2 Croats, 1 Bulgarian, and 1 Bosniak) originated from Pejë (the majority) and Priština, were aged 23 to 65, had various occupations, and were kept at Fier.¹⁰ Between January 26 and 28, 1942, another group of 51 Serbs and Kosovar Serbs who had been interned at Peqin since July 1941 was transferred to Fier.¹¹

During the course of the transfers, revisions of status, and releases that took place at Peqin, the question came to the fore of the status of the Albanian soldiers who had served in the former Royal Yugoslav Army and were then held as prisoners of war (POWs).¹² In response to pressure from the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers, which received reports of at least one such case, the Royal General Lieutenancy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG) compiled lists of names of Albanian POWs before sending them to the Albanian Interior Ministry. The RLG laid out the procedures to follow with regard to such cases while also mentioning the presence of such POWs in German-run camps. The RLG reserved the right to remain in charge of policy relating to Albanian POWs in camps in Italy and Italian-occupied Serbia.¹³ This development seems to have affected the Peqin camp because of its several Albanian detainees.¹⁴ During the course of 1942, the camp continued to operate, incarcerating internees who had been previously confined in Italy, including Ventotene.¹⁵

A letter dated May 1, 1942, provides insight into the harsh living conditions at Peqin: it noted that the detainees received an allowance of 5 lek per day, whereas a kilogram of cornbread cost 8 lek.¹⁶ During this period, Peqin also served as a place for the internment and confinement of families of Albanian fugitives, as well as single individuals. The documents do not always make it clear whether they were admitted to the Peqin camp or were part of the confinement colony.¹⁷

There is no available documentation for the Peqin camp for the year 1943.

SOURCES A secondary source that briefly mentions the Peqin camp is Miodrag Marović, *Balkanski Džoker: Albanija i Albanci: istorijska bronika nastajanja i razvoja albanskog pitanja* (Bar, 1995).

Primary sources documenting the Peqin concentration camp can be found in AQSH. For Peqin as a place of internment since 1939, see AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D31, pp. 1–51, 152–199, 352–399; AQSH, F317 Prefektura Korce, V1940, D22; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14–15, p. 126–1; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306–I, pp. 240–248; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 203–211, 222–223; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306, pp. 176–185; and

AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1942, D229–230. For the Peqin concentration camp in 1941, see AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 1–102; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 15–30, 222–223, 347–348; and AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43. On the inmates sent from Peqin to the Kolonjë and Fier concentration camps in early 1942, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–27; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103, 222–223, 347–348. For the Albanian soldiers of the former Royal Yugoslav Army kept as POWs and sent to Peqin, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 28–37, 48–56; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 15–22. On the Peqin camp in 1942, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–30; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D351, p. 1.

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F153 DQP, V1940, D31, pp. 1–51, March 18, 1940; *ibid.*, pp. 152–199, 352–399; AQSH, F317 Prefektura Korce, V1940, D22; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14–15.
2. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 1–54.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–102.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 1–54; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 222–223 (July 27, 1942), 338–351; AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43; AQSH, *ibid.*, D67, pp. 1–102.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–102.
6. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 23–30, February 3 and February 9, 1942.
7. For transfers to Kolonjë, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 10–18, documents of November 28, December 15, and December 19, 1941; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 19–27, documents of December 24, 1941, January 6 and January 16, 1942.
8. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, documents of January 19, 22, and 26, 1942.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 19–27, Mercalli to Albanian Interior Ministry, January 16, 1942.
10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 94–103, February 27, 1942.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 222–223 (July 27, 1942), 347–348.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–30, January 1942.
13. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 28–37, January 26, 1942.
14. *Ibid.* and pp. 48–56, February 19, 1942; on Albanian POWs, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 15–22, January 1942.
15. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 104–113, February 16, 1942.
16. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D351, p. 1, telegram to RLG, May 1, 1942.
17. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306–I, pp. 240–248, March 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 203–211, May 1942; *ibid.*, pp. 222–223, July 1942; AQSH,

F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D306, pp. 176–185, October 28, 1942; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1942, D229–230.

PREZË

Prezë is a town in west central Albania, approximately 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Tiranë and approximately 23 kilometers (14 miles) northeast of the port of Durrës (Italian: Durazzo). Prezë was one of the five camps designed by the Territorial Defense Command of Albania for the internment of Montenegrin hostages and rebels after the revolt of the summer of 1941; Kosovars were later held in the camp.

The camp became operational in July 1941 for the purpose of imprisoning approximately 100 Jewish refugees (mostly Serbs) who had settled in the province of Cattaro (or Kotor) following the occupation of Yugoslavia and who, according to the local prefect, needed to be moved from there. Initially, the Jews were sent to Spalato, Zara, and Italy; by July 12, when the governor of Dalmatia requested a list of all Jews in question, they had already been sent to Albania. Prisoner of war (POW) camp No. 120 of Prezë thus started functioning on that date, if not earlier, for the incarceration of Montenegrin civilians, Serbian refugees, and other nationalities either rounded up or arriving in Montenegro at the time of the occupation and the subsequent revolt against the Italians. With the influx of inmates the site became a concentration camp for political prisoners and Jews.

Available sources bring to light the detention procedures for internees and the camp's intended operational use. The refugees, detainees, and political prisoners arrested for reasons of public security were concentrated at Cattaro before being locked up on steamships obtained by the Italians as spoils of war, awaiting transport on Albania-bound ships and the subsequent sorting out to different concentration camps. These vessels served as real prisons, or floating camps, with disastrous conditions in terms of hygiene and food. Security was provided by Italian troops, policemen, and agents of Italian public secu-

rity. It seems that the majority of detainees on these steamships were dispatched to Albania between July and late September (other convoys were reported in December); most ended up at Prezë.

Therefore, in that period, during the second half of 1941, the Prezë concentration camp assumed the role of a parallel, temporary internment facility, subject to revised procedures pertaining to the internees. Some 665 individuals passed through the camp of Prezë from July to early December 1941. Of those, about 10 were Serbian Jewish refugees, 400 were Montenegrin hostages, and 165 were Montenegrin rebels; considering the departures, completed revisions, subsequent releases, and one death, it seems that approximately 579 detainees remained in the camp. These numbers are estimates because not all the documentation is available. It is highly likely that, beginning in the fall of 1941, the camp accommodated primarily political prisoners and Jews (mostly Serbs and Montenegrins), while other hostages were gradually released, except for people considered dangerous after suppression of the Montenegrin revolt. According to sources of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) collected by historian Davide Rodogno, there were 517 internees present at Prezë in February 1942.

In late February 1942, following the decision to deport the “most destitute and dangerous Serbo-Montenegrin families from Kosovo” to the Albanian camps of Gërman, Fushë Arrëz, and Pukë, the political authorities ordered that the Prezë camp be used to hold undesirables, and the camp was restructured even though renovations were still incomplete.¹

On April 12, 1942, the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers, RLG, and Superior Command FF. AA. Albania decided that the provisioning of Prezë, as with Gërman, Fushë Arrëz, and Pukë, would be “materially assumed by the Italian military authorities,” with expenses covered by Albania.² The civilian authorities were responsible solely for the “technical modalities of provisioning,” while the military authorities remained in charge of the camp's reconstruction works and sanitary assistance.³

New prisoners kept arriving throughout March 1942; as of April 3, the camp held 231 political undesirables coming from various locations across Kosovo, 9 of whom were women and 45 were former officials of the Yugoslav Army. Because the camp could not hold more than 500 prisoners, it was then requested that “eviction of the same internees to Italy” be sped up as the influx continued.⁴ Prezë was already full by April 23, and it was requested that transfers of new internees be suspended. Four days later an order arrived that at least 300 men (among the less dangerous) were to be transferred immediately from Prezë to Pukë. On May 2, the transfers of prisoners resumed—women bound for the Prezë camp, men for Pukë.

In late May 1942, the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania decided to “transfer the undesirable Kosovar intellectuals, currently interned in the concentration camps of Prezë and Pukë, to the islands of Ponza and Ustica.”⁵ Among those who remained at Prezë were Italian informants. On June 8, 580 people (more than 300 from Pukë and the rest from Prezë) were escorted by the police to the port of Durazzo before boarding the



An Italian soldier takes a photo of a group of prisoners outside a tent in the Prezë labor camp.

USHMM WS #07864, COURTESY OF RAOUL TEITELBAUM.

steamship *Aventino* the next day; the boat took them to Bari. From there they continued on to the two islands: 220 (including 25 women) were sent to Ponza and 360 to Ustica.

With the Prezë camp nearly empty, the administration arranged for a separate accounting system with regard to provisioning and, in the following months, transmitted to the appropriate authorities a list of costs incurred until the end of 1942; it showed that there were many detainees who remained in the camp at least until the end of June and that the average daily expenditure for Kosovars at Prezë was 6,362 lire per person for a grand total of 164,073.05 lire. Between July and September 1942, detainees held at Prezë included political prisoners, Yugoslav Army officials, Montenegrin nationalists, and civilians whose relatives were in the resistance. ICRC documents indicate that 300 Montenegrins were interned at Prezë on July 3, 1942.

The third period of the camp's existence began in the late summer of 1942. The question of which authority was responsible for both the elderly and newly arrived internees in the camps was finally solved in September with the designation of the Albanian Interior Ministry and the Governorship of Montenegro, respectively; this situation held true regardless of whether the detainees were later deported to Italy, remained in Albania, or were released. In mid-September the German and Prezë camps were made available for the detention of male and female resisters, at which time some 300 men entered Prezë. The Italian and Albanian authorities entrusted security to soldiers and policemen, not the Albanian Fascist militia. In this period, the Prezë camp experienced a drastic reduction in supplies and proper housing, and it functioned as a "makeshift camp." It was used until at least late December 1942, when some 40 people were interned there: they included political prisoners, different categories of communists, regime opponents, and several Orthodox priests. Deportations of detainees to Italy continued for reasons of security, space, and the ongoing revisions of conditions of internment. Prezë most likely closed with the collapse of the Fascist regime in July 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Prezë concentration camp are Dragan S. Nenezić, *Jugoslovenske oblasti pod Italijom: 1941–1943* (Belgrade: Vojnoistorijski Institut, 1999); Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943*, ed. Dino Renato Nardelli, trans. Olga Simcic (1988; Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (2003; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For the inmates' concentration on several ships at Cattaro harbor, see Federico Goddi, *Fronte Montenegro: Occupazione italiana e giustizia militare (1941–1943)* (Gorizia, Leg, 2016).

Primary sources documenting the Prezë concentration camp can be found at AQSH, VaB, A-CICR, and ACS. For general information about Prezë and the other four concentration camps discussed here, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121. For the first period of the camp (when it served both as a POW camp and a special camp for the internment of Jews and political prisoners), see VA, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 544, f. 5, d. 17;

K. 542, f. 11, d. 1; K. 551 f. 1, d. 28–48 (regarding the camp opening, Jewish refugees, the inmates' concentration on several ships at Cattaro harbor, the convoys by boats to Durrës and then Prezë); K. 551 f. 2 d. 10–16; K. 542, f. 11, d. 1; K. 542, f. 2, d. 21–27; K. 544, f. 5, d. 17; K. 544, f. 5, d. 2 (for the review procedures of the inmates and releases of groups of them); AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme, e KKSH, V1942, D 997/2, pp. 1–56; VA, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 542, f. 11, d. 16 and d. 45; K. 551 f. 1, d. 28–48; K. 560, f. 1, d. 40 (for inmates and their numbers). Information about Montenegrins interned in Albanian camps can be found at A-CICR, G 17/501, B. 139, March 13, 1942 (J. Pictet a R. Voegeli) and 31 luglio 1942 (Note pour M. Voegeli: internés monténégrins en Albanie). For the second period (preparation and equipment, Kosovo inmates, governing authorities, deportation to Italy), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74 and D I/302, pp. 7–14; VaB, Fond Italijanska okupatorska vojska (1941–1943), K. 544, f. 5, d. 1; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 23–30; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 51, 52, 56, 57–74; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–37; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 47–65; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Massime 1880–1956, B. 109, Cat. "Massime" M4 (Mobilitazione civile), fasc. 16 (Campi di concentramento), sf. 1 AAGG, Ins. 34 (Internamento Albanesi); AQSH, F203 Drejtoria e Përgjithshme, KKSH, V1942, D 997/4; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942 D 303, pp. 243–262, 348–351. On the third period (preparation and equipment, the entrusted authorities, inmate figures, camp staff, deportation to Italy), see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 1–18, 112–121; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, p. 31; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396.

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74, March 21, 1942; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942.
2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942; la Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri albanese assunse ufficialmente l'impegno sul trasferimento degli internati e il loro vettovagliamento alla fine del mese (lettera della Presidenza al Comando Superiore FF. AA. in Albania, April 27, 1942); il carteggio della fine di marzo 1942 in AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46.
3. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-1198, pp. 65–74, March 21, 1942; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942.
4. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 47–57, May 26, 1942.
5. Ibid.

PRIŠTINA

Priština (Albanian: Prishtinë, Serbian: Priština) is a city with a rich history and is the current capital of Kosovo. It is located 243 kilometers (151 miles) south of Belgrade. Based on the earliest sources on the camps in Kosovo, the Priština camp was

created to accommodate the great influx of Serbian and Montenegrin refugees coming from other areas of the region. Many of these refugees sought to move to German-controlled territories in Serbia or Mitrovica.¹ As of August 29, 1941, there were 313 people in the camp: all were Kosovars, of whom there were 190 Serbs, 118 Montenegrins, and 5 Croats aged 6 months to 36 years. Based on available sources, the carabinieri were in charge of security at the camp.² In early September 1941, the numbers decreased slightly to 297 non-native Serbs and Montenegrins, who were slated to be sent to the Gërman (Burrel) camp—an operation that, as per calculations, would require 20 trucks for the transfer of people as well as another 24 oxen, 9 horses, and 12 farm carts to move more than 13 English tonnes of material.³ In fact, from the summer of 1941 onward, there were not only Slavic Kosovars imprisoned at Priština but also Slavs coming from Serbia and Montenegro, as well as Jews fleeing Nazi persecution in Serbia and other surrounding countries. Many of these refugees ended up arrested for political or public security reasons before being taken to camps in Albania, especially Prezë.⁴

The living conditions inside the camp, located near the train station and consisting of warehouses, were horrendous. Many refugees, and nearly all the children, fell sick as they were forced to sleep on the floor in rooms without doors or windows and were given insufficient nourishment. The Serbian and Montenegrin families thus requested that men and heads of household be authorized to seek work outside the camp and, if necessary, to travel to Serbia on permits obtained by their relatives and friends to obtain authorization from the German authorities to travel to Belgrade.⁵ In response to this request, on September 21, 1941, the Italian military authorities in concert with the Albanian High Commissioner created an assistance plan for Montenegrin and Serbian refugees from Kosovo concentrated in the camps at Pejë, Plav, and Priština.⁶ However, this plan was largely ignored, at least with regard to the refugees in the Priština camp. A little more than a month later, the carabinieri confirmed that the Serbs and Montenegrins interned in Priština were indeed receiving only a daily ration of bread, despite orders by the High Commissioner of the Priština Prefecture to provide warm meals and milk for the children twice a week.⁷

Information on the influx of Jewish fugitives with false papers escaping Nazi persecution in Belgrade and headed for Kosovo in general, and Priština in particular, was made available to the carabinieri and the Albanian authorities as early as the first half of November 1941.⁸ The existence of this information was later confirmed by other sources in subsequent months.⁹ One of the documents issued by the president of the Albanian Council of Ministers, Mustafa Merlika Kruja, in agreement with the Royal General Lieutenantcy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG) in January 1942, followed correspondence on the topic from December 1941 and ordered the prefecture of Priština to refuse access to the district to anyone without special permission from the Albanian Interior Ministry.¹⁰ In that same month, the carabinieri arranged for the expulsion of Jewish refugees from Kosovo and the arrest of Jew-

ish illegal immigrants and those who possessed fake documents in Priština.¹¹

On January 19, 1942, the president of the local Jewish community informed the Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM) of the presence of some 80 Jewish refugees at Priština, assuring the organization that they were not dangerous from the political point of view and asking for DELASEM to intervene with the authorities. However, despite the interest from DELASEM and the Union of the Italian Jewish Community (*Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane*, UCII), in March the carabinieri colonnello De Leo issued orders for the arrest of Jewish illegal immigrants who had come to Kosovo since the war with Yugoslavia.¹² This came after agreements between the Italian carabinieri and both the German police in Belgrade and the German command in Mitrovica to work together, as well as after the president of the Albanian Council of Ministers ordered the carabinieri command to transport to the borders all Jews arriving in Albania from Serbia, for eventual handover to the German authorities.¹³ On March 17, the carabinieri maggiore Silvestro sent a handpicked group of 51 Jews (including some children) detained in the Priština camp to Gestapo officials: "That same day (they) were deported by train to Mitrovica, and then to Belgrade. During their stay in Priština, I invited for breakfast the German officials, accompanied by representatives of the Albanian and Serbian gendarmerie. All took place in an atmosphere of cordiality."¹⁴

On July 17, 1942, according to the information given by the DELASEM delegate, the lawyer Lelio Vittorio Valobra, to the Permanent Counselor with the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Tiranë, there were 70 Jews in the Priština camp, all in severe financial straits. He requested their internment in Italy or Berat, Albania.¹⁵

During the Italian occupation a large part of the Jewish community in Priština was deported to Berat before being forced to reside there. Berat had already served as a place of internment for foreign Jews during the war against Greece.¹⁶ The Jews from Priština also ended up in other municipalities and concentration camps in the old Albania for various reasons.¹⁷ Such sites included the Peqin camp (from July 1941), Elbasan (seven families were detained there in a kind of ghetto in February 1942), Shijak (compulsory residence, 1943), and Krujë (1943).¹⁸ In May 1942, there were 34 Jews from Priština in the Hotel Tiranë in Berat.¹⁹ In July, the number of Jews from Priština rose to approximately 100, all of whom lacked the means to support themselves. At least two internees were released in 1942, and it also appears that, in 1943, after the intercession of the Albanian authorities, one more person was transferred to Tiranë despite opposition from the Italian police.²⁰ Other members of the Priština Jewish community had either already moved away from the town for different reasons or were staying in Dulcigno in September 1942 (where they were asked to remain under surveillance, despite the order to be transferred to Kavajë under compulsory residence) or tried to escape from Skopje with the help of the Italian authorities in November 1942 before getting repatriated to Priština.²¹

On November 3, 1942, the concentration camp of Priština was temporarily closed, and the 300 people still detained there (49 Serbian and Montenegrin families) were sent back to their places of origin.²² The camp reopened in January 1943 to hold Jews from the local community along with all others from the Priština Prefecture (one person was probably released in July 1943).²³ At least some internees were later sent to Berat and Kavajë in what was a realization of a plan to carry out transfers to old Albania that had most likely first been implemented in 1942.²⁴ In February 1943, the president of the Jewish community in Priština called for the Jews interned at Berat to be granted amnesty.²⁵ The situation in Priština became particularly difficult in 1943 because, according to Italian police sources, the deputy commissioner of the local police station asked the Jews for bribes in exchange for not handing them over to the Germans while arresting Serbs en masse, accusing them of communism and dispatching them to various concentration camps.²⁶ In April, 40 Jews coming from Skopje, where they had fled the Bulgarian authorities, were arrested and detained in Priština. The Albanian Interior Ministry intervened in their favor, and it is likely that the same ministry also helped protect several Priština Jews working in Tiranë in June 1943.²⁷

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Priština camp, Priština Jews, Jewish refugees, and the Holocaust in Kosovo include Silvia Trani, “L’unione tra l’Italia e l’Albania (1939–1943),” *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Klaus Voigt, *Il rifugio precario: Gli esuli in Italia dal 1933 al 1945*, 2 vols. (1993; Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1996); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, “Campi di concentramento,” in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Ženi Lebl, *Do “Konacnog rešenja”: Jevreji u Srbiji* (Belgrade: Cigoja štampa, 2002); Davide Rodogno, *Fascism’s European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Dragan Cvetkovic, “Holocaust in Yugoslavia—An Attempt at Quantification (Methodology, Questions, Problems, Results . . .)”; and Nenad Antonijević, “Holocaust in the Area of Kosovo and the Metohija during World War II and its Context,” both in *Israeli-Serbian Academic Exchange in Holocaust Research: Collection of Papers from the Academic Conference, Jerusalem-Yad Vashem, 15–20 June 2006* (Belgrade: Muzej jrtava guenotsida, 2008), pp. 359–369 and 408–424; Silvia Trani, ed., *L’Unione fra l’Albania e l’Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* (Rome: Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); Milovan Pissarri, “La Shoah in Serbia e Macedonia (1941–1943),” in Laura Brazzo and Michele Sarfatti, eds., *Gli ebrei in Albania sotto il fascismo: Una storia da ricostruire* (Florence: La Giuntina, 2010), pp. 169–198; Jovan Čulibrk, *Istoriografija bolokausta u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet, Institut za teološka istraživanja, Fakultet bezbednosti, Univerzitet u Beogradu, 2011); Jovan Čulibrk, *Historiography of the Holocaust in Yugoslavia* (Belgrade: University of Belgrade, Faculty of Orthodox Theology, Institute for Theological Research, 2014); Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012); and Daniel Perez, “‘Our Conscience Is Clean’: Albanian Elites and the Memory of the Ho-

locoust in Postsocialist Albania,” in John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic, eds., *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), pp. 25–58.

Primary sources documenting the Priština concentration camp can be found in AQSH, ACS, AUSSME, and AUCEI. On Priština as a refugee camp in the second half of 1941 (for refugees inside and outside Kosovo, Serbs and Montenegrins, Jews, and deportation to inner Albania camps), see AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–101; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 51–52; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D532, pp. 10–20. For information on Jews fleeing Nazi persecution by escaping to Kosovo and the attitudes of the Italian, Albanian, and the Priština Jewish communities, as well as DELASEM, and UCII, see AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 969, Comando Superiore FF. AA. Albania, Diario Storico-militare, November to December 1941, Allegati: Comando Superiore FF. AA. Albania, November 30, 1941; ACS, Mi, Dgpps, Dagr, Massime A14, B. 15, fasc. 6, November 25, 1941; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, January and March 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1938, DI-1806, p. 59; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D433, pp. 1–8; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D430, p. 1; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D430, pp. 1–2; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 493, Comando IV CdA, Diario Storico-militare, December 1941 to January 1942, Allegati n. 23; AUCEI, Attività dell’Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane dal 1934, DELASEM series, B. 45C (ex 44 M), fasc. 4 Profughi ebrei jugoslavi provenienti dalla Bosnia-Erzegovina; and AQSH, F235 Prefektura e Durrësit, V1942, D35, p. 146; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI220, pp. 76–85. For the Italian carabinieri’s delivery of 51 Jewish refugees in Priština to the Gestapo in March 1942, see AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 969, Comando Superiore FF. AA. Albania, Diario Storico-militare, January to February, March to April 1942, Allegati February 14, 1942, February 17, 1942, March 11, 1942; AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, March 1942. For the Priština camp in 1942–1943 and the fate of Priština Jews during the same period, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, DI220, pp. 76–85; AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 13, 16, 68–69, 73–74; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, XH. 504–505; AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 55–102; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1942, D303, pp. 283–293; ACS, Mi, Dgpps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 1, fasc. 21, B. 3, fasc. 254, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, DI157, pp. 15–24; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 147–155; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D463, pp. 1–4. Two published testimonies are Settimio Sorani, *L’assistenza ai profughi ebrei in Italia (1933–1947): Contributo alla storia della Delasem*, ed. Amadeo Tagliacozzo, preface by Renzo De Felice (Rome: Carucci, 1983); and Rukula Bencion, “I Watched Them Kill

My Loved Ones,” in Aleksandar Gaon, ed., *We Survived . . . Yugoslav Jews on the Holocaust*, trans. Stephen Agnew and Jelena Babšek Labudovič, 3 vols. (Belgrade: Jewish Historical Museum, 2005), 3: 437–440. See also USHMMA, Acc. 2002.438.1, Jasa Altarac papers (Altarac and his family were held in the Priština camp and then transferred to Kavajë) and USHMMA, Acc.2002.158.1, Gavra Mandil collection (Mandil’s father was in the Priština camp, but was later released).

Tommaso Dell’Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43, August 29, 1941.
2. Ibid. and pp. 44–101. September 3 and 17, 1941.
3. Ibid.
4. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 48–56; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 51–52, March 1942.
5. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 44–101. September 12, 1941.
6. Ibid, September 21, 1941.
7. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D532, pp. 10–20, October 31, 1941.
8. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D73, pp. 1–43, November 14, 1941.
9. Ibid.; AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 969, Comando Superiore FF.AA. Albania, Diario Storico-militare, November–December 1941, Allegati Comando Superiore FF.AA. Albania) alla Luogotenenza generale, November 30, 1941; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, “Massime” A14, B. 15, fasc. 6, November 25, 1941; AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, January 7, 1942.
10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1938, DI-1806, p. 59; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D433, pp. 1–8; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D430, p. 1; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1942, D430, pp. 1–2; AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, b. 493, Comando IV CdA, Diario Storico-militare, December 1941–January 1942, Allegati n. 23.
11. AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, January 1942.
12. AUCEI, Attività dell’Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane dal 1934, DELASEM Series, B. 45C (ex 44 M), fasc. 4 Profughi ebrei jugoslavi provenienti dalla Bosnia-Erzegovina; AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, March 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85, July 12, 1942.
13. AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, March 1942; AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 969, Comando Superiore FF.AA. Albania, Diario Storico-militare, Allegati, February 14, 1942, February 17, 1942, March 11, 1942; AQSH, F235 Prefektura e Duresit, V1942, D35, p. 146.
14. AUSSME, N1–11, Diari storici, B. 823, Comando IV Battaglione Mobilitato Carabinieri Reali, Diario Storico-militare, March 17, 1942.

15. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85; AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, pp. 73–74.

16. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D79, XH 504–505, August 1940–June 1941.

17. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85; AQSH, F152/2 Ministria e Mbrendshme, V1942, D319, p. 13, 16, 68–69.

18. AQSH, F167 Komisariati i Nalte Civil për Kosove, Diber, Struge, V1941, D67, pp. 55–102. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.

19. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1942, D333.

20. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 76–85; D303, pp. 283–293; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51; ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania.

21. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D157, pp. 15–24.

22. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 147–155.

23. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 1, fasc. 21.

24. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D463, pp. 1–4; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1943, D386, pp. 1–51.

25. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D463, pp. 1–4.

26. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Ispettorato Generale di Pubblica Sicurezza presso la Luogotenenza del Re a Tirana 1939–1943, B. 3, fasc. 254.

27. Ibid., B. 6, fasc. 10 Movimento ebraico in Albania.

PUKË

Pukë is the capital of the Pukë district, located more than 80 kilometers (50 miles) north of Tiranë and some 32 kilometers (approximately 20 miles) east of Shkodër. In 1940, Pukë (Italian: Puk, Puke, Puka) was one of five internment camps used by the Italian and Albanian authorities to detain Montenegrins, Serbs, and Bulgarians in the furtherance of “albanization.”¹ The related camps were Gërman, Kavajë, Klos, and Prezë. Some of those camps already held Montenegrin prisoners of war (POWs).² The camps were designed roughly along a diagonal strip extending from central Albania toward the north, from southwest to northeast.

Based on available sources, the Pukë camp was originally used to intern those coming from Kosovo or probably just Montenegro, who were subject to the military authorities and, essentially, were POWs or were deemed dangerous to the security of the zones occupied by the Italian Army. The camp likely opened in 1941.

There are records of a number of Montenegrins coming from Pejë (Serbian: “Peč”) who were eventually interned in either Pukë or Fushë Arrëz.³ These two camps, along with the Gërman camp, were designated for the Kosovar refugees, who started arriving in early January 1942, according to the spe-

cial provisions related to acquiring manpower for planned road maintenance (especially for linking the towns of Kruië and Burrel, for which the necessary funds had already been obtained).⁴ The scope of internment in the Fushë Arrëz and Pukë concentration camps was extended to include “indigenous and dangerous Serbo-Montenegrin families from Kosovo” to address several concerns: pressing Italian and Albanian security needs, the planned development of an effective transportation network, and the efficient distribution of labor allocation.⁵ Meanwhile, the “undesirables” were initially sent to Prezë per the order of the political authorities.⁶ Based on Generale di Corpo d’Armata Camillo Mercalli’s plans, Pukë would begin functioning (at least for this new wave of internees) in early April 1942, together with Fushë Arrëz.

However, it was first necessary to resolve the question of whether the Albanian government authority would bear the camp’s provisioning costs. Based on the meetings between the Presidency of the Albanian Council of Ministers, the Royal General Lieutenantcy (*Regia Luogotenenza Generale*, RLG), and the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania, it was decided on April 12 that, “for technical reasons,” provisioning in all four camps would be “materially assumed by Italian military authorities,” whereas expenses would be covered by political authorities in Albania (as well as by companies receiving the workers). The civilian authorities would only be responsible for the “technical modalities of provisioning.”⁷ The Albanian Interior Ministry exercised ultimate authority over these camps.

Following problems with overcrowding at the Prezë camp, whose capacity was already exhausted by April 23, an order arrived on April 27 to “urgently, and on the very same day, transfer” to Pukë “at least three hundred men, to be chosen from those considered less dangerous.”⁸ The influx of new prisoners continued, with men heading to Pukë and women to Prezë; in spring 1942, the Pukë camp reached its maximum capacity of 700 people.⁹ The process of deporting Kosovar intellectuals from Pukë and Prezë to the Italian island camps of Ponza and Ustica began in late May. The Italian authorities deemed this operation necessary to eliminate the risk posed by a growing antifascist presence in Albania; they targeted the clandestine communist organization operating both in the country and in the recently occupied zones (mainly Kosovo). Mercalli provided the necessary directives to transfer some 500 internees to Italy, 300 of whom came from Pukë.¹⁰ The departure of prisoners to the Ponza and Ustica camps was set for June 9 from the port in Durazzo, and from there to Bari aboard the steamship *Aventino*. Several detainees who worked in camps as informers for the Italians stayed in Albania before being transferred to Prezë.¹¹

To pay for camp supplies, a special account was created by the Albanian government responsible for the “undesirable internees from Cossovo (Kosovo).”¹² Each camp’s administration received a fixed amount for both political and civilian internees determined on the basis of legislative provisions deliberated between 1940 and 1942. In August 1942, one of the competent authorities transmitted “a list of costs incurred for the provisioning and clothing of undesirable internees from Cossovo

concentrated at the camps of Puka and Preza” and for the period of May 2 to June 30, for Pukë only.¹³ A note sent to the Albanian Finance Ministry indicated that the average daily cost for the Kosovars at Pukë during this period was 7.2 lire per person, making the total cost 98,445.65 lire. The number of detainees at Pukë ranged roughly between 160 and 470.

The number of internees declined sharply at the end of 1942. A police communication in early December noted that among the Kosovar internees at Pukë were Serbs from Prizren and Pejë, including Orthodox priests and some who were considered dangerous politicians (communists or opponents of the Axis).¹⁴ There were 59 individuals (46 men and 13 women) remaining at the camp as of December 18, and the Superior Command FF. AA. Albania requested their transfer to the Gërman camp.¹⁵ These numbers were confirmed both through lists transmitted by the presidency’s Military Office in late January 1943 and by the Office of the Prisoners of War of the Albanian Red Cross (*Kryqit të Kuq Shqiptar*, KKSJ) in mid-February of the same year.¹⁶ The Pukë concentration camp was closed on March 26, 1943, when the remaining detainees were transferred to the Gërman camp.¹⁷

SOURCES Secondary sources on the political, economic, and cultural situation in Albania under the Italian occupation include Silvia Trani, “L’unione tra l’Italia e l’Albania (1939–1943),” *Clio* 30: 1 (January–March 1994): 139–168; Davide Rodogno, *Fascism’s European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Silvia Trani, ed., *L’unione fra l’Albania e l’Italia: Censimento delle fonti (1939–1945) conservate negli archivi pubblici e privati di Roma, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali* (Rome: Direzione Generale per gli Archivi, 2007); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, “Campi di concentramento, Internamento civile,” in Victoria de Grazia and Sergio Luzzatto, eds., *Dizionario del fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 2002); Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L’internamento civile nell’Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004); and Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraitike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012), pp. 202–230.

Primary sources documenting the Pukë internment camp can be found at AQSH and at ITS. For general information about Pukë and the other four internment camps, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121. For Pukë as both a place of internment (probably 1939–1940) and a concentration camp in its first period (probably 1941), see AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1939, D37, pp. 28–37 (concerning the commission for internment); AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14, pp. 1–23; and AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policisë, V1940, D31, pp. 1–51. For the Pukë camp in 1942 (Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins interned, releases of prisoners, preparation and equipment, deportation of some inmates from Pukë and Prezë to Italian islands, Pukë general capacity and structures, the entrusted authorities, inmates’ figures and origin), see the following sources: AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–65; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 328–348; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198,

pp. 65–74, 112–121, 165–177; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–30; AQSH, F164 Partia Fashiste, V1942, D105, pp. 1–21; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396; and ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. For the camp's closure, see AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-465, p. 2.

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1940, D14, pp. 1–23; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policisë, V1940, D31, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F154 Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë, V1939, D37, pp. 28–37.

2. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 112–121, September 21, 1942.

3. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 37–46, March 9, 1942; AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D303, pp. 328–337.

4. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D926, pp. 1–9, February 7, 1942.

5. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 65–74, March 21, 1942; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 7–14, April 12, 1942.

6. Ibid., February 26, 1942.

7. Ibid., April 12, 1942, and pp. 15–22, April 27, 1942.

8. Ibid., April 27, 1942.

9. Ibid.

10. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D1220, pp. 47–57, May 26, 1942.

11. Ibid., pp. 57–65; and AQSH, F164 Partia Fashiste, V1942, D105, pp. 1–21.

12. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1942, D I/302, pp. 15–22, May 22, 1942.

13. Ibid., pp. 23–30, August 4, 1942.

14. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1942, D396.

15. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-1198, pp. 165–174.

16. Ibid., pp. 175–177; and “Liste Internierter Männer und Frauen im KZ-Lager Puka (Scutari) in Albanien,” ITS, 1.1.14.1, folder 1, Doc. Nos. 459435–459436.

17. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, D I-465, p. 2.

VILLA SHIROKA

In 1928, the business community of Shkodër donated a villa to Ahmet Zogu, who as Zog I reigned as king of the Albanians from 1928 to 1939. The villa was situated in the hills above Shirokë, located on the shores of Lake Shkodra across from the city of Shkodër in northwestern Albania on the border with Montenegro. Shkodër is just over 86 kilometers (almost 54 miles) northwest of Tiranë. Because of its proximity to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, King Zog resided there only once before the Italian occupation. In October or November 1940, approximately five months after Italy entered into World War II and during its invasion of Greece, the royal villa became a concentration camp for civilian Greek deportees (initially, only Greeks residing in

Albania, and then also Greeks from the Greek territory occupied by the Italian troops) deemed dangerous because of their national origins. Due to the particular provisions of the April 1939 union between Italy and Albania, the Albanian authorities created the camp, apparently through the General Directorate of Police (*Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policisë*) (i.e., the Albanian Interior Ministry), and placed it under the jurisdiction of the prefecture of Shkodër (Italian: Scutari).¹ Officially called the concentration camp Shiroka for Greek subjects (*Campo di concentramento sud-diti greci Shiroka*), it was also known as Villa Shiroka (sometimes spelled “Scirocca” in Italian).

The camp had a maximum capacity of 140 people. Toward the end of November 1940, the camp held 110 Greeks, including 4 women, who had been living in Albania and were taken from different locations throughout the country. Some of the Jews among them came from Argirocastro (Albanian: Gjirokastrë). During its invasion of Greece, the Italian Army also dispatched 60 families numbering 198 additional detainees from the Greek territory behind Italian lines to Villa Shiroka for detention in late November; there were many Jews among them. Dispatched from villages in the Konitsa District nearly 163 kilometers (101 miles) southeast of Tiranë, the 33 men, 53 women, and 112 children arrived in Villa Shiroka in what the camp director, Dr. Nizza, described as a very pitiful condition, after a long journey by truck lasting two days and two nights. They were housed in a place at the edge of the camp; Nizza requested additional accommodations from the Albanian authorities, while at the same time turning to the Italian military authorities for immediate assistance, food provisions, and equipment.²

By November 29, 1940, Villa Shiroka held 308 people—139 men, 57 women, 112 children—or more than double its capacity. Moreover, other deportees from Greece were expected to arrive soon, as announced by the Italian military authorities. The difficult living conditions, made worse because the inmates had arrived in poor condition after being deported, reached the limit of sustainability. However, it is likely that the 198 deportees from Greece were subsequently sent elsewhere—to other detention sites or eventually back to their places of origin. In any case, full information is not available about their fate and the mortality and health conditions at Villa Shiroka. Typically the staff of camps in Albania consisted of members of the Albanian Fascist militia units, Albanian gendarmerie, Italian military, or the carabinieri. According to the available sources, Villa Shiroka's security was entrusted to carabinieri (most likely since the opening of the camp and surely by January 1941).³

When the camp opened, the Albanian authorities assigned its direction to Dr. Nizza, an Italian official who served in the *Regia Luogotenenza Generale* (Royal General Lieutenancy, RLG). Nizza immediately confiscated furniture from a girls' school in Shkodër, presumably for camp use. According to a report made after Nizza's tenure, his administration committed various irregularities, such as paying inflated prices for the purchase of newspapers, using prohibited goods, and stealing stoves and iron bars from the windows. Under Nizza, the

person responsible for day-to-day administration was Busacca, an Italian who had been fired by the Italian Society for Construction and Public Works (*Società Italiana Costruzioni e Lavori Pubblici*, SICELP). In December 1940, Nizza was recalled to military service. His replacement was Dr. Battaglia, who came from the Shkodër police headquarters and whose immediate task was to cope with the administrative mess. Based on his proposal, he received strict instructions to liquidate the camp's former account and open a new one, without conducting any further investigations so as not to reveal the administrative irregularities and shortcomings. The purpose behind these instructions was to maintain the image of efficiency necessary, in the Italian authorities' view, to ensure their prestige among the Albanians.⁴

On April 9, 1941, 88 Villa Shiroka inmates—nearly all of the camp population and likely all Greek Jews—were transferred to the Kruja camp. The last Greek Jew in Kruja was transferred on April 12, after his stay since late February in the Shkodër hospital.⁵ All the 89 Greek Jews had been deported to Villa Shiroka between November 1940 and March 1941 from diverse places in Albania (including Vlorë [Italian: Valona], Tiranë, and Argirocastro). With its closure, the great part of the Villa Shiroka camp's equipment was delivered to the sub-prefecture of Kruja in early June 1941 and lost in 1942.⁶

SOURCES A secondary source mentioning the Villa Shiroka camp is Edmond Malaj, *Hebrenjtë në trojet shqiptare: Me një përqendrim në historinë dhe kulturën hebraike* (Tiranë: Qendra e Studimeve Albanologjike Instituti i Historisë, 2012).

Primary sources regarding the camp can be found at AQSH. For correspondence on prisoners, their number, and names in November 1940, see AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjith-

shme, V1940, D1208–1211, pp. 1–13; for the report on the camp by Dr. Battaglia and its consequences, see AQSH, F153, Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53; and AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1940, D556, p. 1; for the number and names of another group of prisoners at the beginning of January 1941, see AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D556, pp. 70–74; for the inmates' transfer to the Kruja camp and the Villa Shiroka's closure, see AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53; and AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 7–14, 23–30; for indirect evidence of the camp's creation by the Albanian authorities, see AQSH, F195 Ministria e Arsimit, V1940, D878, p. 1.

Tommaso Dell'Era
Trans. Jane Klinger

NOTES

1. AQSH, F195 Ministria e Arsimit, V1940, D878, p. 1, June–July 1941.
2. AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1940, D1208–1211, pp. 1–13, November 1940.
3. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53, February 11, 1941.
4. Ibid., December 19, 1940; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1940, D556, p. 1, December 22, 1940.
5. AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1941, D160, pp. 1–51, January–April, 1941; AQSH, F153 Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise, V1940, D63, pp. 1–53, April, 1941; AQSH, F161 Mëkëmbësia e Përgjithshme, V1941, D556, pp. 70–74, January 1941.
6. AQSH, F149 Kryeministria, V1943, DI-302, pp. 7–14, 23–30, March–September 1942.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED EAST AFRICA (ERITREA, ETHIOPIA, AND SOMALIA)*

When the Fascist regime swept through Rome on March 30, 1922, Benito Mussolini gained control of Italy's European territories and inherited its struggling colonies in the Horn of Africa. After the Fascist government's seizure of Ethiopia during the Italian-Ethiopian War (1935–1936), the Italians joined the formerly separate colonies of Ethiopia, Eritrea (1882–1941), and Somalia (1897–1941) into a single colony called *Africa Orientale Italiana* (AOI), or Italian East Africa.¹ From 1936 to 1943, the Italians established in that colony internment camps, concentration camps, prisoner of war (POW) camps, forced labor camps, transit camps, and prisons to fulfill colonial, wartime, and genocidal aims.

Mussolini's regime sought to fortify and expand Italy's colonial efforts in North Africa in order to strengthen the presence of Italian fascism on the world stage. Although Italy had gained control of Eritrea and Somalia at the end of the nineteenth century,² its colonial policy under the Fascist government shifted to better accomplish Mussolini's imperialist goals. To this end, Italy set its sights on Ethiopia. Pre-Fascist Italy had attempted to conquer Ethiopia decades earlier, but its military troops had been defeated at the Battle of Adwa in 1896. Forty years later, the outcome was reversed in the Italian-Ethiopian War.

Italy's conquest of Ethiopia created the circumstances that inspired early pre-Holocaust and pre-World War II concentration camps in colonial Italy. To suppress and eliminate African opposition to foreign colonization, Italy instituted widespread executions, aerial bombing (including chemical weapons), population transfers, and the establishment of camps. In Nocera, Eritrea, and in Danane, Somalia, for example, Italian troops set up camps to detain Ethiopian Christian Coptic clergy who had supported indigenous resistance to Italian colonization,³ Amhara soldiers, members of the defeated army of Ras Desta Damtu, and Ethiopian officials who had helped plan or who had participated in the assassination attempt on Marshal Rodolfo Graziani, a prominent military officer, in 1937.⁴

Italian racial policy in its colonial holdings was another driving force in the establishment of camps in AOI. To maintain European prestige, Fascist Italy enacted laws that made sexual relations between the indigenous population and the colonizers an offense punishable by five years in prison. Italian women who had sexual relations with African men could be publicly whipped and sent to concentration camps.⁵

During the period between Italy's entry into World War II alongside Nazi Germany on June 10, 1940, and the Armistice signed between Pietro Badoglio and the Allies on September 9, 1943, Italy's Fascist regime set up camps throughout AOI.⁶ The most recent estimate for the total number of fascist internment and prison sites in AOI is 57: 16 concentration camps (4 in Eritrea, 7 in Ethiopia, 5 in Somalia), 6 POW camps

(3 in Eritrea, 3 in Ethiopia), 6 forced labor camps (1 in Eritrea, 3 in Ethiopia, 2 in Somalia), 2 transit camps (both in Eritrea), 8 prisons (1 in Eritrea, 6 in Ethiopia, 1 in Somalia), and 19 sites that are not yet categorized (3 in Eritrea, 16 in Ethiopia).⁷

Little research has been done on life within the camps; however, due to the work by Andrea Giuseppini, Roman Herzog, and others, we now have some idea how the camps in the AOI functioned. Testimony indicates that Italian civilians in the AOI participated in the deportation and internment of prisoners.⁸ Camp conditions differed for internees depending on when, why, and where they were interned. In addition to having to contend with challenging conditions within the camps, prisoners also had to deal with steep elevation changes and hot temperatures. Prisoners have described overcrowding, widespread sickness, and insufficient rations.⁹ The Allied liberation of North Africa in 1943 brought an end to the Nazi-Fascist camp system in the AOI.

SOURCES Historians have paid increasing attention to Libya, but modern-day scholarship has only begun to scrutinize Italian camps and incarceration practices in the AOI during World War II. Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Mia Fuller's anthology of 20 essays titled *Italian Colonialism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005) offers a sampling of issues related to colonization in the Italian zone and a Rolodex of scholars studying Italian North Africa. In *L'Africa del Duce: I crimini fascisti in Africa* (Varese: Arterigere, 2008), Ntonella Randazzo discusses Italian colonization practices as tied to Italian imperialist rhetoric. In *Oltremare: Storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2002), Nicola Labanca discusses Italian racial policy and economic objectives in Italy's colonies. In these books, the focus is on colonization, not the camps.

Andrea Giuseppini and Roman Herzog have led a collaborative effort to identify, codify, and analyze fascist camps in the AOI, relying primarily on testimony. These testimonies as well as documents they have unearthed are housed at: www.campifascisti.it.

Alexis Herr

**[Editor's note: Due to the lack of source material, the Encyclopedia does not cover the camps in AOI individually, but a list of locations follows this introduction.]*

NOTES

1. Sabina Donati, *A Political History of National Citizenship and Identity in Italy, 1861–1950* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), p. 184.

2. For more on the war in Somalia and Italian imperialism, see Randazzo, *L'Africa del Duce*, pp. 147–234.

3. Donati, *A Political History of National Citizenship and Identity in Italy*, pp. 189–190.

4. Alberto Sbacchi, "Italy and the Treatment of the Ethiopian Aristocracy, 1937–1940," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 10: 2 (1977): 209–241.

5. Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), pp. 129–130.

6. For more on British and Commonwealth forces' capture of Italian POWs in North Africa from 1940 to 1943, see Kent Fedorowich, "Propaganda and Political Warfare: The Foreign Office, Italian POWs and the Free Italy Movement, 1940–3," in Bob Moore and Kent Fedorowich, eds., *Prisoners of War and Their Captors in World War II* (Oxford: Berg, 1996), pp. 119–147.

7. Andrea Giuseppini and Roman Herzog, "I campi fascisti," www.campifascisti.it/index.php.

8. Roman Herzog, *Stavo cercando le corna e la coda, ma non le avevano. Guerra, deportazione e campi durante l'Impero fascista in Etiopia* (Rome: Audiodoc, 2012).

9. For more details, see I Campi Fascisti, "La ricerca su I campi fascisti in Africa," Atti del Convegno: I Campi Fascisti, www.campifascisti.it/file/Herzog.pdf.

List of camps in Italian-occupied East Africa (AOI)

Site name	Location	Category
Eritrea:		
Adakamre	Dekemhare	unknown
Adi Keyn (Adi Caieh)	Adi Keyh	POW camp
Adi Kuala	Adi Kuala	unknown
Agordat	Agordat	POW camp
Asmara	Asmara	internment camp
Asmara	Asmara	transit camp
Assab	Assab	concentration camp
Addi Ugri or Adi Ugri	Mendefera	concentration camp
Addi Ugri or Adi Ugri	Mendefera	POW camp
Massawa (Massaua)	Massawa	transit camp
Massawa (Massaua)	Massawa	unknown
Nefasilk	Nefasit	prison
Nocra	Nocra Island	concentration camp
Ethiopia:		
Addis Abeba	Addis Ababa	internment camp
Addis Abeba Municipal Building	Addis Ababa	unknown
Adwa (Adua)	Adwa	POW camp
Akaki Radio Station	Pianura di Akaki	concentration camp
Alam Bakagni Prison	Addis Ababa	prison
Ambo	Ambo	concentration camp
Bejirond Zelleke Agadew's residence	Addis Ababa	prison
Bonga	Bonga	unknown
Caserna di Carbinieri di Addis Abeba	Addis Ababa	unknown
Chagal	Wartu Chagal	unknown
Commissariato di Addis Abeba	Addis Ababa	internment camp
Commissariato di Debre Birhan	Debre Birhan	prison
Dabat	Dabat	unknown
Debre Birhan	Debre Birhan	unknown
Debra Sina	Debra Sina	unknown
Debre Tabor	Debre Tabor	unknown
Dejazmach Latibalu's residence	Addis Ababa	unknown
Dejazmach Oube's residence	Addis Ababa	unknown
Dire Dawa	Dire Dawa	concentration camp
Enda Medani Alem	Enda Medani Alem	POW camp
Forte di Mandida	Mendida	unknown
Genete Le'ul Palace	Addis Ababa	unknown
Harar	Harar	concentration camp
Korem–Quoram	Korem	concentration camp

(continued)

List of camps in Italian-occupied East Africa (AOI) (*continued*)

Site name	Location	Category
Maktiwa	Mak'at'awa or Mek'et'ewa	unknown
Mek'ele (Macallè)	Mek'ele	POW camp
Mek'ele (Macallè)	Mek'ele	prison
Mojo	Mojo or Moggio	concentration camp
Police garage / Fit-Ber Prison	Addis Ababa	unknown
Ras Abbebe's residence	Addis Ababa	unknown
Shano	Shano	concentration camp
St. George's Prison	Addis Ababa	prison
St. Tekle Haymanot Church	Debre Libanos	unknown
Tige bet / Tyit-bet	Addis Ababa	prison
Ufficio Politico di Addis Abeba	Addis Ababa	internment camp
Somalia:		
Dhanaane (Danane)	Dhanaane	concentration camp
Gaalkacyo (Rocca Littorio)	Gaalkacyo	concentration camp
Itala	Adale / Cadale	concentration camp
Janaale-janale (Genale)	Janaale	forced labor camp
Mogadishu	Muqdisho	concentration camp
Mogadishu	Muqdisho	prison
Moico	Moico	forced labor camp
Obbia-Hobyaa	Hobyaa	concentration camp

Source: www.campifascisti.it.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED GREECE*

AKRONAFPLIA

Akronafplia (or Akronauplia) is a rocky peninsula in the city of Nafplio whose fortified location offered the ideal acropolis to the city from antiquity. Nafplio (Peloponnese region) is more than 93 kilometers (58 miles) southwest of Athens and 238 kilometers (148 miles) south-southeast of Trikala. On February 22, 1937, under the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas, the notorious Akronafplia concentration camp for communists was established at the site of a nineteenth-century prison.¹ The camp was intended to detain the most dangerous communists, who were gathered from exile sites and prisons.² Called *Akronafpliotēs*, the political prisoners numbered from 600 to 650. From the camp's founding until its closure in February 1943, more than 1,200 prisoners passed through the site.³ Akronafplia became a symbol of the resistance during the occupation. In February 1943, the communist newspaper *Rizospastēs* proclaimed, "Akronafplia became the bastion of the people's freedom . . . Your name will be immortal in Greek history!"⁴

During the interwar period, when the Sub-Ministry of Public Security supervised the camp, the conditions inside Akronafplia were horrendous. The detainees were exposed to wind and cold. The wooden floors were ideal breeding places for vermin. The building's four sections, with a theoretical capacity of 50 people each, were crammed with 100 and later as many as 150 prisoners.⁵

During the Italian occupation Akronafplia was under the jurisdiction of the Greek Interior Ministry and the Directorate of Special Security of the State (*Diéftbinsi Eidikís Asfaleías tou Krátous*). The camp was guarded by 50 to 70 Greek gendarmes. The camp commanders during the occupation were, in turn, second lieutenants (*Yposminagos*) N. Giannikos and Vazitaris. The vice commander was Warrant Officer Bougas, whom the detainees nicknamed "Goering." The role of the guards was to pressure the detainees to renounce communism.⁶

The prisoners organized camp life in the form of a commune (*Omada Symviōsēs*). All of the political prisoners of Akronafplia were members of the commune, even those who espoused Far Left (non-Stalinist) political views. They elected a seven- to nine-member committee that represented them before the administration. Each committee member was in charge of an aspect of camp life, such as health or education. Units of skilled workers among the prisoners, such as plumbers and blacksmiths, covered the town's needs.⁷

During the Italo-Greek War, the Akronafplia detainees appealed in three separate letters to the government condemning the invasion and asking to be sent to the front. The government

ignored their appeals.⁸ Because Nafplio was one of the evacuation ports for British troops in Greece, the city came under heavy bombardment by the Luftwaffe. In response the detainees built a shelter. During one attack, an explosion severely damaged the prison's roof.⁹ After the prisoners repeatedly entreated the camp administration to allow them to fight against the Germans, they were promised guns and service alongside the guards, but instead Akronafplia's commander, Giannikos, delivered the camp and its prisoners to the German authorities on April 29, 1941. The German authorities then placed the Greek guard in charge of the camp. When the Italian authorities succeeded the Germans, they also relegated camp administration to the Greeks, but posted Italian sentries outside.¹⁰

The famine in occupied Greece hit the camp during the winter of 1941. When the Italians provided food only to the camp guards, the detainees sent a series of letters concerning food provisioning to the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the collaborationist government, and the Italian authorities. On December 1, 1942, *Rizospastēs* reported that the detainees even sent a telegram to the prime minister of the collaborationist government, Lieutenant General Georgios Tsolakoglou, petitioning for an increase in their subsidy.¹¹ Some prisoners received food and clothing from their families. Resistance organizations from the Peloponnese, Thessalia, and Macedonia also sent some help. After repeated appeals, the Italians granted small quantities of seized food, mostly potatoes (100 to 120 grams [3.5 to 4.2 ounces] daily), to the inmates. Two detainees were sent to Nafplio to obtain food, but found nothing. The detainees asked for a committee of prisoners to be sent to the countryside, where food could be found. The camp command took advantage of the detainees' difficult position and pushed them to sign a recantation of their political beliefs: "Sign and then go out and eat."¹² One of the detainees, Antonis Flountzis, remembers that "in the end, after all our demands were in vain we were gathered at the (prison's) bars and started yelling—We are hungry! We are hungry! We made a huge fuss. Our voices were heard up to Nafplio."¹³ The commander was forced to yield.

The National Solidarity movement (*Ethniki Allileggyi*, EA), the EES, and the ICRC helped the detainees during this difficult period. The EES contributed food shipments beginning January 12, 1942.¹⁴ Prisoner Kostas Tsirkas wrote in a letter to his wife on March 9, 1942: "As far as food goes, don't ask, it's not good! The food we eat is not enough to keep us standing. Only the Red Cross sends food now and then and the dried vegetables they send help us recover a bit. We wait again for a dispatch now."¹⁵ EA also expended considerable efforts to help the prisoners survive. The organization intervened as soon as the famine broke out, sending

*For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled Greece, see page 396.

aid from September to November 1941, even before the EES provided assistance, and practically saving the 600 Akronafplia prisoners from a certain death. Thus, few detainees died from hunger or disease,¹⁶ although on December 1, 1942, *Rizospastēs* reported, "At Akronafplia more fighters died of hunger and torture, comrades Charilaos Thomas and Kostas Stathopoulos."¹⁷

On June 30, 1941, after the intervention of the Bulgarian authorities, 27 Slavic Macedonians (members of the Greek Communist Party, *Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas*, KKE) who came from Bulgarian-occupied Greek Macedonia were released from Akronafplia.¹⁸ An additional 22 detainees from Akronafplia were transferred to the Petra Olympou Sanitarium. Among them was Giannis Ioannidis, the KKE's unofficial second secretary during the occupation. On the night of July 14, 1941, 12 of them escaped with the help of a guard who followed them. In late November 1942, 200 political prisoners were transferred from Akronafplia to Katoouna. Those who stayed were transferred by the Germans to the Pavlos Melas camp and were murdered on March 1, 1943.¹⁹ On April 7, 1943, members of the Greek People's Liberation Army (*Ellinikós Laikós Apeleftherotikós Stratós*, ELAS) freed 56 former detainees from Akronafplia who were then in the Sotiria sanitarium, recovering from tuberculosis.²⁰ At Akronafplia itself, the detainees never attempted an escape. A recurring theme in postwar memoirs was strong criticism of prisoner leadership, which was relatively mute at the time.²¹

In January 1943, the German and Italian authorities began to commit retaliatory murders all over Greece in response to the growing strength of the resistance, and the prisoners at Akronafplia made up the first target pool. On January 6, 10 detainees were transferred to Athens to be shot by the Germans. On January 8, EA mobilized and formed multimember commissions that protested to the Italian authorities, the EES, the neutral state embassies, and the Greek government, asking for the cancellation of the decision. However, six of the hostages were murdered.²²

The dismantling of the Akronafplia camp started in September 1942. On September 14, the Greek administration delivered 50 detainees to the Italians, who on September 16 transferred half to the Larissa and half to the Trikala camps.²³ Most of the remaining prisoners were transferred to Larissa: 100 detainees on January 30, 1943, and 150 on February 18, 1943. The last to remain were 56 detainees suffering from tuberculosis who were transferred to the Sotiria sanitarium on February 27, 1943.²⁴

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Akronafplia camp include Polymeris Voglis, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners during the Greek Civil War* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002); and Spyros Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou* (Athens: Themelio, 1988). Books about deceased resistance fighters and chronicles of the resistance include some information about the Akronafplia camp: Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Nea Vivlia, 1974); *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysion tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tēs*

Elladas, vol. A: 1918–1945 (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē tou KKE, 1986); and *Epesan gia tē Zōē: Erōēs—Martyres Laikōn, Apeleftherotikōn Agōnōn*, vol. B (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē KKE, 1994).

Primary sources documenting the Akronafplia camp can be found in *Rizospastēs* and *To Kommounistiko Komma Helladas: Episēma Keimena—1940–1945*, vol. 5 (Athens: Synchronē Epochē, 1981). Early postwar testimonies include *Ethnikē Allēleggyē, Mia Prospatheia kai enas Athlos: To Ergo tis Ethnikis Allēleggyis Ellados* (Athens: N.P., 1945). Published testimonies are Vasilēs Giannōnkōnas, *Akronauplia* (1963; Athens: Difros, 2011); Gerasimos Antōnatos, *Ē Katōchē stēn Akronauplia* (Athens: ODEV, 1967); Vasilēs Bartziotas, *Ki Astrapse Phōs hē Akronauplia! Apo tēn Epōpoiā tōn Laikōn Agōnistōn benos Katergou: Dokimio* (Athens: Ekdoseis Synchronē Epochē, 1977); Giannēs Manousakas, *Akronauplia (Thrylos kai Pragmatikotēta)* (1975; Athens: Dōrikos, 1978); Manousakas, *To Chroniko Enos Agōna: Akronauplia, 1939–1943* (Athens: Gnōsē, 1986); Antōnēs Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes 1937–1943* (Athens: Themelio, 1979); and Giannēs Ioannidēs, *Anamnēseis, Provlēmata tēs Politikēs toy KKE stēn Ethnikē Antistasē 1940–1945* (Athens: Themelio, 1979).

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skourliakou

NOTES

1. Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, p. 396; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 73.
2. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 77–80.
3. *Rizospastēs*, February 11, 1943.
4. Ibid.
5. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 80–84; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 99, 103.
6. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 85–96, 187–212.
7. Ibid., pp. 97–99; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 101–103.
8. *Chroniko Agōnōn*, pp. 129–130; Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs*, pp. 27–28; *To Kommounistiko Komma Helladas*, pp. 271–272; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 311–318.
9. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 322–325.
10. Ibid., pp. 325–327; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 246.
11. *Rizospastēs*, December 1, 1942.
12. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 357–362.
13. Ibid., p. 360.
14. Ibid., pp. 363–376.
15. Ibid., p. 370.
16. Ibid., pp. 378–383.
17. *Rizospastēs*, December 1, 1942; *Epesan gia tē Zōē*, pp. 185, 219.
18. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 407–408.
19. Detainees' testimonies (Polychronē Polychroniadē and Markou Vafeiadē) on the escape in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 409–413; *Epesan gia tē Zōē*, p. 101.
20. Detainees' testimonies (Giōrgēs Vontitsos, Tasos Kīnoglou, Pythagoras Valakos, and Spyros Kōtsakēs) in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 355–356, 414–421.
21. Ibid., pp. 329–356; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*.
22. *Ethnikē Allēleggyē*, pp. 88–89; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 436–438.

23. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 435–436.
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 466.

ANAFI ISLAND

Anafi Island (Aegean region, Cyclades Islands) is 256 kilometers (159 miles) southeast of Athens and 28 kilometers (17 miles) east of Thira Island (Santorini). The island was first used as a place of exile in 1918. Called *Anafiotes*, the political prisoners on Anafi grew considerably in number during the first years of the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas (1936–1938). The exiles included Marxists of different stripes and Old Believers, a religious minority that refused to accept the Gregorian calendar, which had been introduced in Greece in 1923. Anafi was the largest exile camp in the Greek islands. In 1937, the exiles outnumbered the islanders, reaching 750 people. From February to March 1937 onward the detainees from Anafi were sent to the newly established concentration camp for communists (*Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas*, KKE) at Akronauplia (or Akronauplia). In 1938 the number of exiles was reduced to 350.¹

The political exiles founded one of the best-organized communes (in a leftist political sense) among the exile camps: the Commune of Political Exiles of Anafi (*Omada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Anaphēs*, OSPEA). In response to the authoritarian regime, OSPEA organized the exiles' life by providing cultural activities and ideological and educational training, as well as creating work groups by skill set. OSPEA also published a handwritten newspaper called *The Antifascist* (*Antifasistas*). During the prewar years and the occupation, OSPEA was a largely effective shield against hunger, disease, and the Metaxas regime's demand that political prisoners sign the "Recantation" (*"Dēlōsē Metanoias"*), a document stating their renunciation of communism. The Metaxas regime issued each exile a 10-drachma subsidy, which was insufficient for survival.² In a display of satire against the regime, the exiles nicknamed their pet dog "Goebbels."

The living conditions were particularly harsh, mostly because of conditions on the island. Anafi is a largely infertile, arid island with little vegetation. Storms made anchoring particularly difficult, thus often leaving the island short of drinking water, food, and communications with the mainland. Most buildings lacked electricity.

At the outbreak of the Italo-Greek War, the exiles petitioned Athens for permission to volunteer for military service. Their request was rejected.

The staff guarding the island consisted of 24 Greek gendarmes. Before the Italians arrived on the island, the exiles tried to persuade their guards to leave for the nearby island of Crete. Although the guards apparently accepted this proposal, their commander, Warrant Officer Yannis Rigas, was opposed, and he ultimately delivered the approximately 220 exiles on the island to the Italians on May 4, 1941. According to exile Kostas Mpirkas, the first Italians were merchant seamen under the command of naval officers.³ Italian soldiers later replaced them.

Initially, Italian rule was lenient. For example, the Italian authorities permitted the exiles to visit nearby islands for food supplies. When the administration passed to the carabinieri, however, the situation became harsh and increasingly restrictive, and prisoners were subjected to surprise inspections. Under Italian direction, the Greek gendarmerie took on special duties, such as counting those unable to show up for morning roll call because of illness.

Shortly after their arrival, the Italian commander notified the exiles that they were to be transferred to the mainland. As a result, they sold or gave away their food supplies and returned the rented fields before the harvest. Notified later that the transfer order had been rescinded, they missed the harvest, had insufficient supplies, and only managed to get back a few of the things they had given away. To compound matters, the carabinieri forbade any receipt of parcels or checks, and even the government subsidy went unpaid. As a result, they were unprepared for the coming winter. Unfortunately, the famine of the winter of 1941 was extremely harsh for all of the Cyclades Islands and in particular for the nearly infertile Anafi.

The famine began in September 1941. The exiles ate what little food they possessed and then turned to snails and wild herbs. They made formal requests for food to the Italians, who provided them with an inadequate supply of flour and beans. However, some guards secretly gave them food. Hunger drove some to devour whatever they could find—dead animals, fruit peelings, and dirty herbs—thus risking food poisoning. Although OSPEA punished those who stole food from the island's inhabitants, some cases of theft still occurred. Complete exhaustion from hunger confined many exiles to bed for days. The first two famine victims were Manolis Perlorentzos (February 22, 1942), the editor of *Antifasistas*, and Apostolos Apostolidis, the very next day. During the funeral some were unable to follow the procession, fell down, and lost consciousness. The victims who followed were buried in the cemetery without services, because no one was in a position to organize them. The famine lasted for eight or nine months and cost the lives of 18 to 20 detainees.

Some assistance apparently reached the island via the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES). There are reports of food supplies from the EES arriving at the end of December 1941 and in the spring of 1942.⁴ During that period, the detainees seemed to have convinced the Italians to transfer the seriously ill to hospitals in Athens, but transports were difficult and slow. For some transfer came too late: they died on the way to the boat or on board, in which case their bodies were thrown into the sea, or they succumbed in hospitals in Athens.

In cooperation with resistance organizations, the *Anafiotes* succeeded in organizing some escapes. Some of those transferred to hospitals on the mainland managed to escape with help from the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Μέτωπο*, EAM). A large group of exiles was transferred to Athens and kept in police stations in Piraeus. They were notified that the German authorities were going to shoot them, and in mid-December 1942, 15 exiles escaped from three

of the police stations, including Nikos Tzamaloukas. Those who escaped assumed important positions in the resistance.

Many *Anafiotēs* were transferred to the German-run Pavlos Melas camp in Thessalonika. The conditions there were horrendous, and the very exhausted soon succumbed to hunger and harsh treatment.⁵ The communist newspaper, *Rizospastēs*, reported on December 1, 1942, that “within the last 40 days, 15 fellow fighters died of the 37 having been transferred from Anafi to the Pavlos Melas camp.”⁶

The exiles who survived the famine soon confronted another danger, namely retaliatory murders that the German and Italian authorities started committing all over Greece as the resistance grew stronger. The Axis used hostages as a human reservoir for the firing squads after any resistance act, and political prisoners were in the first rank of the shooting lists. The occupiers murdered approximately 140 exiles from Anafi.⁷

In June 1942, 45 exiles (58, according to other sources) who came from Bulgarian-occupied eastern Macedonia and Thrace were notified of their impending release from Anafi.⁸ However, when they arrived at the Pavlos Melas camp in Thessalonika, the Germans and the Bulgarians made their release conditional on their signing a certificate to become Bulgarian subjects, which they refused to do. On December 30, 1942, the German authorities murdered the 45 *Anafiotēs* in retaliation for sabotage by ELAS.⁹

By the summer of 1943 approximately 70 exiles remained on Anafi. At the beginning of June and probably for security reasons, the Italians gathered the few scattered political exiles from the barren islands and transferred them to the Kea (Tzia) Island opposite Attica and close to Athens. The 70 *Anafiotēs* probably made up the largest contingent of these exiles. When the Italians capitulated in September 1943, they were released. The exiles rented boats and headed to Syros Island, where the Greek gendarmerie arrested them, imprisoned them on Lazzaretta Island, and delivered them to the Germans who took control of the island. The German authorities transferred the prisoners to the Haidari camp in Athens, where many were used as retaliation hostages.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Anafi Island exile camp include Spyros Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou* (Athens: Themelio, 1988); and Margaret E. Kenna, *The Social Organisation of Exile: Greek Political Detainees in the 1930s* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 2001). This essay refers to the Greek edition: Margaret E. Kenna, *Ἡ Κοινωνικὴ Ὄργανωσὶς τῆς Ἐξορίας. Πολιτικοὶ Κρατούμενοι στὸν Μεσopoleμό* (Athens: Alexandria, 2004), as well as Kostas Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974: Ἡ Syntrophikῇ Apantēsē stē Via kai ton Enkleismo* (Athens: Philistor, 2001); Dēmētrēs Sarantakos et al., eds., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn* (Athens: Hypourgeio Aigaiou kai Etairia Diasōsēs Istorikōn Archeiōn 1940–1974: 2004); and Thodoris Roumpanis, *Tō Ethnos*, October 26, 2007, at www.ethnos.gr/article.asp?catid=22768&subid=2&pubid=141256. Special editions for deceased resistance fighters and chronicles of the resistance include valuable information about the Anafi Island camp: *Epesan gia tē Zōē: Hērōēs—Martyres Laikōn, Apeleutherōtikōn Agōnōn*, vol. B (Athens: Kentrikῇ Epitropῇ KKE, 1994); *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysiōn tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tēs Helladas*,

vol. A: *1918–1945* (Athens: Kentrikῇ Epitropῇ tou KKE, 1986); and Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Nea Vivlia, 1974).

Exile life on Anafi Island is documented in some published testimonies of former exiles, such as Kōstas Mpirkas, *Selides tou Agōna: Hērōiko Chroniko tēs Dekapentaetias 1935–1950* (Athens: Melissa, 1966); Giōrgēs Zarkos, *Homada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Anaphēs OSPEA* (Athens: A. Karavia, 1946); and Nikos Tzamaloukas, *Anaphē: Enas Golgothas tēs Leuterias (Anamnēseis)* (Athens: Eirēnē, 1975). Samples of the *Anafiotēs*’ handwritten newspapers can be viewed in an article by Margaret Kenna, “Conformity and Subversion: Handwritten Newspapers from an Exiles’ Commune,” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies JMGs* 26 (2008): 115–157. Photographs secretly taken by exiles and hidden on the island can be viewed at www.swansea.ac.uk/cssee1/anafi.htm.

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skouroliahou

NOTES

1. Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974*, pp. 28–29; Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 51; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, p. 426.
2. Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974*, pp. 28–29; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, pp. 431–433; for the newspaper *Antifasisistas* where there is also a photograph with the front page of the March 25, 1942, edition, see Kenna, *Ἡ Κοινωνικὴ Ὄργανωσὶς τῆς Ἐξορίας*, pp. 132–133.
3. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 52; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, pp. 433–434; Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974*, pp. 29–30; Kenna, *Ἡ Κοινωνικὴ Ὄργανωσὶς τῆς Ἐξορίας*, pp. 116–117.
4. Kenna, *Ἡ Κοινωνικὴ Ὄργανωσὶς τῆς Ἐξορίας*, p. 126; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, p. 435.
5. *Epesan gia tē Zōē*, pp. 165, 210.
6. “Agōnistētē kata tōn orgiōn tēs tyrānias,” *Rizospastēs*, December 1, 1942.
7. Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, pp. 435–436; Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 53.
8. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 53; Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974*, p. 31.
9. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio Archipelagos Martyriōn*, p. 53; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, pp. 436–437; *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysiōn*, pp. 160–161; *Epesan gia tē Zōē*, pp. 165, 174, 180, 184, 187, 206, 221, 227.

ATHENS/AVEROF PRISON

The prison building, located on Alexandras Avenue in the Ampelokēpoi quarter of Athens, was completed in 1896. It was named after Yeōrgios Averōf, who, in 1892, made a generous contribution toward its construction. The building, Averōf (or Averof) Prison, was intended to be a prison for juvenile offenders, implementing a law issued by King Yeōrgios I in 1896, and was named Efēveion (Adolescence) Averōf.

Beginning in 1916, the prison was also used to hold political and military prisoners. Before the occupation, the prison included the Efēveion section, political prisoners, and the

criminals of Athens. Compared to the horrendous conditions in most of the other Greek prisons during the interwar years, Averöf Prison was considered, as one lawyer mentioned, the only one that could actually be called a prison.

During the occupation, Averöf Prison was put under German and Italian joint administration, as was the case for both the cities of Athens and Piraeus. Both used it as a site for judicial and extrajudicial detention. There was an Italian and a separate German wing. The Italians, in addition to guarding their own wing, were also responsible for guarding the perimeter of the prison. Thus, many Italian soldiers were on sentry duty along the perimeter.¹

The commander of the prison's Italian wing was Major Guido Corti. The prisoners regarded him positively, because he treated them humanely, especially those who were condemned to execution. He built a kiosk outside the prison for the relatives of the prisoners who waited to visit them.² Corti is perhaps the only Italian military officer who was stationed in Greece who is in the *Allies' Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects, Consolidated Wanted Lists*, not for having committed a crime, but as a witness.

The Italian authorities sent everyone whom they arrested in the region of Athens to Averöf. In addition, Averöf served as a central clearinghouse for prisoners from carabinieri detention facilities, from the Comando Piazza, and from other Italian prisons and camps all over Greece.

The detainee Alexandros Zannas provides a very enlightening description of the conditions in the prison and the placement of the prisoners.³ According to his testimony, there were 12 cells measuring 1.8×2.2 meters (5.9×7.2 feet) in the basement of the prison that the Italians used as isolation cells and in which the conditions were horrendous. There were no beds or windows, and air circulated only from a small opening in the door, which opened twice a day when food was passed to the prisoners.⁴ He writes, "Isolation was complete. Any talk with neighboring cells was strictly forbidden."⁵ The infirmary was on the ground floor and was staffed by both an Italian and a Greek doctor.⁶ The first floor was used mainly to house those criminals from the countryside, and the conditions were appalling.⁷ On the second floor, one wing was used for detaining Italian soldiers convicted of criminal law offenses; the other wing held Greeks with long-term sentences or awaiting execution.⁸ On the third floor were incarcerated "at the one side political convicts, not a few black marketeers and common criminals who were often used as informants of the Italians. At the other side there were also political convicts, most of them though from the countryside."⁹

At Averöf, the Germans and Italians held most of those whom they had arrested for resistance actions in Athens, including those to whom the British had given money and support. Greek citizens and military personnel whom the Italians had arrested for resistance activities, whether already convicted or being tried, were held together at the prison. Resistance activities included hiding weapons, committing acts of sabotage, transmitting messages to the British headquarters in the Middle East via a radio transmitter provided by the Allies, lis-

tening to foreign radio broadcasts, attempting to escape to the Middle East,¹⁰ possessing and promoting clandestine newspapers, stealing from Italian authorities, participating in clandestine resistance organizations, hiding and caring for Allied personnel, participating in networks sending Allies or Greeks to the Middle East, taking part in strikes and public demonstrations,¹¹ and inciting attacks against Italian soldiers and their Greek collaborators.

Although the Germans were more successful in arresting members of and dismantling resistance organizations, the Italians did incarcerate many resistance fighters at Averöf. Lena Karayannē, the legendary leader of the organization Mpoupoulina, was held in Averöf for six months. Some of the members of the Tsardakas Group, the first Greek resistance organization to undertake military action, were also transferred to Averöf. The group fought the Italians in the Othrys mountains in the region of Almyros in Thessaly in June 1941, and 32 of its members were executed by the Italians in Almyros, Chalcidida, and Athens.¹² In October 1941, an "Investigation Battalion" (probably Italian), after having surrounded the village of Nestorio Kastorias and terrorizing the villagers, interrogated the male population to see if there were any hidden weapons. Thirty young men and women were arrested and sent to Averöf Prison.¹³

One of the Italians' biggest successes was arresting members of Operation Isinglass, which was designed by the British to send information, commit acts of sabotage, and operate clandestine networks to aid escaping Allied personnel. Among the 36 people whom the Italians sent to Averöf was the leader of the operation, Lieutenant John Atkinson, as well as prominent figures of Athenian society, such as the former minister Alexandros Zannas and Theodōros Kountouriōtēs, who was a naval officer and son of an emblematic figure in Greek society and history, the admiral and first president of the Hellenic Republic, Pavlos Kountouriōtēs.¹⁴ Another big success for the Italians was the capture of the group led by the British captain MacNabb.

Other captured members of the Greek resistance were well known in Athenian society, such as Yiouris and Nikos Kalogeropoulos, grandchildren of the famous Colonel Kalogeropoulos.¹⁵ These arrests shook Athenian society,¹⁶ and the British and the exiled Greek governments attempted to intervene on behalf of the prisoners through diplomatic means.¹⁷

The Italian wing of the prison held those awaiting trial, as well as some convicts from the Italian military court. Detainees in custody were often sent to the Italian military court and then back to Averöf Prison to serve their time as convicts. The Italians established the court at 91 and 93 Patēsion Street, at the former premises of the Greek motorized police department.¹⁸

Most convicts were transferred at some point to Italian camps around the country or by boat to camps in Italy. The court sentenced some detainees to death. The Italians carried out executions less frequently than the Germans, bringing the prisoners outside Averöf and shooting them in the surrounding fields. The Germans executed prisoners inside the prison, in the west yard.¹⁹

During the Italian capitulation, the Italians burned the files that detailed the reasons for prisoners' detention, along with other information. As a result, the Germans did not know who among the detainees were resistance fighters or posed a danger for the occupation forces, and thus they freed many of them.²⁰

SOURCES An important source for the executions of the prisoners and their last moments are the reports written by the priests after the executions; the priests often accompanied the prisoners until the very end. Some of these reports are available in Iōanna Tsatsou, *Ektelesthenes epi Katochēs* (Athens: Oi Ekdoseis tōn Filōn, 1976), pp. 129–196. See also Alexandros Zannas, *Ē Katochē. Anamnēseis—Epistoles* (Athens: Vivliopoleion tēs Estias, 1964); Rigas Rigopoulos, *Secret War: Greece-Middle East, 1940–1945: The Events Surrounding the Story of Service 5-16-5* (Paducah: Turner 2003); Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Istoria tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Nea Vivlia, 1974); E. Panas, *Tria Chronia sta Cheria tōn Nazi 1942–1945* (Athens: Filippotē, 1985); Voglis Polymeris, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners During the Greek Civil War* (New York: Berghahn, 2002); Kōnstantinos Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous! Yermanika kai Italika Stratodikeia Katochēs: Organōsē, Synthesē, Dikes kai Paraskēnia* (Athens: N.P., 1946); Iōanna Tsatsou, *Fylla Katochēs* (Athens: Estia, 1987); Christoph U. Schminck-Gustavus, *Mnimes Katochēs II. Italoī kai Yermanoi sta Yannena kai ē Katostrophē tēs Evraikēs Koinotētas* (Iōannina: Isnafi, 2012); and Tsouderos Emmanouēl, *Istoriko Archeio 1941–1944*, 2 vols. (Athens: Fytraki, 1990). See also *Allies' Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects, Consolidated Wanted Lists* (Uckfield, East Sussex: Naval & Military Press, 2005).

Nikos Tzafleris

Transl. Melina Skouroliahou

NOTES

1. Panas, *Tria Chronia*, pp. 28, 35.
2. Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous!* p. 67.
3. Alexandros Zannas stayed in the prisons for almost a year: April 22, 1942–April 6, 1943. Zannas, *Ē Katochē*, p. 113.
4. *Ibid.*, 106–108.
5. *Ibid.*, 106.
6. *Ibid.*, 108–109.
7. *Ibid.*, 109.
8. *Ibid.*, 109–110.
9. *Ibid.*, 113.
10. ERT, “Martyries: Aggelos Vlachos, Enas presvēs thy-matai,” 12:10–12:22.
11. ERT, Document no. 33459, “Chroniko tis Ethnikis Antistasis, Episode 4: O Megalos Limos,” 50:20–51:23.
12. Tsatsou, *Ektelesthenes epi Katochēs*, pp. 64–66; Yōrgos Zōidēs et al., *St' Armata! St' Armata! Chroniko tēs Ethnikēs Andistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Politistikes kai Logotechnikes Ekdoseis, 1967), pp. 80–81.
13. Zōidēs et al., *Istoria tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs*, p. 111.
14. TNA, HS 5/524; Rigopoulos, *Secret War*, pp. 198–200; Paul London, “A Tribute to Roy Spencer,” *Story* 154, www.findmypast.com/articles/anzac-day-stories/page-39/paul-london; *HM Submarine Triumph's Last Patrol—December 1941*, www.hmstriumph1942.com/loss.htm. Zannas mentions that during his detention at Averōf Prison (April 22, 1942–April 6,

1943) in addition to Atkinson, a few commissioned and noncommissioned officers of the Commonwealth were held there. Zannas, *Ē Katochē*, pp. 113–117.

15. Rigopoulos, *Secret War*, pp. 53–54.

16. Tsatsou, *Fylla Katochēs*.

17. Pappas, Cairo, March 1, 1943 (pp. 586–587) and Y. Ventērēs, Geneva, March 10, 1943 (pp. 622–623) in Tsouderos, Vol. II: *Istoriko Archeio 1941–1944*.

18. Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous!*, pp. 59–61.

19. Zannas, *Ē Katochē*, p. 112.

20. See, for example, the testimony of Achilleas Kalogeridēs in Schminck-Gustavus, *Mnimes Katochēs II*, p. 113.

ATHENS/EMPEIRIKEIO

The Empeirikeio Asylum of Homeless Children was founded in 1917 and was located in the Ampelokipoi neighborhood of Athens. The asylum was transformed into a prison when Averōf, the principal prison in Athens where convicts of the Italian and German military courts were sent, became full. After October 1940, female prisoners were transferred to the three-floor female reformatory facility of Empeirikeio, after the children were relocated.¹ Empeirikeio housed only Greek women during the first period of the occupation.

After 10 to 12 months, the Greek collaborationist, Italian, and German authorities shared responsibility for the facilities.² Those detained by the Italians stayed on the third floor, whereas those arrested by the Germans were on the second. Common criminals with shaved heads occupied the first floor. According to a report of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), there were 200 detainees, but in the archive of Sister Eleni Kapari of the ICRC there was a list of 227 females, who received small amounts of aid from the Red Cross between February 27, 1942, and June 2, 1943.³

The case of Toula Mara-Michalakea is typical of the women arrested by the Italians. She was a member of the resistance in Athens whose arrest by the Italians and their Greek collaborators in January 1943 followed a denunciation. She was put in a basement cell in Komanto Piatsa. Held there for a week, she was given only a few raisins and a bun to eat during that time. Eventually, she was transferred to Empeirikeio. She describes the prison as peaceful, with large barred windows, much light, and spacious corridors. “Women, women everywhere. On the stairs, in the corridors, in their colorful traditional costumes, some of them fat, of every age holding their knitting, were approaching us. Women from Samos, Crete, and Lesbos. They were arrested because they hid the British.”⁴ In the spring of 1943, Mara-Michalakea was tried with a co-prisoner by an Italian military court located on Patission Street. They were sentenced to six and four years, respectively.

Every day new detainees came from every region in Greece, including Thessalonika and Patra. They brought with them the latest news. Illegal newspapers also circulated in the prison. At night, resisters placed the newssheet in a broken earthenware jar in the yard, and the detainees took it in the morning to read. A major agony of the detainees was isolation from their

families. At Empeirikeio, there was a group of communists or the wives of communists who served sentences imposed by the military court. Their husbands were *Akronafpliotēs*, leftist detainees originally held at the Akronafplia camp, who were detained at that time in the Larissa concentration camp. (Larissa is 217 kilometers or 135 miles northwest of Athens.) Once a month Sister Eleni Kapari brought them correspondence from Larissa.

In addition to the Italian guards, the prison employed nuns and female clerks from the Greek collaborationist government. The communal unit of detainees assigned Toulā Mara-Michalakea to deliver packages from visitors. She recalled, "We were in daily contact with the Italian guards. We started learning Italian. We needed to have good relations with the Italian guards."⁵ Mara-Michalakea recalled that an Italian guard from Naples secretly showed her photos of his children, saying, "My older son serves at the front. I haven't received any letter from him. He must be dead." And he was crying leaning against the wall, hiding his face with his hands so I won't see him. "The war is a curse! And you, poor woman, you are here . . . and all these women, away from their home and children! We are all the same. The war . . . Fascism."⁶ After Fascist Italy capitulated, the guard helped the detainees escape. Later, someone saw him wandering around Athens in rags and gave him cigarettes and money, and let him live. Mara-Michalakea worried about his fate: "But he wasn't brought to us to take care of him. Who knows where his bones lie?"⁷

The persecution of Soula Karanika illustrates the Italian authorities' judicial function and the frequent movement between the cells of the carabinieri, prisons, and Italian camps. On August 15, 1942, an Italian guard caught her hiding a resistance newspaper in the box of raisins she was distributing on behalf of the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES) as food provisions for detainees in the Larissa camp. On August 18, 1942, the Italians arrested her and her sister Koula in Larissa and transferred them to the Security Department of the carabinieri. Her three other siblings were also arrested, but were released after 10 days. Because she was ill, Soula was held in the prison ward in the Larissa hospital. At the beginning of October 1942, she was transferred to the Larissa camp, a familiar place to her, but this time she came as a detainee; she was held in its recovery room. On December 5, 1942, she was transferred to Empeirikeio in Athens. On February 10, 1943, she was sentenced by the Italian military court in Athens to five years' imprisonment. During her sentence, Sister Eleni Kapari visited her. On the night of March 22, 1943, she was back in Larissa where she spent the night in the carabinieri offices, and on the following day she was transferred for detention to the Larissa camp. Later, when the Italians started to dismantle the camp she was transferred with other detainees to the camp of Chaidari and then to Averōf Prison. She managed to escape from Averōf.⁸

During visiting hours, the detainees were allowed to go out to the camp yard where they met the female detainees held by the Germans. Inside the prison, their only forms of entertainment were group singing and dancing.

At the time of the signing of the Armistice on September 8, 1943, the detainees were worried that they were going to be handed over to the Germans.⁹ In the end, the Italian authorities secretly removed them before the Germans had time to intervene. As one of the detainees remembers,

As soon as night fell the Italian told us: "Don't turn on the light. Quietly, when the night falls all of you one by one, leaving your stuff behind, you'll go down the outdoor stairway so that the Germans guarding at the front door won't see you. You'll go through the back door." Only around 20 long-term convicts stayed behind. As the Greek employees of the prison and the Italian told us, they would hide them in the garbage truck and let them go at dawn. And this is how it was done. In the dark we started going down the stairs. We were lost in the night, one after the other so that the Germans would not catch us.¹⁰

A nun by the name of Eulampia is said to have facilitated the release of the Italians' female prisoners.

When the Germans became aware of the Italians' moves, they started shooting into the prison. The remaining prisoners sought shelter in the corridors to avoid the gunfire.¹¹ In the end, only the Germans' detainees and the long-term convicts of the Italians remained at Empeirikeio.¹²

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Empeirikeio prison in Athens under Italian occupation include Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larissas—Trikalōn 1941–1944: Hē gennēsē tou antartikou stē Thessalia* (Athens: Papazisi, 1977); Antōnēs I. Phlountsēs, *Ekletesthentes kai kratoumenoi sta chronia tēs Katochēs, 1941–1944* (Athens: Philippotē, 1987); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Empeirikeio prison in Athens under Italian occupation can be found in A-ICRC. A collection of published testimonies is Kinēsē "Hē gynaika stēn antistasē," *Gynaikes stēn Antistasē: Martyries* (Athens: Kinēsē "H Gynaika stēn Antistasē," 1982). A prisoner's memoir is Mairē Parianou, *Martyries apo tēn Antistasē kai tēn phylakē 1941–1945*, ed. Maria Spēliōtopoulou (Athens: Philippotē, 2007).

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skouroliakou

NOTES

1. Parianou, *Martyries apo tēn Antistasē*, p. 32.
2. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larissas—Trikalōn*, p. 231.
3. A-CICR, G 3/27 CI, B. 148, as cited in Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, pp. 460–461; for Sister Kapari's list, see Phlountsēs, *Ekletesthentes kai kratoumenoi sta chronia tēs Katochēs*, pp. 119–122.
4. Toulā Mara-Michalakea testimony in *Gynaikes stēn Antistasē*, p. 216.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

8. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, pp. 230–231.
9. Mara-Michalakea testimony in *Gynaikes stēn Antistasē*, pp. 216–217.
10. Ibid., p. 216.
11. Parianou, *Martyries apo tēn Antistasē*, p. 43.
12. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, p. 231.

ATHENS/KALLITHÉA

Kallithéa, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) southwest of Athens, was the site of the shooting grounds for the 1896 Olympic Games. (This suburb is not to be confused with the eponymous town outside Thessalonika.) The Italians used the premises as a prison, a situation that did not change under a succession of postwar governments.¹ Under Italian occupation, the daily number of prisoners averaged approximately 1,000.²

The Italian authorities carried out interrogations and torture at Kallithéa. A characteristic example was the “Maratheas case,” in which prisoners were tortured by Italian Counter Espionage (*Controsponaggio*, C.S.) using a metal ring around their heads. Consequently, 20 prisoners separately confessed to killing Maratheas.³

Many testimonies confirm that prisoners condemned to death by the Italian court-martial in Athens were transferred to Kallithéa for execution. The report of Father Ioannis Maroulis is an eloquent testimony describing the execution procedure. Father Maroulis was assigned to accompany three Greek prisoners during their final interrogations and their transfer for execution on January 7, 1943. He administered the last rites and witnessed their deaths by firing squad. Among the condemned was a prisoner who was allegedly on a mission for the British at the time of his capture.⁴

Not even the clergy were exempt from detention at Kallithéa. On April 30, 1943, the Italian authorities arrested the monks Grigoris Atsalis and Ilias Sideris. After initial confinement in Syros prison, they were subsequently transferred to Kallithéa and held there for six months.⁵

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) made strenuous efforts to aid the prisoners. The archive of Sister Eleni Kapari of the ICRC includes a name list of 331 prisoners who received assistance between January 1 and December 25, 1943.⁶ The association for prisoners, *Ergon Paramythias Kratoumenon*, also assisted, providing medicine and food in cooperation with the ICRC.

In Kallithéa, the events that followed the Italian Armistice were particularly dramatic. The day that Italy fell, the archbishop of Athens and Greece, Damaskinos, asked the Italian chargé d'affaires to release its prisoners. Later, he met with the Italian commander of Kallithéa prison, Viniola, once again asking for the prisoners' release, to which he received an affirmative response. Meanwhile, the archbishop's office was receiving desperate pleas from prisoners' relatives. Using proceeds gathered from local merchants, Archbishop Damaskinos met once again with Viniola, determined to bribe him to open the prison doors. Viniola took the money, claiming he would buy clothes

for his men, who would have to take off their uniforms on their release. They agreed that the next day at 7 A.M., when the prisoners were to be released, Viniola would be taken to a safe place until the war ended. “The Italian swore on the icon of the Holy Mary that he would do that, he took the money, he fled, he didn't open the prisons and he disappeared.”⁷

The German authorities took control of the Italian-run prisons in Athens on September 10. In the early afternoon the prisoners themselves opened the doors of Kallithéa, after the Italians had released some of the prisoners. Many people gathered and started shouting, “Down with fascism!” The archbishop's office received a call, which reported, “At Kallithéa there are gunshots!”⁸ The German authorities once again confined the prisoners to Kallithéa. They also arrested the prison's 80 Italian guards. In the meantime, the ICRC and the *Ergon Paramythias Kratoumenon* continued to pressure for the release of the prisoners even after the Germans took control of the prisoners. A considerable number of prisoners were released from German jurisdiction, up to November 1943.⁹

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kallithéa prison include Petros Antaios et al. (eds.), *Mavrē Vivlos tēs Katochēs—Schwarzbuch der Besatzung*, 2nd ed. (Athens: Nationalrat für die Entschädigungsforderungen Griechenlands an Deutschland—Ethniko Symvoulío gia tē Diekdikēsē tōn Opheilōn tēs Germanias pros tēn Ellada, 2006); Vardēs V. Vardinogiannēs, *Den thelō na mu desete ta matia* (Athens: Etairia Diasōsēs Historikōn Archeiōn, 2004); Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Ekletesthentes kai Kratoumenoi sta Chronia tēs Katochēs, 1941–1944* (Athens: Philippotē, 1987); Ēlektronikē Vivliothēkē tēs Apostolikēs Diakonias tēs Ekklesiās tēs Ellados, “Porfyrogennētos,” www.apostoliki-diakonia.gr; Ēlias Venezēs, *Archiepiskopos Damaskēnos: Hoi chrōnoi tēs douleias* (Athens: Vivliopōleion tēs Hestias, 1981); and Christoph U. Schminck-Gustavus et al., *Mnēmes Katochēs* (Iōnnina: Ekdoseis Isnaphi, 2007–2011). The last source includes prisoner testimonies.

Primary sources documenting the Kallithéa prison can be found in *Ethnikē Allēleggyē*, *Mia Prospatheia kai enas Athlos: Tō Ergo tis Ethnikēs Allēleggyis Ellados* (Athens: N.P., 1945) and Kōnstantinos Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous! Germanika kai Italika Stratopeda Katochēs: Organōsē, Synthesē, Dikes kai Paraskēnia* (Athens: N.P., 1946).

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skourliakou

NOTES

1. A photograph of the shooting range from 1900 can be found at www.esperos.com/?page_id=1019.
2. Antaios et al., *Mavrē Vivlos tēs Katochēs*, pp. 135–136.
3. Koukkidēs, *Ē Dikaiosynē tous!* p. 66.
4. As cited in Vardinogiannēs, *Den thelō na mu desete ta matia*, pp. 57–58.
5. Ēlektronikē Vivliothēkē, www.apostoliki-diakonia.gr/gr_main/catehism/theologia_zoi/themata.asp?contents=eclesia_history/contents_Katoxi.asp&main=katoxi_2&file=IMPARONAXIAS.htm#_ftnref1.
6. Phlountzēs, *Ekletesthentes kai kratoumenoi*, pp. 123–127.
7. Ibid.

8. Quotations in Venezēs, *Archiepiskopos Damaskēnos*, pp. 270–273.

9. Ethnikē Allēleggyē, *Mia Prospatbeia kai enas Athlos*, p. 90.

CORFÜ-LAZARETTO ISLAND

Lazaretto Island (Corfù, Ionian region) covers an area of nearly 7 hectares (18 acres) and is located just over 3 kilometers (2 miles) northeast of Corfù (Greek: Kérkyra). It is 381 kilometers (237 miles) northwest of Athens. In the spring of 1943, the Italian authorities operated a camp for Greek resisters and hostages on the island.

When Benito Mussolini came into office in 1922, he had designs on the Ionian region. A strong indicator of his plans was the temporary conquest of Corfù, after a naval bombardment of the island on August 31, 1923, without warning, that caused civilian casualties and damaged the Venetian castle, the Jewish cemetery, and many buildings. The Italians withdrew from the island on September 27 after international intervention. However, after Greece capitulated in April 1941 to the Germans and the Italians seized a large part of Greek territory, the Ionian Islands were placed under direct Italian administration. The Italians tried to establish a special status in the islands, issuing a new currency—the Ionian drachma—and publishing newspapers in Italian, with the aim of full annexation.

During the occupation of Greece, however, the Italian forces faced significant security problems. These problems reflected their security weaknesses on the ground, a result of the growing resistance movement in Greece and the defeats of the Italian regime at the front that ultimately led to Mussolini's fall. The case of 200 communist prisoners, called the *Akronafpliotēs* after the camp in which they were originally held, Akronafplia, was a characteristic example of the gradual dismantling of Italian hegemony in Greece. The communists were considered extremely dangerous to the Italian occupation (the “communist peril,” *comunisti pericolosi*). The Italian authorities were well aware that the leadership of the Communist Party of Greece (*Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas*, KKE) and the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo*, EAM), the largest resistance organization in Greece—their deadliest enemies—recruited communist escapees. Therefore, while the resistance was growing and the Italians controlled fewer regions in Greece, they transferred the *Akronafpliotēs* from one camp to the other, always closer to Italy: in November 1942 to Katouna; on March 20, 1943, to Vonitsa; and finally in June to Corfù-Lazaretto.¹

Under Venetian and later British occupation Lazaretto Island was used as a quarantine site; hence its name. Using the existing facilities on Lazaretto, the Italian authorities set up a detention camp in the spring of 1943, which initially held 450 hostages and resistance fighters from Corfù. On June 20, 1943, the Italians moved the 200 *Akronafpliotēs*, as well as another 100 detainees—called *Epirotes* after their region of origin, Epirus—

from the nearby Vonitsa camp to the island. Giannēs Manousakas, one of the *Akronafpliotēs*, reported that when they arrived at Corfù they found 700 detainees already in the camp, mostly from Corfù, thus increasing the prisoner population to about 1,000. By order of the Italian high command, the *Akronafpliotēs* were placed under strict isolation and initially could communicate with the other prisoners only in secret.²

Along with the transfer of the 300 detainees, the Italian guards from Vonitsa and its administration moved to Corfù and were integrated with the existing staff. The commander of the Vonitsa camp, Captain Ruzzero Janeli, took over the administration of the Lazaretto camp and, according to the prisoners' testimonies, was more lenient than his predecessor. Former detainee Gerasimos Antōnatos observed, “Before the Italians took us to Lazaretto, the commander there, E. Scamboli, inhumanly tortured the prisoners When we, the 200 *Akronafpliotēs* arrived there, the general administration of the camp was passed over to the commander of our camp. So, he made the life of the prisoners easier.”³

As they had done in the previous camps where they were held, the *Akronafpliotēs* improved the living conditions at Lazaretto. Around the small yard, there were dilapidated buildings that the detainees repaired, fashioning roofs out of wooden boards and tar paper. As soon as they repaired one or two rooms they placed the sick and the elderly in them. The rest stayed in the yard. A few days later they managed to build their own rooms in which workers (probably detainees) from Corfù made two-tier bunks from cypress wood. The *Akronafpliotēs* also built an oven and other utilities.⁴ The detainees received the same portion of food as the hostages; the Corfù branch of National Solidarity (*Ethnikē Allēleggyē*, EA) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) supplemented their rations.⁵ There was a curfew after dinner. A cistern supplied the camp with drinking water. For hygienic purposes the Italians fenced in a part of the sea, covering about 2,800 square meters (30,000 square feet), where the detainees bathed a hundred at a time for 15 minutes on a daily basis.⁶

The detainees put together an orchestra and a chorus and provided the Italian guards with some entertainment as well. Manousakas recalled, “One morning, at the beginning of July, we saw familiar Italian soldiers from the other camps (Katouna and Vonitsa) very cheerful: ‘End of the war, camarat (comrade)! Down with Fascism, camarat!’ without bothering that their Fascist colleagues were looking at them palely The soldiers were happy because their country was losing the war.”⁷

On the night of September 8, 1943, Corfù learned the news of the Italian capitulation on the radio. Manousakas described the reaction of the guards the next morning: “Our Italian guards came to us joyfully and their enthusiasm was unstoppable: ‘Camarat, the war is over! The war of catastrophe is over! (*Finito la guerra de catastrofa*)’”⁸ It appeared that the time for releasing the prisoners was approaching, but the following days turned out to be tumultuous. The Italian guard abandoned Lazaretto for Corfù, and on September 10, a few boats arrived from Corfù and freed the Corfù detainees and hostages. Only

the *Akronafpliotes* remained. It was at that time that German forces attacked the Italians in an effort to take over Corfù. The next day, the people of Corfù took to the streets demanding that the Italian authorities release the *Akronafpliotes*. On September 12, the Germans bombed Lazaretto, but the *Akronafpliotes* did not suffer any casualties. The same night two boats carrying 100 of them left for Corfù. On the night of September 13 the last 100 *Akronafpliotes* left the camp on two small motor vessels piloted by EAM members. When the last group reached the port of Corfù a group of German planes started bombing the city. When the bombing stopped, the detainees got off the boats and in groups of 10 were taken to different places across the city. However, their lives were still in danger because they were staying in a city that was under frequent bombardment.⁹ Manousakas described the situation:

We were exhausted and we wanted some sleep, after staying awake for two nights. It would be the first time after many years we would sleep and wake up free . . . It was midnight when we slept. In two and a half hours . . . I heard . . . the scream of a bomb falling close to us . . . Bombs were falling one after the other all around the city . . . the buildings were shaking, the windows were shaking and people screamed loudly in between the explosions. After a while, our host came into our room holding a child no more than three years old, swearing at the Germans, making the sign of the cross and calling for Saint Spyridon to burn them.¹⁰

While Corfù was under German attack and their lives were in danger, the detainees got organized into groups, and through the efforts of the resistance organizations they were dispersed among the villages of Corfù, where they stayed in farmers' houses. Many were later shepherded across to the Albanian coast in small groups; the lucky ones made contact with the resistance organizations that were active in the region of the Greek minority and thus managed to enter Greece.¹¹ At least 20 of the former detainees of Lazaretto were arrested by collaborators of the Germans in Albania and were transferred to Zōsimaia School of Ioannina, which was used as a prison by the Germans. After a while, the Germans delivered them to the Greek gendarmerie.¹²

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Corfù-Lazaretto camp are Yiōrgos Zoumpas, "Historia tou nēsiou Lazaretto," *Sōmateio Lazaretto*, October 11, 2010, http://somatico-lazaretto.gr/el/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=54&Itemid=155; and Stathēs Kousounēs, "To Lazaretto, mnēmeio ethnikēs symfiliōsēs kai istorikēs mnēmēs" January 18, 2003, *ē Kathēmerinē*, www.kathimerini.gr/140280/article/oikonomia/ellhnikh-oikonomia/to-lazaretto-mnhmeio-e8nikhs-symfiliwshs-kai-istorikhs-mnhmhs. The camp is also briefly mentioned in Polymeris Voglis, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners in the Greek Civil War* (New York: Berghahn, 2002). Two secondary sources describing the history of Lazaretto Island are K. Konstantinidou et al., "Role of Venetian Rule in Control of Plague Epidemics on the Ionian Islands

during the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 15: 1 (Jan. 2009): 39–43, www.cdc.gov/eid; Katerina Konstantinidou, "La peste nelle Isole Ionie durante il Seicento ed il Settecento: frequenza e regressione del fenomeno in un'area di "confine" tra l'Oriente e l'Occidente," in Simonetta Cavaciocchi, ed., *Le interazioni fra economia e ambiente biologico nell'Europa preindustriale, secc. XIII-XVIII; Economic and Biological Interactions in Pre-Industrial Europe from the 13th to the 18th Century* (Florence: Firenze University Press, 2010), pp. 123–134.

Primary sources documenting the Corfù-Lazaretto camp include published testimonies by Gerasimos D. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda (Apo tēn Pylo sto Lazaretto) 1939–1943* (Athens: ODEV, 1964); Antōnatos, *Anamnēseis Akronaupliōtē* (Athens: N.P., 1978); Antōnatos, *He katochē stēn Akronauplia* (Athens: ODEV, 1967); Vasilēs Bartziōtas, *Ki astrapse phōs bē Akronauplia! Apo tēn Epoptia tōn laikōn agōnistōn benos katergou: Dokimio* (Athens: Ekdoseis Synchronē Epochē, 1977); Giannēs Manousakas, *Akronauplia: Thrylos kai Pragmatikotēta* (1975; Athens: Dōrikos, 1978); Manousakas, *To Chroniko Enos Agōna* (Athens: Gnōsē, 1986); Antōnēs Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes 1937–1943* (Athens: Themelio, 1979); Manousakas, *To Chroniko Enos Agōna* (Athens: Gnōsē, 1986); and Dēmētrios Gkontzios (Mpanasēs), *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs*, (Thesprōtiko: N.P., 2001).

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skouroliahou

NOTES

1. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 442.
2. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 289.
3. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 43.
4. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 288–289; Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, pp. 42–43.
5. ICRC handwritten receipt, n.d., to "the communist prisoners of the camp who were transferred from Vonitsa camp" (Apostolēs Gkrozos and Tzakos Antzel) and the committee of the "Epirotes detainees of the camp who were transferred from Vonitsa" (lawyers Stefanos Katsidēmas and Dēmētrios Maletsidēs), reproduced in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, facing p. 321.
6. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 296–297; Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 43.
7. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 290.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 302–304.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 305; Antōnatos, *Anamnēseis Akronaupliōtē*, pp. 11–13; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 447–448; Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs*, p. 25.
11. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 45; Antōnatos, *Anamnēseis Akronaupliōtē*, pp. 13–27; Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs*, pp. 25–29.
12. Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs*, pp. 29–32.

IOANNINA

Ioannina (Yannena) lies about 290 kilometers (180 miles) northwest of Athens, close to the Albanian border; it is the largest city in the region of Epirus. In the interwar years, the Greek army had maintained some buildings on the Akraion

site that it used as a military prison. During the Italian occupation of Iōannina, that prison was the principal detention facility in the region, in terms of the number of prisoners and its systematic use by the Italians. There they detained hundreds of resistance fighters and communists.¹ When the Germans later occupied a large part of Italy and established the Repubblica di Salò, some of those people were sent to the Mauthausen and Dachau camps.²

In the spring of 1941 the Italian XXVI Army Corps installed itself in Iōannina under the orders of General Guido Della Bonna. The headquarters of the Italian carabinieri (which also ran the notorious detention facilities) in Iōannina was at the Kaplaneios School. The building still exists and hosts a nursery and an elementary school. Many local informers and collaborators, called “informatore,” came there to inform on their fellow citizens who participated in the resistance groups EAM and EDES. The carabinieri worked closely with the high command of the Iōannina gendarmerie, sending both the men and the women whom they arrested to Kaplaneios. A specially prepared torture room existed there, and everyone from Iōannina who experienced torture remembered this hell as the “black chamber.” After being interrogated and tortured, all the victims who were to be detained went to the prison of the Akraion site.³ Prisoners were then transferred to the prison of Mesologgi to be tried by the Italian military court at Agrinio, where the VIII Army Corps of the occupying Italian Army was established. Others convicted by the same court were sent to Italy.

Takēs Adamou wrote an eloquent literary narrative about the “black chamber” and the tortures that the prison personnel inflicted there; as the Italian carabinieri dragged the prisoners there, they would yell and swear, “La Camera Nera, la Camera Nera” (the black room). Adamou describes the tortures: beating, hanging from the arms, whipping, and various kinds of torture inflicted on the “operating table” (tightening an iron crown around the head, removing fingernails, and driving pins into wounds). “If you regained consciousness after cold water was poured on your head, the ‘interrogation’ continued with the same professional ‘conscientiousness.’ Otherwise they throw you in the dumb hole in the corner [. . .]. And at night the ‘carabinieri’ put you in a wagon to bury you deeply in some hole in the fields.”⁴ In September 1942, the carabinieri arrested Dimitris Gkontzios, a member of the resistance, in the central square of Iōannina, during an Italian operation that captured many resistance fighters. He describes his experience in the “black chamber”:

It was an attic with small windows, covered with red paper and with a small light. All the tools of torture were hanging on the walls: lashes, knives and others. They got the prisoners there and left them for about an hour for psychological pressure and then they took them down for investigation. . . . [The interrogators] told me: “Did you see all the torture that your hide will suffer and you’ll die? So tell us who is in the organization of Arta and which is your mis-

sion with Romaidou, whom we have at the Akraion prison.” I answered them calmly: “I don’t know anything about what you’re asking me.” “Now,” he said, “prepare to die.” One carabinieri came closer with a round electric crown. He put it only for a few seconds on my hair and he pulled it away. I felt dizzy and my eyes were started out of my head.

The carabinieri continued to hit Gkontzios on the head, but he refused to divulge any names. After the interrogation, he was sent to isolation at Akraion.⁵

When Gkontzios was removed from isolation he was put in a room with thirty detainees, of whom one was a woman. The detainees were resistance fighters from EAM and EDES. The citizens of Iōannina often brought fresh hot food that they gave to the guards to deliver to the prisoners. Gkontzios describes the relations among the prisoners as quite positive; they had fun with each other, playing games, but avoided any political conversation because the two resistance organizations were competitive.⁶ In fact, from autumn 1943 onward, they engaged in direct confrontation and armed conflict.

After an incident of sabotage, the Germans executed many civilians in the region of Arta on February 13, 1943. On the morning of the same day, the carabinieri placed a group of 15 prisoners, bound with a long chain, on a truck going to Arta, where the prisoners believed that the Italians would execute them. However, instead the Italians transferred them to the prison at Preveza and, after four days, to the camp of Vonitsa and later to Lazaretto Island where they were liberated following the Italian capitulation.⁷

Galeano Fogar, an Italian soldier whose unit camped in Iōannina, recalled,

Our unit’s mission was to guard the external part of the Iōannina prison. The carabinieri had taken over guarding the interior of the prison. They said that there were political prisoners in the prison. The following day, on Christmas, although all of us were sick [an incident of food poisoning had been reported], we were supposed to be on sentry duty. The newly recruited soldiers patrolled and I, as an officer, supervised. Those who did not patrol sat in a room which belonged to the prison. But it was very cold.⁸

If the Italian soldiers guarding the prison were cold, one can only imagine what the conditions were like for the prisoners.

On March 25, 1943, the illegal newspaper *Rizospastēs*, the political instrument of the Greek Communist Party (KKE), reported, “A sizeable group of resistance fighters invaded the camp of hostages at Iōannina and, after overpowering the Italian guard, liberated 150 prisoners.”⁹

After the Italian capitulation, the camp came under German control, and living conditions deteriorated dramatically. Food distribution was extremely problematic: the quality of food was atrocious, and the prisoners’ relatives were forbidden to bring them food. Hygienic conditions were also appalling.

Unsanitary conditions and lice were common problems for the prisoners, and the risk of epidemic disease put their lives in danger. National Solidarity (*Ethnikí Allileggyí*, EA) organized a public demonstration in Iōannina, demanding better conditions for the prisoners and permission to provide them with food. This appeared to have brought some results, because not only did the food improve but the authorities also allowed EA to send food to the prisoners and do their laundry. However, four local members of EA were arrested during the demonstration and sent to the Pavlos Melas camp, among them the teacher and former volunteer to the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES), Eutychia Printzou.¹⁰

The Germans used as a detention facility the historic Zōsimaia School, which had been damaged by Italian bombings in November 1940. After being arrested at an ambush on August 12, 1943, in the region of Paramythia, the priest Fotios Georgiou was incarcerated in the school basement. On August 17, he was tortured during interrogation and then, half-dead, was transferred to Athens to the Chatzēkōsta prison, where he passed away the same day.¹¹

SOURCES Information on the Iōannina camp is available in the following published works: Takēs Adamos, *Istories tēs Antistasēs (Diēgēmata)* (Athens: Sygchronē Epochē, 1983); Alekos Raptēs, “Ē Italikē Katochē sta Yannena 1941–1943,” *Ēpeirōtikos Agōnas*, October 28, 2011, pp. 16–18; Dēmētrios Gkontzios (Mpanasēs), *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs* (Thesprōtiko: N.P., 2001); *Ethnikí Allileggyi. Mia Prospatheia kai enas Athlos: To Ergo tis Ethnikis Allileggyis Ellados* (Athens: N.P., 1945); “Apeleftherōsē Omērōn,” *Rizospastēs*, 43 (March 25, 1943); Mētropolitou Lēmnu Dionysiou, *Ektelesthentes & Martyrēsantes Klērikoι 1941–1949: Pistoι acbri Thanatou* (Athens: Eleutherē Skepsis, 2009 [1959]); and Christoph U. Schminck-Gustavus, *Mnimes Katochēs II: Italoι kai Yermanoi sta Yannena kai ē Katostrophē tēs Evraikēs Koinotētās* (Iōannina: Isnafī, 2012).

Nikos Tzafleris

Transl. Melina Skourouliakou

NOTES

1. Raptēs, “Ē Italikē Katochē sta Yannena,” p. 16.
2. Ibid.
3. Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs*, pp. 21–22; Raptēs, “Ē Italikē Katochē sta Yannena,” p. 16.
4. Adamos, *Istories tēs Antistasēs*, pp. 137–145.
5. Gkontzios, *Odoiporiko Mnēmēs*, pp. 21–22.
6. Ibid., p. 23.
7. Ibid., pp. 23–25.
8. Schminck-Gustavus, *Mnimes Katochis II*, p. 170.
9. “Apeleftherōsē Omērōn,” p. 1.
10. *Ethnikē Allēlegyē*, p. 89.
11. Dionysiou, *Ektelesthentes*, pp. 258–259; Raptēs, “Ē Italikē Katochē sta Yannena,” p.16.

KALAVRYTA

Kalavryta (Peloponnese region) is nearly 142 kilometers (88 miles) west of Athens. The massacre that took place there on

December 13, 1943, has long overshadowed the history of the Kalavryta Italian-run camp. In retaliation for resistance, the Wehrmacht initially murdered almost 200 people from nearby villages and ultimately all the men in the town of Kalavryta, approximately 500 people in total.

The camp consisted of an elementary school built in 1906 near the train station. In mid-July 1941 a small group of carabinieri and later two Italian Army companies commandeered the site.¹ According to some name lists, from May 1941 to March 1943, 500 people were transferred to Kalavryta because of their acts of resistance. The building was used once again as a school after the Italian Armistice of September 8, 1943, until December 1943, when on December 13, the German authorities gathered all of Kalavryta’s citizens in the building during the massacre. That same day the men were transferred from that location to a killing site outside the city. The German authorities then burned and razed the village, including the school. The women and children managed to escape from the burning building; the only victim was an elderly woman who was trampled by the crowd.²

The camp commandant was a certain “big” Marsalos (Maresciallo). An Italian from Patra, Katramis, was the principal informer in the camp, according to a witness. He informed Marsalos about prisoner reactions, their politics, and who was weakest and thus easiest to manipulate. The carabinieri commander was R. Outsellini. One of the guards on the camp staff was a Greek gendarme named Lagocheilas, according to a prisoner account. He often guarded the isolation unit.³

Many of the camp’s prisoners were Greek Army officers, gendarmes, civil servants, and leftist political prisoners who came from places across the Peloponnese and were accused of resistance against the Italians.⁴ The majority of the detainees were from the towns of Pyrgos, Kalamata, Patra, and Aigio.⁵ In the camp, the detainees were divided and organized into groups: police officers, military officers, and the leftists.

Among the army officers held at Kalavryta was a future leader of the Greek People’s Liberation Army (*Ellinikós Laikós Apeleftherotikós Stratós*, ELAS) in the North Peloponnese, Wing Commander Dimitris Michos. Better known as Captain Old-Michos (*Kapetan Gero-Michos*), he was already active in the resistance in Aigio in the autumn of 1942 when the Italian authorities assigned him to supervise the collection of the harvest in the Kalavryta area. While doing that assignment he continued his resistance activities among officers and civil servants on the harvest collection committees. Michos was probably betrayed by a member of one of these committees and was arrested on September 14, 1942, in Kalavryta. After he was thoroughly interrogated by the carabinieri, he was found, along with 50 others in the school auditorium, singing on the same night, while the Italian guard watched from the outside window. According to Michos, the camp had roughly 170 prisoners.⁶

There were a few women detainees, who were held in the camp in the daytime, but slept in the Helmos Hotel in the center of Kalavryta, which the Italian authorities used as a camp annex. Political prisoner Voula Damianakou reported that

while in Kalavryta she met two other women, who were accused of hiding British soldiers. The women occupied furnished rooms, but the Italian authorities rarely gave them any food. Every morning a guard escorted them to the school. A few men were also guarded at the same hotel during the night, among them a judge and a priest.⁷

According to prisoner testimonies, living conditions were very poor. Although they often were allowed to go out and walk in the school yard, diseases such as tuberculosis, pneumonia, malaria, and dysentery ravaged the prisoners. The testimonies also mentioned numerous instances of inhumane treatment: bastinado (foot whipping), beatings, harsh interrogation, and strict isolation in the school's dank basement. The detainees were often beaten until they bled. On Good Friday, 1942 (April 3), the Italians beat 35 prisoners until they lost consciousness.

The meager food distributed in the camp usually consisted of just over a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of rice and beans per day.⁸ Cold also ravaged the detainees. In letters to the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Stavros*, EES), the detainees pleaded for food, winter clothing, and shoes. They tried desperately, according to testimonies of city residents, to get in contact with those living in the town and ask for food. Some of the residents managed to provide food and bribed an Italian guard to ensure his cooperation. The distance between the camp and the prisoners' cities of origin did not permit many relatives to send food, but it appears that some did receive assistance and visits from relatives or acquaintances.⁹ One of the prisoners, Michalis Xydeas, said, "We could not go up the stairs because we were hungry and exhausted."¹⁰ Many of the detainees who died in the camp were buried in the town cemetery.

Offenses such as reading illegal newspapers were severely punished with isolation, beatings, interrogation, and deprivation of food and water. Damianakou said that after being caught in possession of illegal propaganda, she was interrogated and tortured by a certain lieutenant and then shut up in her room at the Helmos Hotel, from which the bed had been removed. For 10 days her diet consisted strictly of water. She was totally exhausted and famished. Once per day a guard opened the door so that she could use the restroom. Mice came out from holes in the floor "like cats and they came close to my head and smelled me, I felt their breath in my hair, my cheek, my hand and I didn't have the strength to chase them away." Other detainees managed to send her a message—"Our thoughts are with you. We are proud of you"—along with some fruit. On an apple they carved the words, "Hold on." At some point an Italian officer came and asked her how she felt. She did not reply. In the afternoon of the 11th day, a doctor appeared, and they started giving her food, after which she recovered. One of the hotel guards was an antifascist Italian soldier, who mocked Benito Mussolini, Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano, and his own officers.¹¹

Local resistance organizations from Kalavryta and nearby villages helped the detainees with packages. These organizations were organized by the communists immediately after the Italians took control of the region. Resisters such as Ale-

kos Vourtsanis, who were active communists in the Kalavryta region during the interwar period, became active again after the collapse of the front in April 1941, reforming the cells of the Greek Communist party. These cells were eventually integrated into the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Μέτωπο*, EAM).

After the resistance spread in the region of Aigio-Kalavryta from March 1943 onward, and especially after the attack by resistance fighters in Pyrgaki on April 14, 1943, the Italian authorities were worried that they could not maintain camp security in this mountainous area and so dismantled the Kalavryta camp.¹²

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Kalavryta camp include Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Periklēs Rodakēs, *Kalavryta 1941–1944* (Athens: Paraskinio, 1999), which includes some testimonies; Maria Filosofofou, "Katochē kai Antistasē stēn Achaia: Koinōnikes kai Ekpaideutikes Diastaseis" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Patras, 2007); Iōannēs Karakatsianēs, "Hē Manē ston Polemo: Katochē, Antistasē kai Emphylios" (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Athens, 2010), which contains some testimonies in the appendix; Panagiotis Stouras, "The Greek Resistance in the Area of Kalavryta and Egialia between 1941 and 1944" (unpub. MA thesis, University of Johannesburg, 2012); Iōannēs A. Kosiōrēs, *To Chroniko tis Ethnikēs Antistasēs Peloponnēsou 1941–1945* (Athens: N.P., 1992); and the official editions on the Kalavryta massacre: Christos Photinopoulos, ed., *A House for Our Heroes: An Attempt to Approach the Tragedy in Kalavryta* (Kalavryta, Greece: Municipal Museum of the Kalavryta Holocaust, 2006), www.dmko.gr/en/history.html; and Panos Nikolaidēs, *Enas Diasōtheis Aphēgetai . . .* (Kalavryta: Dēmotiko Mouseio Kalavrytinou Olokautōmatos, 2009).

Primary sources documenting the Kalavryta camp can be found in A-ICRC, collection G3/27. Published testimonies are Voula Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē dēlōsē* (1962; Athens: Epikairotēta, 2000).

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skouroliakou

NOTES

1. Dimitris Michos testimony in Rodakēs, *Kalavryta 1941–1944*, p. 57.
2. Nikolaidēs, *Enas Diasōtheis Aphēgetai*, pp. 33, 63–72.
3. Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē*, pp. 274–275 and 281.
4. Ibid., pp. 271–272 and 275–276; Michalis Xydeas testimony in Ioannis Karakatsiannis, *Hē Manē ston Polemo*, pp. 13–19.
5. Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē*, p. 275.
6. Michos testimony in Rodakēs, *Kalavryta 1941–1944*, pp. 57–59.
7. Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē*, pp. 272–274.
8. Ibid., p. 279.
9. See relevant testimonies of the inhabitants of Kalavryta town in Filosofofou, "Katochē kai Antistasē stēn Achaia," pp. 289–291.

10. Xydeas testimony in Karakatsiannis, *Hē Manē ston Polēmo*, p. 14.

11. Quotations from Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē*, pp. 277–281.

12. A-ICRC, collection G3/27, as cited in Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, p. 360.

KATOUNA

Katouna is nearly 246 kilometers (152 miles) northwest of Athens and almost 200 kilometers (124 miles) northwest of Nafplio. The Katouna camp was set up in a requisitioned school, and its yard, of approximately 5,000 square meters (nearly 53,820 square feet), was encircled with a barbed-wire fence. Before the Italians occupied the area, the Greek Army used the camp to detain Italian prisoners during the Italo-Greek war. Under Italian administration Katouna held 200 political prisoners transferred from the Akronafplia (or Akronauplia) camp in the city of Nafplio in two groups of 100 people each, most probably arriving on November 24 and 27, 1942. In reference to their former camp, the new arrivals called themselves *Akronafpliotēs*. The first group was put on the second floor, which had large windows. The second group was held on the first floor, which was dark, because the windows were sealed for security reasons.¹

In later testimony the *Akronafpliotēs* mentioned that there were two to three officers and two to three women who were kept in a separate sector encircled by barbed wire. These prisoners suffered a form of torture called “the hanging,” in which their arms were bound behind them and elevated, which rendered them helpless. The Italian authorities provided food and clothing to the women, who were removed from the camp 10 days after the *Akronafpliotēs*’ arrival.²

The *Akronafpliotēs* organized the camp, establishing a (communist) party committee and an office. The committee represented the prisoners before the camp administration and otherwise organized self-help measures. Apostolis Gkrozos represented the group, and Jack Antzel, a Jew from Thessalonika, was the interpreter.³

The Italian camp commander was Reserve Captain Ruggero Giannelli. According to prisoners’ accounts, he was an educated man from Milan and reputedly a democrat, pacifist, and humanist. The deputy commander, a sottotenente, was a lawyer of noble ancestry who hated Fascism and was a leftist supporter.⁴

As soon as the *Akronafpliotēs* arrived at the camp, Giannelli summoned Gkrozos and Antzel, promising that he would order the guards to treat the detainees well.⁵ Theodosios Christodoulakis recalled that Giannelli gathered them in the yard and announced, “Gentlemen, keep in mind that henceforth you are hostages of the Italian Army. According to international conventions, the Italian command must give you one meal per day. If you can provide another one for yourselves, the camp command will have no objection and will help you. Be advised not to approach the barbed wire, it’s very dangerous.”⁶ Although the guards beat some of the prisoners at the

beginning, their behavior soon changed. It seems that most of the Italian soldiers and some of the carabinieri sympathized with the captives and espoused democratic (or at least antifascist) feelings.⁷ The Italian soldiers were also in poor physical condition and morally exhausted, as they likely belonged to a unit that had been ravaged on the Eastern Front, whose members had been transferred to Greece to convalesce. One of the detainees recalled, “The soldiers were disappointed, sick of the war, Fascism, and Mussolini, and their only thought was to return home, even to a defeated country.”⁸ Gerasimos Antonatos said, “I should mention that the Italians, regardless of what they did elsewhere, treated us more humanely than the Greek guards.”⁹ In addition to the morning and evening roll calls, the Italians made surprise inspections at night, but did not otherwise interfere with barracks life.¹⁰

The *Akronafpliotēs* showed obvious signs of malnourishment. There was, however, plenty of potable water, and there were fountains in the camp where the detainees also did their laundry.¹¹ Giannēs Manousakas recalled, “We had to hunt for calories and vitamins.” He also mentioned that they were told they would be issued “19 gr. [7 ounces] of rice or pasta, 35 gr. [1.2 ounces] of bread, and of 4 gr. [1.4 ounces] each of salt, oil and tomato juice. These portions were distributed daily and were less than 400 calories; therefore many could die, given the conditions we were in.” However, the detainees managed to bring with them some food they kept from Akronafplia. They distributed it for the journey to Katouna and when they arrived, 90 percent of it was returned to the group, thereby raising the daily portions to 800 to 1,000 calories for a time.¹² The Italians also gave them a three-day supply of a type of flatbread (*paniota*) and extra food.¹³

The camp committee worked to improve the living conditions. Among other things, the *Akronafpliotēs* built a kitchen and an oven with materials given to them by civilians. The Italians allowed groups of detainees to go out and buy food. By this means the *Akronafpliotēs* managed to contact the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellēnikos Erythros stauros*, EES) at Agrinio and request food aid. Gkrozos and Antzel secured food and other provisions on the camp’s behalf from EES and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and Dr. Yannis Koutsodimos obtained medicine. The detainees who brought food into the camp also smuggled illegal publications and other goods inside the food containers. Those who were sent out for food were also helped by the town residents, who often sold them food at very low prices. The civilians allotted them a piece of land, where they cultivated vegetables. The committee also organized a canteen that sold a type of cornbread (*bobota*) that detainee Vaggelis Ntavas baked at one of the houses in town. The regional resistance organizations and especially National Solidarity (*Ethnikē Allēlegyē*, EA) also rendered assistance.¹⁴

The relations among the Italian guards, detainees, and civilians were good. An incident described by Sotiris Kakaes typified those good relations. He was a plumber and was sent to repair some damage to the town water reservoir; a civilian and an Italian guard accompanied him there. “The Italians

were thrilled. They were also left without water for 24 hours, as was the case for the village and the camp. Since then, they would allow me to go to the village to fix the plumbing. That helped us.”¹⁵ At the road in front of the camp, the detainees used to talk with local passersby, although the Italians forbade it.¹⁶ The Italian authorities did allow the detainees to receive financial aid from relatives.¹⁷

As living conditions improved, the danger of being murdered as hostages in retaliation for acts of resistance replaced that of famine. The detainees were aware of acts of retaliation in other camps, particularly against their former comrades in Akronafplia.¹⁸ Giannelli spoke to Gkrozos, assuring him of his good will and of his efforts to make the detainees’ time in the camp as passable as possible. However, he also warned that, because of the Greek insurgency, it was possible that his superiors would ask him to deliver some hostages for retaliation and that he would be obliged to obey.¹⁹ Although there were some thoughts of escape and resistance organizations made some preparations to that effect, the detainees did not attempt to escape for fear of collective retaliation.²⁰

In the end, none of the communists from Akronafplia detained in Katouna was killed as a hostage. Two of the 200 *Akronafpliotēs* died. One was Dr. Yannis Sideridis, who died of exhaustion and malnourishment a few days after arrival. At the funeral of the two detainees, the Italians allowed some prisoners to accompany the coffins; some civilians also attended, while local women mourned for the dead.²¹

On March 20, 1943, heavily armed Italian soldiers in trucks entered the camp and without warning transferred all the detainees to the Vonitsa camp.²²

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Katouna camp is Antōnēs Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronafpliotēs 1937–1943* (Athens: Themelio, 1979).

Primary sources documenting the Katouna camp include the published testimony by Gerasimos Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda: Apo tēn Pylo sto Lazareto 1939–1943* (Athens: Organismos Diatheseōs Ellēnikou Vivliou, 1964), available in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronafpliotēs*; and the published testimony of Giannēs Manousakas, *Akronauplia (Tbrylos kai Pragmatikotēta)* (1975; Athens: Dōrikos, 1978).

Nikos Tzafleris

Trans. Melina Skourouliakou

NOTES

1. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, pp. 438–439; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 259.

2. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, pp. 438–439; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 259.

3. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, p. 440; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 264.

4. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, p. 439; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 264.

5. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 264.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 439.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

9. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, reproduced in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, p. 441.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 438–439.

11. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 263.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 263–264.

13. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, p. 439.

14. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, pp. 440–441; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 265.

15. Testimony of Sotērēs Kakaes in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, p. 441.

16. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, p. 439; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 264.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 440.

18. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 265–270.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 270–272.

21. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliotēs*, pp. 441–442; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 259–261.

22. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 273–276.

LARISSA

Larissa (Larisa; Thessaly) is located in central Greece more than 215 kilometers (134 miles) northwest of Athens. In August 1941, the Italian Eleventh Army established a concentration camp almost 5 kilometers (3 miles) outside Larissa, at the former quarters of the antiaircraft artillery, roughly 1 kilometer (about half a mile) east of the Larissa airport.¹ The Larissa camp was the largest and most important concentration camp in the Italian-occupied zone of Greece.

Initially the camp had 100 to 120 soldiers as guards. The successive camp commandants were Captain Silvestri; Captain Tzupani (or Tzulpani); Captain Cavano (or Cavana, 36th Mountain “Forlì” Division), who led with the help of Sergeant Galderani and Corporal Rossi (24th Infantry “Pinerolo” Division); and Captain Lazaro Modiliani (“Forlì”), who ran the camp with the help of Second Lieutenant Francesco D’Alessio (“Forlì”) and Corporal Orsini (“Pinerolo”). Initially the carabinieri did not participate in camp administration and only accompanied inmates during transfers. Only after Captain Luigi Grixoni took over in the summer of 1943 did the carabinieri participate in camp administration and surveillance.

The camp originally functioned mainly as a prisoner of war (POW) camp. The first inmates were 1,100 to 1,300 Cretan soldiers rounded up in Athens. Approximately 350 of the inmates escaped during the first five days of detention, taking advantage of the lack of organization. Some British Commonwealth POWs were also detained at Larissa.

Living conditions were deplorable because of the lack of food, shortage of water, and epidemics.² The camp was located close to the marshy region of Lake Karla. As a result, almost half of the captives suffered from malaria, whereas others were also sick from tuberculosis and scabies. The inmates were tortured by their Italian guards on a daily basis, an expression of Italian outrage and revenge stemming from the Italian defeat in the Greco-Italian War of 1940.³ Death from starvation

occurred routinely.⁴ In fact, in the summer of 1942, when most of the Cretan inmates were transferred to Piraeus (the port city 8 kilometers [5 miles] southwest of Athens), only 250 remained alive in the camp, and even in Piraeus the conditions were appalling.

From the spring of 1942, detainees were sent to Averōf to stand trial and once convicted by Italian courts-martial were transferred to Larissa. From May to August 1942 alone, approximately 800 such convicts were sent to Larissa.⁵

From late 1942 through 1943, when clashes between the Italians and the resistance movement peaked in occupied Greece, the Italian authorities arrested resistance fighters and civilians whom they accused of aiding resisters. The Larissa camp was filled at this time with residents from central Greece. Hundreds of common people from all walks of life were arrested in cleansing operations in retaliation for resistance acts and were used as hostages.⁶ The detainees, especially during the spring and summer of 1943, were mostly farmers from Thessaly and included many elderly, women, and children. They were innocent victims arrested whenever the Italians clashed with the Greek People's Liberation Army (*Ellinikós Laikós Apeleftherotikós Stratós*, ELAS). Among the 1,394 names found on a list of Red Cross parcel recipients, compiled by a Roman Catholic nun, Sister Eleni Kapari, there were 78 women and 30 children at Larissa between January 17, 1943, and August 18, 1943.

A characteristic case of retaliation befell the town of Almyros, almost 58 kilometers (36 miles) southeast of Larissa. On August 13, 1943, Generale di Corpo d'Armata Adolfo Infante ("Pinerolo"), ordered that "200 inhabitants were sent as hostages to the Larissa camp . . . On 17 August a new clash led to another fire and to the complete devastation of the city of Almyros."⁷

In early 1943 the Italians transferred to Larissa 300 communists held at the soon-to-be disbanded Akronafplia camp, located in Nafplio (Peloponnese), more than 233 kilometers (145 miles) south of Larissa. The communists were considered a particular threat and were initially segregated from other prisoners. A precise estimate of how many detainees passed through the Larissa camp is extremely difficult. However, a postwar estimate by the Hellenic Red Cross (*Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós*, EES) placing the total number of prisoners in excess of 30,000 seems plausible.⁸

Until December 1942, nutrition and housing conditions were extremely poor in the camp. The lack of food, shortage of beds, inadequate sanitation, and poor health care made everyday life unbearable. Early on, the flimsy, weather-exposed buildings worsened the situation, especially considering Larissa's extremely hot summers and unbearably cold winters. When the inmates handed to the camp commander a list addressed to the Red Cross of necessary material for constructing new door frames, he took it but tore it up when the inmates left, saying, "May you die, you filthy dogs. You were not brought here to live, but to die."⁹

Substantial help to Larissa's inmates came from various non-governmental (NGO) and charitable organizations, including the church, the International Committee of the Red Cross

(ICRC), EES, and National Solidarity (*Ethniki Allilegyi*, EA) an organization of the National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleftherotikó Μέτωπο*, EAM). The prisoners' nutrition was therefore largely dependent on food received from EA and the Red Cross, although this aid initially failed to prevent deaths from starvation. Only from January 1943 onward did food distribution by the ICRC prevent the prisoners from dying of hunger.

Torture was an ever-present threat in the camp. In addition to individual punishment, there was collective punishment, usually by whipping, for offenses committed by individuals. Common offenses were escape attempts, showing disrespect to the Italian flag, and belated responses to roll calls. Other actions by the guards, such as shooting into the barracks followed by merciless beatings, were intended to terrorize the prisoners. One of the most severe forms of torture, in wide use in the Italian colonies, was the pole torture. The prisoner was tied naked to a pole and whipped alternately by two guards. Wire whips and lashes were mentioned in many testimonies.¹⁰ Other punishments included withholding rations.

The Italian and German authorities deployed the prisoners as forced labor at nearby locations, such as the Larissa airport (expanding the airstrip), military facilities, the railway station (loading and unloading supplies), and for the construction of other military works and fortifications. The labor conditions were reportedly harsher under the Germans.¹¹

From February 1943, deaths from famine sharply declined, but the Italian authorities conducted reprisal killings of Larissa prisoners in response to the rapidly growing strength of the resistance. Between February and June 1943, at least 278 Greek civilians and resisters held (if only briefly) in Larissa were shot by Italian forces. Various accounts estimate that the Italian authorities murdered between 800 and 1,000 prisoners before the Armistice of September 8, 1943.

In August 1943, the Italians started emptying the camp. Generale di Corpo d'Armata Infante released outright some inmates deemed less dangerous, but arranged to transfer most of the detainees to Athens where they were to be handed over to the Germans. The Italian capitulation halted the transports. The 350 to 600 transferred prisoners were incarcerated in the Haidari camp, and many were later murdered by the Germans.¹² After the German takeover of the Italian zone in Greece, the German authorities reopened Larissa as a reprisal camp.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Larissa camp include Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn 1941–1944: Hē Gennēsē tou Antartikou stē Thessalia* (Athens: Papazisi, 1977), which includes many testimonies; Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Ekletesthentes kai Kratoumenoi sta Chronia tēs Katochēs, 1941–1944* (Athens: Philippotē, 1987); Chrēstos Vrachniarēs, *Ta Chronia tēs Laikēs Epopoias: Polemos, Katochē, Antistasē* (Athens: Panorama, 1983); Petros Antaios et al., eds., *Mavrē Vivlos tēs Katochēs - Schwarzbuch der Besatzung*, 2nd ed., (Athens: Nationalrat für die Entschädigungsforderungen Griechenlands an Deutschland—Ethniko Symvoulion gia tē Diekdikēsē tōn Opheilōn tēs Germanias pros tēn El-lada, 2006); Kleōn Papaloizos, *Historiographika Sēmiōmata: Kypros-Aigyptos-Ellada* (Athens: N.P., 1977); Davide Rodogno,

Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Lidia Santarelli, "Muted Violence: Italian War Crimes in Occupied Greece," *JMIS* 9: 3 (September 2004): 280–299.

Primary sources documenting the Larissa camp can be found at ERT, HAHE, and TNA (AIR 51/234; WO310/207; WO311/370). A listing of Italian war crimes suspects at the Larissa camp appears with ranks in published form as Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects, *Consolidated Wanted Lists: Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects Consolidated Wanted Lists* (Uckfield, UK: Naval & Military Press, 2005). A newspaper account about Larissa appeared in *Ethnos*, July 5, 1945. Early postwar testimonies and reports about the camp include Iōannēs Gkotsēs, *Phloges ston Olympo* (Athens: Hellas-Amerikē, 1945); *Ethnikē Allēleggyē, Mia Prospatheia kai enas Athlos: To Ergo tis Ethnikis Allēleggyis Ellados* (Athens: N.P., 1945); Dēmētrios I. Magkriotēs, *Thysiai tis Ellados kai Egklēmata Katobēs 1941–1944*, (Athens: N.P., 1949); and Kōstas Stournas, *Casa Preventiva: Campo di Concentramento. ta Prōta Italika Stratopeda Sunkentrōseōs stēn Ellada stēn Perīodo tēs Katobēs* (Athens: Panorama, 1983).

Nikos Tzafleris

Trans. Melina Skouroliakou

NOTES

1. TNA, AIR 51/234 PI Report No. 3033 (Secret American Confidential), June 17, 1943, Target Files—Greece: 3094 Larissa; for a corroborating eyewitness account, see Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 33–37.

2. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 37–45.

3. Magkriotēs, *Thysiai tis Ellados* p. 201; Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, p. 43.

4. Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs testimony, ERT, Document No. 0000008138, Chroniko tis Ethnikis Antistasis, Episode 14: I Organomeni Tromokratia ton Kataktiton.

5. Magkriotēs, *Thysiai tis Ellados*, p. 202.

6. Gkotsēs, *Phloges ston Olympo*, p. 8; Magkriotēs, *Thysiai tis Ellados*, p. 201.

7. Greek war crimes reports can be found in HAHE, KaKy, Interior Ministry and Magnesia prefectural reports; quotation from HAHE, KaKy, 1944: 2.7, Prefecture of Magnesia report to Ministry of Interior, Volos 25 September 1943, Confidential Protocol no 67; and Magkriotēs, *Thysiai tis Ellados*, p. 191.

8. The report is cited in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larissas—Triaklōn*, p. 34.

9. Testimony by N. Ramantanis, *Ethnos*, August 17, 1945, in *ibid.*, pp. 248–249.

10. Testimonies found in *ibid.*, pp. 84, 93–94, 98, 257–297, 339.

11. Gkotsēs, *Phloges ston Olympo*, p. 9.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

PHOLEGANDROS

Pholegandros (or Folegandros), one of the Cyclades Islands in the Aegean region, is 183 kilometers (114 miles) southeast of Athens. It was one of the most important places of exile dur-

ing the "4th of August" regime of Ioannis Metaxas (April 1936 to January 1941).

The exiles and the police guards stayed in "Katō Chōra," one of the two communities in the center of the island. At one point, there were as many as 500 exiles. New exiles and supplies came to this remote island by boat every 15 days. The boats docked at a small bay on the southeastern part of the island. The primary means the exiles had to pay for housing, repairs, electricity, food, medicine, and other necessities was the small daily allowance they received from the government, which supplemented the little financial support sent by their poor families. Most of the exiles were men, who stayed in eight or nine houses. Women, who numbered no more than 12 to 15, stayed in one building. Interactions between the exiled men and exiled or local women were strictly forbidden.¹ The exiles rented an arid field for cultivation. Not only did they clear, plow, and fertilize it but they also dug a well and cultivated vegetables, which were enough to feed themselves, the locals, and even their guards. When the war broke out, the exiles increased food production to create a stock for the difficult times of war.²

The exiled communists organized themselves as the Commune of the Political Exiles of Pholegandros (*Omada Symvīōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Pholegandrou*, OSPEPh) in the exile islands in response to the oppression of the Metaxas regime. OSPEPh's members included many skilled workers such as a shoemaker, tailor, barber, cooks, and bakers. There were also educated people and a scientist among them, so they organized an infirmary, a pharmacy, and a dentist's office that served the whole island. They also organized foreign-language classes and classes corresponding to elementary and high school levels. They set up a coffee shop and an auditorium of sorts where they held lectures, and the actors among them performed theatrical shows.³

Between 1939 and 1940 there were about 160 exiles on the island. After the Italo-Greek war broke out, the exiles of Pholegandros, as was the case for those on the exile islands of Anafi, Akronafplia, and elsewhere, petitioned the Metaxas regime to be permitted to fight at the front. The response by the undersecretary of state for security Kōnstantinos Maniadakēs was negative, however. After the collapse of the front and the retreat of the Greek Army, the exiles were able to convince the guards to join them in abandoning the island and flee to the still unoccupied island of Crete and fight there against the Germans. The guards helped them carry out this plan. The detainees were separated into four teams of 50 each. They rented boats, and the first team—composed mostly of Cretans, headed by Stergios Anastasiadēs, and including 6 of the 12 guards—departed for Crete between May 10 and 20, 1941. However, as soon as they arrived in Heraklion they were placed under arrest.⁴ Later, the prison in Heraklion was destroyed by German bombs during the Battle of Crete, and the detainees escaped, joining the battle alongside the locals; however, many of them were killed in the fighting.

The Germans deployed five soldiers on Pholegandros and installed a watchtower at the highest point of the island. The

commander of the Greek gendarmerie hastened to welcome them at the port and offered his pistol as a mark of surrender, but the Germans refused it, replying that they did not have orders to disarm the local gendarmerie. Before taking over the island, the Germans had not made plans to obtain food supplies, so after they requisitioned one of the island's best houses, they focused their attention on securing food from the locals.

The remaining exiles cleverly tried to take advantage of the Germans' concern for provisions. Explaining that they were held on the island as prisoners of the now defunct Metaxas regime, they informed the Germans that most of the exiles had already fled and suggested that they be permitted to do likewise so as to avoid burdening the Germans with their food requirements. The Germans initially replied that they had no orders regarding what to do with the exiles and even ignored their existence. The following morning, however, the Germans announced that the exiles were free to go. As a result, most of the remaining exiles boarded boats for the island of Milos before heading some days later for Athens.

The exiles of Pholegandros were among the first exiles to escape and to arrive in Athens where they rejoined their old organizations or founded new ones. On May 28, 1941, a small group founded the first of the Greek resistance organizations, National Solidarity (*Ethnikē Allēleggyē*, EA), which supported the detainees and their families. This organization grew to become the largest resistance organization with approximately 3 million members: its role became as important as that of the Red Cross, with which it often collaborated. EA often organized prisoners' escapes and hid them in the houses of fellow fighters.⁵

When Pholegandros passed to Italian control, there were no more than 40 to 50 exiles still on the island.⁶ One source mentions that they convinced the Italians to release them, and the exiles fled initially to Milos and then to continental Greece, where they later joined the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Μέτωπο*, EAM).⁷ Another source mentions that at the beginning of June 1943 the Italians, probably for security reasons, gathered 80 scattered political exiles from the Aegean Archipelago and transferred them to the island of Kea (Tzia) opposite Attica, close to Athens. The requisitioned boat that conducted trips for this purpose from one island to the other appears to have landed at Pholegandros to pick up the last seven exiles.⁸

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the exile island at Pholegandros include Spyros Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou* (Athens: Themelio, 1988); Kostas Gkritzōnas, *Homades Symviōsēs 1925–1974: Ē Syntrophikē Apantēsē stē Via kai ton Enkleismo* (Athens: Philistor, 2001); Dimitris Sarantakos et al., eds., *Aigaio: Archipelagos martyriōn* (Athens: Hypourgeio Aigaio: Hetaireia Diasōsēs Historikōn Archeiōn 1940–1974 (EDIA), 2004); Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs Ethnikēs Antistasēs 1940–1945* (Athens: Nea Vivlia, 1974); *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysiōn tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tēs Elladas*, vol. A: 1918–1945 (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē tou KKE, 1986); *Epesan gia tē Zōē: Hērōēs–Martyres Laikōn, Apeleutherōtikōn Agōnōn*, vol. B (Athens: Kentrikē Epitropē KKE, 1994); and Davide Rodogno,

Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary documentation on the Pholegandros camp can be found at A-ICRC. Published documentation about this site is available in Giōrgēs Zōidēs et al., *Historia tēs ethnikēs antistasēs 1940–1945: Dokimio* (1974; Athens: Synchronē Epochē, 1984). Published testimonies by former Pholegandros exiles include Panos Dēmētriou, *Ek vatheōn: Chroniko mias zōēs kai mias epochēs* (Themelio: N.P., 1997); and Kleōn Papaloizos, *Historiographika simēiōmata: Kypros-Aigyp̄tos-Hellada: ethnikē allēlengyē: antistasiakē-eamikē organōsē. Pholegandros, Aēs Stratēs: nēsia tēs exorias: phylakes Aiginas. Akronauplia, Bloko tēs Kokkinias, Dekemvrēs 1944* (Athens: N.P., 1977).

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skouroliakou

NOTES

1. Dēmētriou, *Ek Vatheōn*, pp. 67–68.
2. Ibid., p. 79.
3. Ibid., pp. 68–73.
4. Papaloizos, *Historiographika simēiōmata*, p. 51; *Chroniko Agōnōn kai Thysiōn tou Kommounistikou Kommatos tēs Elladas*, p. 133; Linardatos, *4ē Augoustou*, p. 437; Dēmētriou, *Ek Vatheōn*, pp. 67–68, 82.
5. Papaloizos, *Historiographika simēiōmata*, pp. 53–58, 64–66; Dēmētriou, *Ek Vatheōn*, pp. 67–68, 82–87.
6. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio*, p. 177; A-ICRC, G 3/27 CI, B. 148, as cited in Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, pp. 460–461.
7. Sarantakos et al., *Aigaio*, p. 177.
8. Thodorēs Roumpanēs, “Apo ta xeronēsia tou Metaxa sto apospasma tōn nazi,” *To Ethnos*, October 26, 2007, www.ethnos.gr/article.asp?catid=22768&subid=2&pubid=141256.

THEBES

Thebes (Thēva) is located 68 kilometers (42 miles) northwest of Athens. After the roundups of Greek civilians during counterinsurgency operations in the Roumeli region, the Italian authorities established a provisional concentration camp (*Campo di concentramento provvisorio*) just to the east of the city of Thebes.¹ Most of the detainees were civilians suspected of aiding the resistance or supporting the underground nationalist organizations (e.g., the Greek National Liberation Front, *Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Μέτωπο*, EAM; Greek Communist Party, *Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas*, KKE; and the Greek People's Liberation Army, *Ellinikós Laikós Apeleutherotikós Stratós*, ELAS). An entry in the Italian Army's war diary of September 29, 1942, concerning counterinsurgency operations in the area announced that the provisional camp was “to be set up in the area of Levadeia.”² An entry from October 6, 1942, noted that there was a demand for the “urgent delivery of barbed wire.”³ The camp was finally opened at the end of 1942 with 1,500 to 2,000 detainees.

Greek citizens who participated in resistance actions and innocent hostages were sent to the camp. Former prisoner

Lampros Mpourogiannēs reported that a Greek collaborator turned him in to the collaborationist Legionaries, which in turn handed him over to the Italians. He was arrested by the Domokos carabinieri and after a 10-day detention was sent to the Thebes camp. He reported that the camp was new, disorganized, and inadequate. It was fenced in with barbed wire and was staffed by many guards. There were 150 to 200 detainees as hostages, who slept in twos in tents on the ground. The camp lacked basic amenities, such as bed coverings, and most of the prisoners slept in their clothes. The morning roll call was at 9 A.M., and the detainees had to return to their tents two hours before sunset.

Squalor, fear, and hunger were commonplace. Some of the prisoners' relatives brought them food and clothes, but in general food was very scarce. The daily meal was soup with a little pasta and a small slice of bread weighing about 150 grams (5.3 ounces). Some detainees earned money in the camp's black market by selling *Ntari*, a millet-based bread of very poor quality. The sanitary conditions were extremely poor: "There was no hygiene whatsoever, dirt and stench, for toilets we used group troughs, we received water by coupon and washing was not compulsory."⁴ Terror reigned in the camp: "Talking of freedom! . . . [T]here was fear and terror, it was not allowed for more than three prisoners to be gathered outside the tents."⁵

In the course of the postwar investigations of Axis crimes in Greece, the competent judicial authorities collected data from the communities and municipalities of every prefecture to support any indictments. A name list of nine "citizens of Vaghia murdered by the conquerors" that the community of Vaghia sent on June 7, 1945, to the Eparchos (district head) of Thebes stated that two of the victims were murdered by the Italians and the other seven by the Germans. One of these victims was noted as having died in the Thebes camp.⁶ One of the three Italians accused of committing war crimes in Thebes and mentioned in the *Central Register of War Criminals and Security Suspects Consolidated Wanted List* (CROWCASS) of the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) was the Thebes guard, Caporale Cicero Aldo.⁷

SOURCES A secondary source that mentions the Thebes provisional concentration camp is Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Thebes camp can be found in GAK, Central Service, ANV; and AUSSME, N1-11. A published testimony is Lampros Mpourogiannēs, "Anamnēseis ap'tē sta stratopeda Thēvas and Larissas," *EA*, 39 (1984): 19–22.

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skourliakou

NOTES

1. AUSSME, N1-11, Diari storici, B. 1070, Commando II CdA al Commando del Genio di CdA, as quoted in Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire*, p. 360.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Mpourogiannēs, "Anamnēseis ap'tē zōē sta stratopeda Thēvas and Larissas," p. 20.

5. Ibid.

6. GAK, ANV, Egklēmaties Polemou (War Criminals), (1945–1947).

7. Aldo's CROWCASS and index card are missing from USHMMA, RG-67.041M (UNWCC), but are listed online at www.criminidiguerra.it/Crowcass1.shtml.

TRIKALA

Trikala (Trikala province, Thessaly) in central Greece is more than 244 kilometers (151 miles) northwest of Athens. In September 1941, the Italians established a concentration camp, officially called a *campo concentramento detenuti preventivi*, or *casa preventiva* (house custody) in the town. It was set up in the old, deserted premises of the Association of the Agricultural Cooperatives of Trikala, consisting of a garage, warehouses, and machine workshop. It was located in the farthest quarter of the city of Trikala, across from the train station, behind the church of Zoodochos Pigi, and on the bank of Aghia Moni (Agiamoniotis), a tributary of the Litheos River. The detainees called the camp "the Mills," probably because of the area's old flour mills. The Italians made the local people renovate the upper floor to include rooms for the detainees. Two to three carabinieri served as administrators, and there were approximately 20 soldiers as guards. The detainees recalled that Brigadiere Cicero Calogero of the carabinieri was head of the camp.¹

The abandoned building was very old and had iron bars on the windows. Just outside, the nearby tributary formed small pools of dirty water. The living conditions were deplorable. Humidity, lice, and mice plagued the life of the prisoners in this dank building.² According to the testimony of former prisoner Kōstas Stournas, the Trikala camp was "a building in decay which stood on the mud of the river bank" of the Aghia Moni. Added Stournas, "There is no doubt that we were brought here to die!" He went on to observe, "Casa Preventiva is a prison of the worst kind that even a long-term prisoner cannot imagine."³ The Italian authorities did not feed the detainees. Instead, the city of Trikala provisioned the camp.⁴

The first detainees came mostly from the Thessaly region. One hundred twelve common criminals from the Volos area were held there from the beginning of September 1941. They had been convicted by an Italian military court of sabotage (theft of food, tires, and so on) from the Italians. Later, 54 political prisoners from Volos and Larissa were transferred to the camp, handcuffed and under armed escort; among them was one woman. These prisoners were characterized as "dangerous communists" (*Pericolosi Comunisti*). The communists were confined in the darkest and most humid room of the building and were taken out to the yard at different hours than the common criminals. Later, a third group of prisoners arrived from Larissa. On November 25, 1941, a fourth group, consisting of 23 Athenian political prisoners, was received in the camp. There was a separate smaller room for women, where

four female detainees lived, one Jew among them. The number of women detainees eventually reached 20.⁵

The detainees' largest problem was the lack of food, because little food was provided by the city of Trikala, and the country as a whole was suffering from the terrible famine of the winter of 1941. "Our life in the camp was agonizing in every aspect . . . During our stay in Casa Preventiva the food distributed was impossible to keep us alive. The Italians did not give us anything. We cooked and ate whatever the city gave us," noted former prisoner and lawyer Giannis Katsounotos.⁶ There were some contacts with some aid organizations in Trikala, but they could not send much food. The situation was aggravated by the harsh and close surveillance, especially of the communists.⁷

At first, the camp commandant was very strict, and the guards shouted at and battered the detainees for the slightest reason. Later, the commandant became more lenient, allowing visiting hours for everyone once a week. The detainees thought better of the Italian soldiers, who seemed to behave better than the carabinieri.⁸

The 23 Athenian politically sophisticated communists, among them the former mayor of Kilkis, Costas Gavriilidis, who arrived in late November helped organize the detainees. They secretly formed committees and adopted a strategy to encourage the commandant to improve conditions. As a result, visiting hours were extended beyond the previously scheduled days, and the commandant allowed the prisoners to establish a common fund to improve the food situation.

What the detainees mostly wanted was to move to another camp, because the conditions at Trikala were deplorable for detainees and guards alike. The issue was brought to the commandant's attention. After a command shakeup and the transfer of the original carabinieri on December 19, 1941, the prisoners were moved to the 8th Elementary School in the Koutsomilia quarter, a building in much better condition. The Italians fenced in the site with barbed wire.⁹ The detainees earned the new commander's trust and thus maintained the privileges they had previously gained. They organized working groups and built showers, a kitchen, wooden beds, and extra toilets. They cultivated a garden and had regular postal service. The carpenters among them made wooden shoes that were sold to the Trikala merchants in exchange for better food. When the guards went to buy food, the prisoners' committee decided which detainees would join them. In the new camp, the prisoners were separated by room in the same way as in the Mills: common criminals, communists, and women.

After an inspection by an unidentified Italian general on February 7, 1942, the food was greatly improved, according to prisoner testimonies, because the Italian Army finally recognized the prisoners' rights as prisoners of war (POWs) under the Geneva Convention. Henceforth the Italians provided the prisoners with their food.¹⁰ On the same day as the general's inspection, a group of prisoners from Volos sent a letter to their home city asking for financial assistance for their families in Volos. The city decided to include these families in the municipal distribution of food and give each family the lump sum of 1,000 drachmas.¹¹

From February 1942 onward, Trikala increasingly functioned as a transit camp, so the prison population fluctuated greatly. Common criminals, political prisoners, and resistance fighters who hid or helped the British flee the country were transferred there. Some of the original Trikala prisoners were also released.¹²

In early 1943 the camp started to receive prisoners from other parts of the country. At the beginning of February, two groups of detainees from the Peloponnese region, Messenia and Laconia areas, were transferred there. The former were arrested in Kalamata and sent to Trikala from Averōf prison; the latter were sent from the Kalavryta camp. On September 14, 1943, 50 communist prisoners were taken from the Italian-run Akronafplia camp, half of whom were transferred to the Larissa camp and the other half to Trikala.¹³ The living conditions in the Trikala camp were so much better than those at other Italian or German camps that the 25 prisoners from Akronafplia who arrived at Trikala on September 16 became suspicious. A woman prisoner who arrived from the Kalavryta camp, Voula Damianakou, recalled that she was left speechless when she compared the conditions in Trikala with those of Kalavryta.¹⁴

During the camp's final phase, the Italian authorities conducted retaliatory murders at the cemetery located close to the camp. Some of the victims were Trikala prisoners.¹⁵ The Trikala camp was disbanded on May 18, 1943, and the last 158 detainees, including 20 women, were then sent to the Larissa camp.¹⁶

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Trikala camp include Antōnēs I. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn 1941–1944: Hē Gennēsē tou Antartikou stē Thessalia* (Athens: Papazēsē, 1977); Nitsa Koliou, *Agnōstēs Ptyches Katochēs kai Antistasēs, 1941–44: Historikē Ereuna gia to Nomo Magnēsias* (Volos: self-published, 1985); Chrēstos Vrachniarēs, *Ta Chronia tēs Laikēs Epopoias: Polemos, Katochē, Antistasē* (Athens: Panorama, 1983); Petros Antaios et al., eds., *Mavrē Vivlōs tēs Katochēs – Schwarzbuches der Besatzung*, 2nd ed., (Athens: Nationalrat für die Entschädigungsforderungen Griechenlands an Deutschland - Ethniko Symvoulío gia tē Diekdikēsē tōn Opheilōn tēs Germanias pros tēn Ellada, 2006); Maroula Kliapha, *Trikala: Apo ton ōs ton Ts Seiphoullach itsanē. Oi Metamorphōseis mias Koinōnias opōs Apotyphēkan ston Typo tēs Epochēs*, 3 vols. (Athens: Kedros, 2000), vol. 3: 1941–1960; and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006);

Primary sources documenting the Trikala camp can be found at DIKI and HAHE. A testimony by a woman detainee can be found in Voula Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē* (1962; Athens: Epikairōtēta, 2000). Early postwar testimonies and reports about the camp include Kōstas Stournas, *Casa Preventiva: Campo di Concentramento. Ta Prōta Italika Stratopeda Sunkentrosēs stēn Ellada stēn Perīodo tēs Katochēs* (Athens: Pylē, 1974), which was written during his detention but only published 33 years later. See also Chrēstos Vrachniarēs, *Ta Chronia tēs laikēs epopoias. Polemos-Katōxē-Antistasē* (Athens: Panorama, 1983).

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skourouliakou

NOTES

1. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, p. 85; testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 400–401.
2. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 85–87, 97–100; testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 400–401.
3. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 85–86.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.
5. Testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 401–405, 423, 428; Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, pp. 85–91.
6. Interview, April 1, 1976, reproduced in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, p. 423.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 405.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
9. Stournas, *Casa Preventiva*, p. 102.
10. Testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, pp. 412, 423.
11. DIKI, Municipal Archive of Volos, Municipal Council Minutes, Decision No. 1216, March 9, 1942; also found in Koliou, *Agnōstes Ptyches Katochēs*, pp. 87–88.
12. HAHE, KaKy 6, 1942, Regia Rappresentanza D’ Italia per la Grecia, Atene, April 20, 1942; testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 412, 420–421, 424–425.
13. Testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, pp. 99, 428.
14. Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē Dēlōsē*, pp. 292–301.
15. Testimonies found in Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas—Trikalōn*, pp. 425, 434–435; Damianakou, *Hypeuthynē dēlōsē*, pp. 313–317.
16. Phlountzēs, *Stratopeda Larisas*, p. 426.

VONITSA

Vonitsa is 269 kilometers or 167 miles northwest of Athens in the Aetolia-Acarnania region. Most of the information on the Italian camp at Vonitsa comes from the testimonies of the political prisoners who were initially held at the Akronafplia camp. Called *Akronafpliotēs*, they were first transferred to the Katouna camp, but were sent for security reasons, under heavy guard, on March 20, 1943, to the camp on the plain of Vonitsa. During the transfer to Vonitsa, the Italians ordered the prisoners to leave their belongings, which led the prisoners to think that they would be shot. Their belongings, however, were sent later on to Vonitsa with three prisoners who had stayed behind temporarily at Kantouna. Adding to their fear of reprisal was the statement by the Italian commander at Katouna, Reserve Captain Ruggero Giannelli, who told them that, because they were considered hostages of the Italians they were subject to being shot at any time and that he could do nothing about it.¹

South of the plain of Vonitsa in the middle of a small field, the Italians fenced an area with barbed wire and divided it into three equal parts of about 6 hectares (15 acres) each. The 198 *Akronafpliotēs* were put in one of those areas surrounded with barbed wire. It was a flat area that lacked buildings, and there were only a few tents. To the south, there was another similar empty area and then another camp with tents and detainees. The prisoners in the third area,

numbering approximately 100 people, were from the historical regions of Epirus and Roumeli. They consisted chiefly of resistance fighters and supporters of the Greek National Liberation Front (*Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Μέτωπο*, EAM) and related organizations.

Six communist *Akronafpliotēs* occupied each tent. On arrival, the Italians distributed blankets, metal pots for food, and copper mugs for water. Through the middle of the camp ran an artificial stream with water from a nearby swamp that was used for prisoner hygiene. The Italian authorities delivered potable water by wagon. When it rained, the detainees’ tents sank deep in the mud as if in a swamp.²

According to former detainee Gerasimos Antōnatos, the commander told the detainees that “you’ll live here and you can do whatever you want.” One of the representatives of the team replied, “Mr. Commander, we could live here only if you give us the appropriate tools to build what we need.” Indeed, the Italians gave them some tools.³

The camp guards stayed in a small church.⁴

At Vonitsa the prisoners built and organized the camp from scratch with little available means. Their accomplishment was so exemplary that it was admired not only by the detainees of the other camp but also by the Italian soldiers. The other detainees, although they were locals and hence had more available means because they received support from their families, had not been able to organize themselves in such a way.⁵ One of the *Akronafpliotēs*, Giannēs Manousakas, said that “our camp could be distinguished from the other, just next to it, which had other hostages and it was a piece of empty land. There was not a single tree, not a building and what is worse even the occupiers did not respect them, treated them violently, and battered them. We were isolated from them—even though they were detained for patriotic action—and we could not help them to get organized.”⁶

The communist detainees placed their tents next to each another and used the largest ones as storerooms. They dug a trench parallel to the barbed wire to lead the rainwater out of the camp, they brought manure, and they planted flowers around the tents. They built alleys using the small stones found in the camp and left a two-hectare (five-acre) open space to be used as a square. They asked the Italians for material to construct small buildings, and although their request was denied they succeeded in building a kitchen and an oven: under the guidance of Karampinis, a detainee recognized among the others as particularly intelligent and gifted, they collected broken pieces of ceramic found in their enclosed area, and adding dirt, they built the oven for baking bread. The Italian commander was initially very skeptical about the success of this plan, but ended up congratulating the detainees on its construction.⁷ They also constructed a lavatory with bricks made from withered grass stubble and mud from dirt and water. Manousakas recalled, “Everything we built within a short period of time had a great impact on the Italian soldiers. Many times we took the axe from the hands of the soldiers, who wanted to cut the wood for us or do other work, to show their appreciation to us and to the ideology we believed in.”⁸

Despite all their efforts and the contribution of the Red Cross—mostly flour and pulses—and of the National Solidarity (*Ethnikē Allēleggyē*, EA), the detainees' diet was poor. The detainees sent representatives to the nearby city of Vonitsa for supplies, and they thus came into contact with representatives of the Hellenic Red Cross (*Hellēnikos Erythros stauros*, EES). The EES representative at Vonitsa was the city's priest, Xrēstos Kaourēs, or Father Fourtouna, as the detainees called him. Every Sunday afternoon, the priest brought them food supplied by the EES and EA. At Easter, he brought them a black lamb, which the detainees did not kill, but kept as a camp mascot. They butchered it only two days before leaving the camp, because they could not take it with them.⁹ At the beginning of May, the communist detainees decided to start a vegetable garden in one of the camp's other empty areas. The Italians had no objection: a local farmer plowed it, and the detainees used small hoes to complete the work.¹⁰ The food situation was thus better than in the Katouna camp, and the inmates' symptoms of malnutrition faded. The good local climate, the sun, and spring weather definitely played a role in their return to health.

After organizing their basic needs for living, the detainees formed a chorus and a band for entertainment. On Sunday afternoons, the band members played the violin, the guitar, and mandolin, and the choir sang Greek songs and a few translated into Italian. Manousakas remembered that "the guards used to come outside our square, close to the barbed wire, without guns, many even without their hats and jackets and watched our program." Another detainee recalled that "the Italians watched, listened and clapped. The following Sunday it was they who came outside the square with accordions and guitars and played while we were clapping."¹¹ However, as Manousakas said, "Once, during this leisure time, one completely furious fascist officer chased them away swearing at them and pushing them. Frustrated, they looked at us with sympathy, as if they apologized and their appreciation and affection toward us grew stronger. With great yearning and little precautions they were often saying, '*Pote finis polemos kamarat?*' ('When is the war going to finish, comrade?'); and breathing and sighing heavily replied, spitting out every word, '*la guerra de catastrofa*' ('the war of catastrophe')."¹²

Once, a group of Italian officers visited the camp, probably Generale d'Armata Carlo Geloso with his staff or some other military commander of Italian-occupied Greece. The detain-

ees' order and organization made a positive impression on them. After that visit, the detainees reported that the Italians, even the Fascists, treated them even better, although the security measures were strengthened. Two fully equipped machine guns were set up, and when the guards attended the music events put on by the detainees, they were in uniform and armed.¹³

The *Akronaupliotes* stayed at the Vonitsa camp for three months. On June, 20, 1943, they were transferred to Lazaretto Island near Corfù first by military vehicles and then by boat. Two or three military boats accompanied them.¹⁴

SOURCES A secondary source describing the Vonitsa camp is Antōnēs Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes 1937–1943* (Athens: Themelio, 1979).

Primary sources documenting the Vonitsa camp include the published testimonies by Gerasimos Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda: Apo tēn Pylo sto Lazareto 1939–1943* (Athens: Organismos Diatheseōs Ellēnikou Vivliou, 1964); and Giannēs Manousakas, *Akronauplia (Thrylos kai Pragmatikotēta)* (1975; Athens: Dōrikos, 1978).

Nikos Tzafleris
Trans. Melina Skouroliakou

NOTES

1. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, pp. 442–443; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 269.
2. Testimony of Gerasimos Antonatos in Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 443.
3. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 39.
4. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 277.
5. Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 443; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 281.
6. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 281.
7. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 40; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 277–279.
8. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 279.
9. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 41; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 281–282; Phlountzēs, *Akronauplia kai Akronaupliōtes*, p. 444.
10. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 284.
11. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, p. 40.
12. Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, p. 280.
13. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, pp. 40–41; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 280–281.
14. Antōnatos, *Sta Stratopeda*, pp. 41; Manousakas, *Akronauplia*, pp. 287–288.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED NORTH AFRICA*

BUQBUQ

Buqbuq was located in a desert area east of the Libyan-Egyptian border, 163 kilometers (101 miles) east of Tobruk (Tubruk) and 160 kilometers (99 miles) west of Mersa Matruh (Marsa Matrüh). For the second time in the North African campaign, German and Italian forces occupied Buqbuq (variously transliterated as Buq Buq, Bog-Bog, Bug-Bug, Bukbuk, and Baq-Baq) in the third week of June 1942. The Italian-run camp at Buqbuq in the Matrüh province of Egypt opened at the end of August 1942.

At the end of August 1942, approximately 350 Jewish men from the Sidi Azaz camp in Libya were sent to Buqbuq to repair roads, which were used as a central supply route for Axis forces against the British Eighth Army. This Jewish labor camp (*campo lavoro per operai ebrei*) was under the control of the Italian camp commandant of Sidi Azaz, to which Buqbuq regularly reported. Neither Italian soldiers nor police provided a permanent guard force. Although there was a sign posted at the entrance, the camp did not have a fence. In any case, escape was impossible, because the prisoners were situated between the desert and roads heavily trafficked by Axis troops. The only official permanently attached to the camp was an Italian military doctor.

Buqbuq's camp population consisted exclusively of Jewish men aged between 18 and 45 years, who primarily originated from Tripoli and its surrounding area. They were deployed on road-building work, particularly the crushing of boulders. The gravel this produced was used for road reinforcement. The Jewish capo, Moshe Hadad (or Mose Haddad), who organized the workers, also ordered the men to dig slit trenches for inmate protection against Royal Air Force (RAF) attacks. So far as is known, only the Italian military authorities utilized Buqbuq's labor.

Many inmates became ill due to inadequate food rations, water shortages, heavy physical labor, and the harsh climate. They suffered primarily from skin diseases. After being examined by the Italian military physician, forced laborers who were sick were transported back to Tripoli. The doctor also dismissed Jews who had injured themselves or faked illness. Consequently the number of inmates fell to just over 200 within two months.

Hadad, an engineer, occupied the highest position among the prisoners as senior capo. He picked out the 350 men from the Sidi Azaz camp to transfer to Buqbuq, monitored their activities, and directed their work. The sign outside the camp indicated his position as engineer and bore an inscription in Hebrew that read "God Almighty." In addition to Hadad, each Jewish labor group had a leader. All inmates lived in four- to eight-man tents. Hadad and the group leaders traded wine delivered by the Italian authorities every couple of days for additional food.

*For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled North Africa, see page 397.



A signboard at the entrance to the Buqbuq labor camp, which was set up for Jews by Italians in Libya. The smaller sign above reads, "1° CORP. EBREI" or "First Jewish Corps." The Hebrew writing above the Italian reads "Shadday," which means "God Almighty." The abbreviated Italian signage reads, "Labor Camp for Jewish Workers."

USHMM WS #30937, BEIT HATFUTSOT, THE OSTER VISUAL DOCUMENTATION CENTER, COURTESY OF THE CULTURAL CENTER OF JEWS OF LIBYA, TEL AVIV.

The labor camp's small size and brief existence apparently precluded the development of a defined prisoner culture. At Buqbuq, prisoner resistance took the form of work slowdowns and an attempt by a work crew to hinder the passage of Italian troops.

After the British victory in the Battle of El Alamein and the Axis forces' subsequent retreat to the west, the Italian authorities dissolved the Buqbuq camp on November 6, 1942. The remaining 200 or so Jewish prisoners were ordered back to Tripoli. Although Hadad and a few other Jews traveled to Tripoli by automobile with the Italian doctor, the remaining forced laborers had to reach the city on their own.

There is no information about inmate deaths or murders in Buqbuq, nor were there any trials against Italian military personnel in connection with the camp.

SOURCES There has been little research on the Buqbuq camp, and there is no scholarly monograph concerned exclusively with the camps erected in Libya and Egypt between 1940 and 1943. Basic information on Buqbuq can be found in 'Irit Avramski-Blai, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Luv; Tunisiyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bi'asdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at; Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997); a contribution by A. Guetta on the Buqbuq and Sidi Azaz camps in Va'ad kehilot Luv be-Yisra'el, *Yahadut Luv: ma'amarim u-reshimot 'al haye ha-Yehudim be-Luv: yotse le-'or le-regel melot 'eser shanim la-'aliyat Yebude Luv* (Tel Aviv: Va'ad kehilot Luv be-Yisra'el, 1960); "Libyen, Arbeits- und Internierungslager," in Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, and Julius H. Schoeps, eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden*, (Munich: Piper, 1995); Liliana Picciotto Fargion, "Gli Ebrei in Libia sotto la dominazione italiana," in Martino Contu, Nicola Melis, and Giovannino Pinna, eds., *Ebraismo e rapporti con le culture del Mediterraneo nei secoli XVIII-XX* (Florence: Giuntina, 2003), pp. 79–106; Rachel Simon, "It Could have Happened There: The Jews of Libya during the Second World War," *Afr. J.* 16 (1994): 391–422; Renzo de Felice, *Jews in an Arab Land: Libya, 1835–1970*, trans. Judith Roumani (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); and Maurice M. Roumani, *The Jews of Libya: Coexistence, Persecution, Resettlement* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008).

Primary sources on the Buqbuq camp can be found in YVA, collection O.3 (testimonies), listed under Sidi Azaz. Additional reports by Libyan Jews are located in AFCDEC in section AG, 5Hb. In ACS, collection MAI, there are additional documents on the Italian persecution of Jews in Libya. Guetta's article is also in part a testimony on the Buqbuq camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Joseph Robert White

GIADO

The camp at Giado (Jadu) was erected in a former military camp, located in the desert approximately 153 kilometers (95 miles) southwest of Tripoli. It was established in accord with an order by Benito Mussolini on February 7, 1942, which provided for the confinement of Jews from Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in camps. The camp served almost exclusively for the detention of Italian and Libyan Jews from Cyrenaica, especially Benghazi, one of the largest Jewish communities in Libya. The camp also briefly held both Jews with French citizenship, who were subsequently deported to Tunisia in 1942, and Jews with British passports, who were later interned at Ferramonti di Tarsia in Italy and at a few other camps in Libya.

Jewish families were accommodated in Giado. Individual men were called up for various assignments such as cleaning latrines, disposing of garbage, transporting sand and stone, and tiling roofs both inside and outside the camp, but there

was not a fixed daily work quota. It is not known whether any private firms deployed Jews held at Giado as forced labor.

Between May and October 1942, Jews were brought from Cyrenaica to Giado in twice-weekly truck convoys, so that the camp population continually increased. By the end of June 1942 there were 2,584 Jews confined in the camp, including 47 with Italian citizenship. The number dramatically fell after a louse-borne epidemic of typhus in December 1942, that the British liberators ultimately stopped. The estimated number of deaths exceeded 560, putting the mortality rate in Giado at about 21 percent, principally caused by malnutrition and typhus.

Because of overcrowding, many Jews in Giado were sent to other sites. In the spring of 1942, a few hundred went to an assembly site in the town of Gharian (also called Ghuryan). Others were held in the villages of Jefren (Yefren) and Trigrinna (Tighrina), which were near Giado. Accommodations in Gharian, Jefren, and Tigrinna were in separate buildings, one family per room. The authorities monitored the Jews' presence every morning and prohibited freedom of movement. Jewish communities already existed in those three villages, which together supported a minimum of around 400 detainees.

The camp commandant was General d'armate (from August 12, 1942, Marsciallo d'Italia) Ettore Bastico, who, from July 19, 1941, was governor of Libya and commander-in-chief of the Italian troops in North Africa. Known as a convinced antisemite in the military, Bastico directed that the Jewish inmates be treated poorly. Serving as his deputy was Maggiore Guerriero Modestino. The dominant figure in Giado, Modestino repeatedly ordered the confinement of individual inmates in order to have them beaten. The guard force consisted of Italian and Arab police, commanded by Italian officers. The police belonged to the Police of Italian Africa (*Polizia dell'Africa Italiana*, PAI). According to survivors' accounts, the Germans—presumably members of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) or the Nazi Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD)—regularly came into the camp and inspected the internment of Jews. These visits were probably related to the assignment of SS-Obersturmführer Theodor Saevecke, who functioned as the SD liaison for the PAI and was responsible for its Jewish policy.

A capo and a deputy lived with the prisoners in each of the 10 barracks in the Giado camp. The capos formed a camp council, which represented the prisoners' interests to the commandant. Camus Suarez chaired the council. With the permission of the deputy camp commandant, he was able occasionally to permit bartering for food. Because the capos were responsible for the Jewish community's organization inside the camp, they held a privileged position inside the camp. For example, the capos organized the allocation of firewood and food. Well-off prisoners, who could trade with Arab merchants, held a similar position. The detained families sought to create a small private sphere for their relatives in the undivided barracks, by hanging blankets as partitions. This measure helped to prevent tensions among the prisoners.

One of the barracks served as a synagogue. The inmates also acquired permission from the camp authorities to bury the

dead in the vicinity of the former medieval Jewish cemetery nearby. This concession turned out to be particularly important during the typhus epidemic.

Although many prisoners in Giado died, it appears that none of the inmates was shot by the guards or otherwise killed. However, the camp administration tolerated deaths by starvation.

Knowledge of Giado's harsh conditions did spread outside the camp. Arab merchants selling food at the camp fence or inside the camp with the camp direction's permission learned of the prisoners' plight. The Jewish community in Tripoli gathered information about the camp's living conditions and sent assistance: the financial report for Tripoli's Jewish community listed a subsidy of nearly 1.7 million lire for Giado prisoners in 1943.¹

Shortly before the camp's liberation, the Tripoli Jewish community dispatched driver Benedetto Arbib, with two other Jews, to the camp with food. After getting stuck in the mud following a rainstorm and being pulled out by some South African troops, their vehicle continued on to Giado. On arrival, they discovered that it had not yet been liberated. While delivering the food, an Italian policeman struck Arbib.²

There is no information about any uprisings or resistance in the camp before January 1943. Around 200 Jews fled the camp in January 1943 before British troops reached Giado, after they noticed that some of the guards had already run away; Italian troops then opened fire on the remaining prisoners.

The Giado camp was liberated in the second half of January 1943 by the British Eighth Army, following the westerly retreat of Italian and German forces. The same was the case for the smaller detention sites near Gharian and Yefren. At Giado, the British found approximately 480 seriously ill prisoners, who were subsequently hospitalized in Tripoli. The camp's evacuation required a few months, because the Jews could only gradually be transferred either to Tripoli or Gharian. In March 1943 there were still many Jews in Giado, including 60 orphans, who were allowed to immigrate to Palestine. The British finally dissolved the Giado camp at the beginning of October 1943.

So far as is known, there were no trials involving the camp's administration or guards. In 1999, Saevecke stood trial before an Italian military tribunal in Torino, in connection with atrocities perpetrated on Italian soil during the German occupation of northern Italy after September 8, 1943.

SOURCES Obtaining information about the Giado camp is difficult, because there are no scholarly monographs exclusively concerned with the camps erected in Libya between 1940 and 1943. Basic information on Giado can be found in Rachel Simon, "The Giado Concentration Camp," in Norman A. Stillman and Phillip Isaac Ackerman-Lieberman, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, 5 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 2: 283–284; 'Irit Avramski-Blai, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Luv; Tunisyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bi'asdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at; Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997); "Libyen, Arbeits-

und Internierungslager," in Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, and Julius H. Schoeps, eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich; Zurich: Piper, 1995); Liliana Picciotto Fargion, "Gli Ebrei in Libia sotto la dominazione italiana," in Martino Contu, Nicola Melis, and Giovannino Pinna, eds., *Ebraismo e rapporti con le culture del Mediterraneo nei secoli XVIII–XX* (Florence: Giuntina, 2003), pp. 79–106; Rachel Simon, "It Could have Happened There: The Jews of Libya during the Second World War," *Afr. J.* 16 (1994): 391–422; Renzo de Felice, *Jews in an Arab Land: Libya, 1835–1970*, trans. Judith Roumani (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); and Maurice M. Roumani, *The Jews of Libya: Coexistence, Persecution, Resettlement* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008). On Saevecke's role in the persecution of Jews in Libya, see Klaus-Michael Mallmann and Martin Cüppers, *Nazi Palestine: The Plans for the Extermination of the Jews of Palestine*, trans. Krista Smith (New York: Enigma Books in Association with USHMM, 2010).

Primary sources on the Giado camp can be found in YVA, collection O.3 (testimonies). Additional reports by Libyan Jews are located in AFCDEC in section AG, 5Hb. In ACS, collection MAI, there are additional documents on the Italian persecution of Jews in Libya. A published reference to Jewish relief efforts at Giado can be found in Comunità israelitica della Tripolitania, *Relazione morale-economica dell'esercizio 1943* (Tripoli: Comunità israelitica della Tripolitania, 1943). VHA has four testimonies, all in Hebrew, by Giado survivors. The testimony of Benedetto Arbib, conducted in November 1998, is available at geoimages.berkeley.edu/libyajew/LibyanJews/testimonies/testimonydavidbenedetto-excerpt.html. A published testimony is Eric Salerno, *Uccidete tutti: Libia 1943; gli ebrei nel campo di concentramento fascista di Giado; una storia italiana* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 2008).

Jens Hoppe

Trans. Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. *Relazione morale-economica dell'esercizio 1943*, p. 21.

2. Arbib interview transcript, November 1998, available at geoimages.berkeley.edu/libyajew/LibyanJews/testimonies/testimonydavidbenedetto-excerpt.html.

SIDI AZAZ

Sidi Azaz (today: Sidi Said) is located in a desert area approximately 32 kilometers (20 miles) northwest of Homs (Khoms; today: Al Khums) and about 73 kilometers (45 miles) southeast of Tripoli. A camp was established in July 1942 in accord with the decree of June 28, 1942, by General d'armate (from August 12, 1942, Marsciallo d'Italia) Ettore Bastico, who simultaneously served as governor of Libya and commander in chief of Italian troops in North Africa as of July 19, 1941. In this decree, male Jews between 18 and 45 years of age in the Italian province in North Africa were obligated to do forced labor. This command followed a similar one adopted in Italy proper on May 6, 1942. Sidi Azaz served exclusively for the detention of Jewish men, who were brought there to do forced labor.

The majority of the inmates came from Tripoli, the largest Jewish community in Libya, but there were also men from the neighboring city of Homs. The inmates were mainly used in street repair and railway construction according to military needs. A few Jews remained in the camp, however, and were employed in cleaning and kitchen details.

Shortly after the founding of the camp, around 3,000 men were brought to Sidi Azaz, but only around 1,000 remained there, and the others were returned to Tripoli. Among the Jews who remained in the camp were those assigned construction activities or able to perform physically demanding labor, as well as specialists. Physically disabled or seriously ill Jews were exempted from forced labor by a medical commission and sent home. Above all, well-to-do Jews among the 3,000 were released, so that it was mostly poorer men who remained. At the end of August 1942 around 350 Jews were moved to the Buqbuq labor camp in Axis-occupied Egyptian territory. Information about the number of deaths at Sidi Azaz does not exist, but it must have been very low, because the prisoners were mostly young, while the sick or otherwise unfit inmates were released by an Italian Army doctor, who came to Sidi Azaz twice a week.

Italian officers functioned as camp commandants, and a few members of the Police of Italian Africa (*Polizia dell'Africa Italiana*, PAI) served as guards. Once a week, German officers came to Sidi Azaz to inspect the progress of the construction work.

The Jewish inmates worked together in groups of around 50 people, who had to fulfill their daily work quota under the supervision of a capo. Unlike the other inmates, who slept in four- to five-man tents, the capos lived in a barrack like the guards and the commandants—making it clear that they occupied a privileged position in the camp. People who could bring money into the camp also had an advantage, because they could purchase extra food from Arab traders. So far as is known, only one Jewish inmate in the camp, Kamos Zakani, who was employed as a camp clerk, was shot by an Italian guard. There was evidently a quarrel between the two, the precise reason for which is unknown. After this incident the Italian guard was transferred to another camp. Later Jakov Legovi was killed when a truck full of forced laborers, in which he sat, tipped over.

A provisional synagogue, which had a Torah scroll, was set up in the camp to meet the religious needs of the prisoners, which strengthened their resilience. The inmates were also successful in having the Sabbath recognized as a day off work, enabling the Jewish inmates to observe this fundamental commandment. In addition, the Jewish capos gave permission in individual cases for inmates to purchase food in the city of Homs for the camp.

The camp's management permitted the inmates to trade for food with Arab merchants. Relatives of inmates and deputies of the Tripoli Jewish community visited the camp, through which both Jews and non-Jews in Tripoli learned about the conditions in Sidi Azaz. Consequently the deputy of the Tripoli Jewish community organized food relief, especially for the weakest Jews in the camp, to prevent their starvation. The 1943

financial report for Tripoli's Jewish community listed a subsidy of 59,859 lire (\$498 in 1943 USD) for the "militarized and requisitioned workers" at Sidi Azaz. (It is not clear whether this item referred to requisitioned workers under Italian rule or British occupation, but the small sum suggested the former.¹) Contact with the Arab population in the vicinity of the camp was not free of conflict, and it is likely that a Jew was murdered in an incident involving such contact.

There is no information about escapes from the camp or other resistance actions. Of course, many inmates attempted to get an exemption from forced labor, either by bribing a guard or by wounding themselves.

In late January 1943, after advances to the west in the direction of Tripoli, the British Eighth Army liberated the Sidi Azaz camp. As far as is known, there were no war crimes trials against the camp leadership or guards after January 1943.

SOURCES Little research has been done on the Sidi Azaz camp, and there is no scholarly monograph concerned exclusively with the camps erected in Libya between 1940 and 1943. Basic information on Sidi Azaz can be found in 'Irit Avramski-Blai, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Luv; Tunisyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min hiv'asdam ve-'ad le-aḥar Sho'at; Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997); a contribution by A. Guetta on the Buqbuq and Sidi Azaz camps in Va'ad kehilot Luv be-Yisra'el, *Yahadut Luv: ma'amarim u-reshimot 'al ḥaye ha-Yebudim be-Luv: yotse le-'or le-regel melot 'ešer shanim la-'aliyat Yehude Luv* (Tel Aviv: Va'ad kehilot Luv be-Yisra'el, 1960); "Libyen, Arbeits- und Internierungslager," in Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, and Julius H. Schoeps, eds., *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich; Zurich: Piper, 1995); Liliana Picciotto Fargion, "Gli Ebrei in Libia sotto la dominazione italiana," in Martino Contu, Nicola Melis, and Giovannino Pinna, eds., *Ebraismo e rapporti con le culture del Mediterraneo nei secoli XVIII-XX* (Florence: Giuntina, 2003), pp. 79–106; Rachel Simon, "It Could have Happened There: The Jews of Libya during the Second World War," *Afr. J.* 16 (1994): 391–422; Renzo de Felice, *Jews in an Arab Land: Libya, 1835–1970*, trans. Judith Roumani (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); and Maurice M. Roumani, *The Jews of Libya: Coexistence, Persecution, Resettlement* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008).

Primary sources on the Sidi Azaz camp can be found in YVA, collection O.3 (collected testimonies). Additional reports by Libyan Jews are located in AFCDEC in section AG, 5Hb. In ACS, collection MAI, there are additional documents on the Italian persecution of Jews in Libya. A published reference to Jewish relief efforts at Sidi Azaz can be found in Comunità israelitica della Tripolitania, *Relazione morale-economica dell'esercizio 1943* (Tripoli: Comunità israelitica della Tripolitania, 1943). Guetta's publication, cited earlier, is partly a memoir of his confinement in the Sidi Azaz and Buqbuq camps.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. *Relazione morale-economica dell'esercizio 1943*, p. 21.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED SOUTHEAST FRANCE*

EMBRUN

In May 1943, the Italian Fourth Army established a civilian internment camp (*campo internati civili di guerra*) in Italian-occupied France at Embrun (Basses-Alpes Département; today: Hautes-Alpes), 114 kilometers (71 miles) northwest of Nice and 119 kilometers (74 miles) northwest of Menton, the headquarters of the Fourth Army.¹ Embrun held British, American, French, Italian, and Belgian nationals suspected by the Italian military of being security threats. Its establishment took place within the context of the expanded occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942. The camp was set up in a commandeered former French prison, Caserne Vallier de Lapeyrouse.² Carabinieri guarded the camp.

The Embrun camp was closely related to two other camps in the expanded Italian occupation zone: Sospel (Alpes-Maritimes Département) and Modane (Savoie Department). After being interrogated at Lynwood Villa in Nice by members of the Italian Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism (*Organizzazione vigilanza repressione antifascismo*, OVRA), internees were dispatched to Sospel until its closure in late May 1943. Those considered “dangerous” were then transferred to Embrun.³ In defiance of the Italian authorities, the mayor of Nice, Jean Médecin, greeted the internees at the railway station during their transfer from Sospel to Embrun.⁴

According to records (*fiches des renseignements*) of the French police in the Alpes-Maritimes, on May 7, 1943, the Italian authorities dispatched to Embrun three French nationals and naturalized French citizens who had been arrested during the roundup of alleged communist resisters by the Italian Fourth Army. One of the arrestees was a man of Jewish background from the Netherlands who had lived in France since 1918, and another was a member of the Armistice Commission for the Southern Zone. There is little information on the third prisoner.⁵

According to historian Jean-Yves Mollier, the Italian authorities released 229 Embrun internees at the time of the Armistice, September 8, 1943.⁶ Mollier also reports that, in an effort to forestall the roundup by Vichy and German authorities of its just-released detainees, the Italian Army burned the camp’s records.

Based on a Belgian report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), some Embrun internees were sent to Imperia Prison, the Bagno a Ripoli camp, and other sites in northern Italy.⁷ In a few instances, internees released from Embrun before it closed were assigned to the locality of forced residence (*località di soggiorno obbligatorio*) at Vence.⁸

SOURCES The most detailed secondary source on the Embrun camp is Emanuele Sica, “Italiani Brava Gente? The Italian

Occupation of Southeastern France in the Second World War, 1940–1943” (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2011). Additional secondary sources that mention or document the camp are J. P. Domérégo, *Sospel: Une commune du Comté de Nice dans l’histoire* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1980); André Dupouy, *Ma ville à l’heure italienne: Chronique du canton de Modane pendant l’occupation italienne: 11 novembre 1942–9 septembre 1943* (Saint-Julien-Montdenis: Société d’histoire et d’archéologie de Maurienne, 1997); Jean-Yves Mollier, *Édition, presse et pouvoir en France au XXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2008); Jean-Louis Panicacci, “La répression des activités résistantes,” in Jean-Louis Panicacci, ed., *La résistance auvernoise* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1994), pp. 85–96; Jean-Louis Panicacci, *En territoire occupé: Italiens et Allemands à Nice* (Paris: Vendémiaire, 2012); Jean-Louis Panicacci and Jean Marie Guillon, *L’Occupation italienne: Sud-Est de la France, juin 1940–septembre 1943* (Rennes: Presses universitaires, 2010); Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell’Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003); and Jean Vandenhove, *Les prisons d’Embrun du moyen âge jusqu’en 1943: La maison centrale de détention d’Embrun au XIXe siècle, la déportation de 167 corses en 1808* (Embrun: Jean Vandenhove, 2004). A postwar photograph of the caserne is available at www.histoire-embrun.com/du-consulat-a-nos-jours.php.

Italian documentation for the Embrun camp can be found in NARA, T-821 (Collection of Italian Military Records, 1935–1943), roll 265, IT 3099. Additional primary sources can be found in USHMMA, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 616W242 (Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945), which contains brief prefectural reports and correspondence from the Alpes-Maritimes Department concerning the camp. In ITS, a Belgian report can be found on Embrun in collection 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), which is available in digital form at USHMMA. Additional documentation can be found in AD-H-A. A report titled “Camp Reports: France: Embrun, Haute Alpes,” is available in NARA, RG-389 (Records of the Office of the Provost Marshal General), box 2142.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Rapporto No. 4471/Inf. “Trasferimento campo di concentramento,” I CdA, Ufficio “I,” May 30, 1943, NARA, T-821, roll 265, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, “Italiani Brava Gente?” p. 324.

2. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Royaume de Belgique, MRDG, Rapport définitif No. 526 bis: Embrun, received August 12, 1952, Doc. No. 82374609.

3. Quotation in *ibid*.

4. Notiziario No. 30, Comando I CfA, Ufficio “I,” June 6, 1943, NARA, T-821, roll 266, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, “Italia Brava Gente?” p. 327.

5. Fiches des Renseignements, n.d., Siegfried K.; Marius Octave C.; André Léopold Léon V., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, pp. 665, 731, 799.

*For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled Southeast France, see page 398.

6. AD-H-A, W342/12641, as cited in Mollier, *Édition, presse et pouvoir en France au XXe siècle*, p. 120.

7. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Royaume de Belgique, MRDG, Rapport définitif No. 526 bis, Doc. No. 8374610.

8. Ibid.

LYNWOOD VILLA

During the expanded Italian occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942, the Italian authorities commandeered a British-owned villa, Lynwood, in Cimiez, a northeastern neighborhood of Nice, for the purpose of establishing a regional interrogation center. Nice (Italian: Nizza; Alpes-Maritime Département) is 160 kilometers (99 miles) northeast of Marseille and 22 kilometers (approximately 14 miles) southwest of Menton, the Italian Fourth Army headquarters. Two Italian intelligence agencies operated the center: the political police, officially called the Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism (*Organizzazione vigilanza repressione antifascismo*, OVRA) and the Military Intelligence Service (*Servizio Informazioni Militare*, SIM). The Italian authorities called the site “Villa Lynwood,” although some French police reports referred to it as “Nice-Cimiez.”¹ Carabinieri guarded the center, and the commandant was named Bodo.²

The prisoners consisted mainly of suspected French resisters and Italian antifascists. According to historian Emanuele Sica, some of the prisoners were the victims of scurrilous denunciations by irredentists residing in the Italian occupation zone. It is not known how many prisoners passed through Lynwood, but the number could easily have reached into the hundreds, especially during the Fourth Army’s crackdown on resistance activities in the Nice area in May 1943. Prominent detainees at Lynwood included a World War I French general, Albert Bardi de Fourtou, and a Scottish Presbyterian minister, Donald Caskie. After the war, Caskie was named to the Order of the British Empire (OBE) for assisting as many as 2,000 Allied military personnel in evading captivity in occupied France.

Under OVRA administration, the once well-appointed villa fell into a dilapidated state. Rooms were converted into barred jail cells. There were men’s and women’s floors, with the only toilet available on the women’s floor. For male detainees, the facilities were only available under armed escort and not during curfew.³

The prisoners’ food consisted of hardtack and water. Eating it, explained Caskie, required immersing the hardened bread in the water.⁴ An abstract of Belgian testimonies submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) claimed that personal effects, including money, were confiscated on arrival and never returned.⁵

To those who passed through its cells, Lynwood Villa was the “House of Torture” (“*Maison des Supplices*”).⁶ The prisoners were forced to walk in a circle (*gira*) until they confessed. Carabinieri took turns supervising this ordeal, which according to Caskie sometimes went on for days.⁷ Prisoner Conrad

Flavian described a typical morning at Lynwood: “The cellar awakens. Same atmosphere of hallucinations. The condemned of regime ‘A’ continue their terrifying ‘gyrations,’ ‘*Gira, gira, sempre gira*’ (‘round, round, always round’) and the cries of the guard slave-drivers and the blows that rained down.”⁸ Two reports submitted to the United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) made similar charges, and the one against the commandant added that outside the villa’s entrance was the quotation from Dante’s *Inferno*, “Abandon all hope, ye who enter here.”⁹ Another source reports that OVRA used the time-worn Fascist torture technique of force-feeding castor oil to the prisoners.¹⁰

Flavian, his wife Élise, and a Hungarian immigrant, Joseph P., were arrested on May 31, 1943, and sent to Lynwood. All three were members of the Association of the Friends of Foreign Legion Volunteers (*Fédération Amicale Engagés Volontaires étrangers*), a front for resistance activities, and Flavian was its regional head for the Alpes-Maritimes Department. Élise was released the next day, after receiving a stern warning to report all telephone calls and visitors. A French police report pointed out that “two German civilians” accompanied the Flavians’ arrest. Likely one of the Germans was SS-Obersturmführer Ernst Dunker, a department head with the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service (*Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes*, KdS), who assumed the alias “Delage” during torture sessions. Flavian later identified Dunker-Delage as one of his tormentors at Lynwood.¹¹

Following “interrogation” at Lynwood Villa, the detainees were either transferred to internment camps in southeastern France at Sospello, Embrun, and Modane or were remanded to prisons in Italy during or after secret courts-martial by the Fourth Army at Breil-sur-Roya. Together with others awaiting trial, including Flavian, Bardi, the retired French general, was dispatched to Imperia Prison via Menton in June 1943.¹² He died in the Neuengamme concentration camp in March 1945.

The exact date of Lynwood’s closure as an interrogation center is not known. French police records (*fiches des renseignements*), which give the arrest date and detention site where known, indicate that, as late as July 8, 1943, the site was still admitting prisoners.¹³

SOURCES The most detailed secondary account to date on Lynwood Villa is Emanuele Sica, “Italiani Brava Gente? The Italian Occupation of Southeastern France in the Second World War, 1940–1943” (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2011). Other secondary sources that describe or mention the site are Yvan Gastaud, “Les tendances italophobes dans l’opinion niçoise à la libération (1944–1946),” *CDLM* 52 (June 1996): 33–57; Jean-Louis Panicacci, “La répression des activités résistantes,” in Panicacci, ed., *La résistance auzurénne* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1994), pp. 85–96; Michel Germain, *Les maquis de l’espoir: L’occupation italienne en Haute-Savoie* (Les Sables d’Olonne: Le Cercle d’or, 1990); and the website of Gedenkorte Europa, www.gedenkorte-europa.eu/content/list/352/, which includes a postwar photograph of Lynwood Villa.

Primary sources documenting Lynwood Villa can be found in AD-A-M (616W233 and 616W242, the latter digitally copied

to USHMMA as RG-43.115M). Additional documentation about this camp can be found in UNWCC, available at USHMMA as RG-67.041M. More documentation can be found in ITS (Hängemappe Italien/Bolzano), reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517. Additional ITS documentation on detainees held at Lynwood is located in 1.2.4.3, Service Watson, Imperia Italie Prison Deportés Français, available in digital form at USHMMA. The maquis-affiliated newspapers in Nice, *CNSE* and *L'Ergot*, published eyewitness accounts shortly after the city's liberation. Two published testimonies by Lynwood prisoners are Donald C. Caskie, *The Tartan Pimpernel* (London: Oldbourne, 1957), and Conrad L. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière* (Paris: Peyronnet & Cie, 1946).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Fiche de Renseignements, n.d., Élise Flavian, née Georgescu, USHMMA, RG-43-115M (AD-A-M), 616W242, p. 750.

2. Charges against Italian War Criminals, No. 36, 67/Fr/It/2, PAG-3/2.0: 63-67, USHMMA, RG-67.041M (UNWCC), reel 10, fr. 1150.

3. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, p. 125.

4. Caskie, *The Tartan Pimpernel*, p. 191.

5. ACVG, "Liste indicative des prisons et des camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administré par l'ennemi," May 24, 1949, p. 9, ITS, Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517.

6. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, p. 106; see also "Maison des Suppliques: Les Mystères de la villa Lynwood repaire des tortionnaires de l'Ovra," *L'Ergot*, November 23, 1944, headline reproduced at www.musee-resistance-azureenne.com/la-resistance-azureenne/dossiers-thematiques/la-repression-de-la-resistance-par-vichy-et-par-les-occupants-dans-les-alpes-maritimes.html.

7. Caskie, *The Tartan Pimpernel*, pp. 192-193.

8. Quotation in Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, p. 123.

9. Charges against Italian War Criminals, No. 36, 67/Fr/It/2, PAG-3/2.0: 63-67, USHMMA, RG-67.041M (UNWCC), reel 10, fr. 1150; Charges against Italian War Criminals, No. 1267, 67/Fr/It/2, PAG-3/2.0: 63-67, USHMMA, RG-67.041M, reel 10, fr. 1199-1200.

10. Cours de Justices des Alpes-Maritimes, Dossier Guillaume P., Procès-Verbal No. 2176, déclaration de M. Vaizman, December 2, 1942, AD-A-M, 318W31, as cited in Sica, "Italiani Brava Gente?" p. 322.

11. Fiches des Renseignements, n.d., Élise Flavian, née Georgescu; and Joseph P., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, pp. 750, 752; Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, pp. 124-125.

12. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, pp. 131-132; for Bardi and Flavian, see ITS, 1.2.4.3, Service Watson, Imperia Italie Prison Deportés Français, Doc. Nos. 1284717-1284718.

13. Fiche de Renseignements, n.d., Jeanne P.V.D., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 787.

MEGÈVE

On April 8, 1943, the Italian authorities established a center for assigned residence for Jews in the French Alpine resort of Megève (Haute-Savoie Département), which is approximately 39 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of the departmental capital, Annecy, and roughly 245 kilometers (152 miles) northeast of Nice. An Italian report described it as a concentration camp for Jews (*campo di concentramento per ebrei*).¹ After the expanded Italian occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942, the Italian authorities decided to transfer the approximately 7,000 mostly foreign Jewish refugees in and around Nice to several localities of assigned residence (*località di soggiorno obbligatorio*) in April 1943.

On April 2, 1943, Colonello Henquizzi informed the mayor of Megève that approximately 1,000 Jews were soon to be quartered at hotels in his town. The Haute-Savoie prefecture was to pay for their upkeep, and a cordon of carabinieri was assigned to ensure that the Jews could not escape. The commander of the carabinieri was Sottotenente Caspario. The first two groups of Jews arrived in two cars on the night of April 8.² The center for assigned residence soon grew to house approximately 770 people, including many children, but never reached Henquizzi's stated projection. Because the Italian authorities never conducted a census of the Jews at Megève, estimates of the number of Jews derive from French sources. Several Haute-Savoie prefectural reports asserted that some 80 Jewish children were missing.³

The Jews were required to report for roll call twice daily. Although they were not to leave Megève, some were employed as cobblers, tailors, hotel employees, and caregivers in the town. According to a French report, the Jews looked to the carabinieri as benefactors.⁴

By July 1943, an office of the French Children's Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE) opened in Megève. Given the town's proximity to Switzerland, OSE worked to sneak Jewish children across the border, in some cases successfully.⁵

Because Megève was apparently the first Italian assigned residence to be announced, it drew inordinate attention from the Vichy authorities. Incensed by what it perceived as Italian interference in Vichy Jewish policy, the Haute-Savoie prefecture issued repeated demands to the Italian Commission of the Armistice with France (*Commission italienne d'armistice avec la France/Commissione Italiana di Armistizio con la Francia*, CIAF). The prefecture's first demand was the handover of Jewish escapees from French camps relocated to Megève. A second sought a list of all Jews in town, and a third called for the handover for forced labor of men aged 18 to 50.⁶ On behalf of the Italian occupiers, CIAF rejected all such demands.⁷

The choice of Megève as a center for assigned residence also interfered with the Vichy government's desire to relocate some 1,800 French refugee children there. Historian Pierre Le Brun has claimed that Vichy premier Pierre Laval specifically selected the resort in a bid to forestall Italian interference in

Jewish policy. Despite Italian objections, his plan went forward, with children from Dieppe, Paris, and elsewhere being sent to live in Megève's resort hotels.⁸ The children's center operated under the ambiguous name of the Medical Teaching Institutions of Megève (*Centres Scolaires Médicaux de Megève*, CSMM). Some of the Jews in residential assignment worked at CSMM, caring for sick and injured children.

The German occupiers, also incensed with Italian policy, followed the events in Megève closely. The head of the Gestapo Jewish Affairs office in Lyon, Klaus Barbie, informed his superiors in Paris about the site.⁹ In Paris, the Inspector General of the French Police, René Bousquet, in turn complained to the German authorities about the Megève center. Given the state of Axis relations, the German response was not to place too much pressure on the Italian counterpart, Inspector General of Police, Guido Lospinozo.¹⁰

The fate of the Jews held at Megève took a disastrous course before and after the Armistice. During their withdrawal from Haute-Savoie, Italian forces closed the residential assignment center on September 6, 1943, and interned the Jews at a similar center at Saint-Martin-Vésubie.¹¹ After Saint-Martin-Vésubie's evacuation, the troops brought the Jews to Cuneo, nearly 42 kilometers (26 miles) to the northeast and just across the Italian border. Under the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), most of the Jews ended up in German and Italian custody; some were confined to the Borgo San Dalmazzo camp in preparation for deportation. A few Jews, mostly elderly, hid in Megève after the evacuation, but were rounded up by the German authorities in October 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the residential assignment center at Megève include a detailed account in Pierre Le Brun, *Les pupilles de Vichy dans les palaces de Megève, 1943–1945* (Montigny-le Bretonneux: Yvelinédition, 2012); brief mentions in Gabriel Grandjacques, *La montagne refuge: Les juifs aux pays de Mont-Blanc. Saint-Gervais, Megève* (Montmélian: Fontaine de Siloé, 2007); and Davide Rodogno, *Fascism's European Empire: Italian Occupation during the Second World War*, trans. Adrian Belton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Primary sources documenting the Megève residential assignment center can be found in AD-H-S, collection 22W19 (foreigners and Jews), available in digital form at USHMMA as RG-43.084M (AD-H-S), reel 4; and ITS, 1.2.7.18 (Persecution Measures in France and Monaco), folders 2 and 9. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. See also CDJC, collection DXLIX-7, available in microform at USHMMA under RG-43.075M.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Tenente Colonnello Paolo Giovannelli, CIAF, alla P/H-S, July 17, 1943, Ogg.: "Questioni riguardanti gli ebrei," USHMMA, RG-43.084M (AD-H-S), 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1416.
2. Berard, "Bericht über die Unterbringung von 1000 Juden in Megeve durch die italienischen Behörden," April 2, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 9, Doc. No. 82196964. This document is a translation of an Haute-Savoie prefectural report.

3. See, for example, P/H-S à Chef du Gouvernement, CGQJ, Section d'Enquête et de contrôle, June 14, 1943, Obj.: "Installation de juifs dans la région de Megève," USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1395.

4. Commissaire de Police, Alexis Brustel, à Commissaire Principal, Chef du Service départemental des Renseignements Généraux, Obj.: "Au sujet de la situation créée à Megève à la suite de la fixation à résidence dans cette ville des juifs étrangers évacués du littoral méditerranéen," July 25, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1407.

5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Helene Neuman (DOB May 12, 1932), Doc. No. 43974628.

6. On wanted suspects, Hulot, Brigade de Megève, "État nominatif des israélites étrangers en résidence assignée à Megève sous contrôle des Autorités Italiennes, et faisant l'objet de mesures administratives ou judiciaires diverses," May 24, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1402; on the list of Jews and forced labor, P/H-S à Colonel, Chef du 9th Groupe de contrôle et de liaison Hotel d'Angleterre, June 4, 1943, Obj.: "Installation à Megève de juifs et étrangers en provenance de la côte méditerranéenne," USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1382.

7. On wanted suspects, P/H-S à Service des relations franco-allemandes et italiennes en zone Libre, June 14, 1943, Obj.: "Execution des mesures administratives et judiciaires concernant les juifs," USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1397; on the list of Jews, Tenente Colonnello Paolo Giovannelli, CIAF, alla P/H-S, July 17, 1943, Ogg.: "Questioni riguardanti gli ebrei," USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1416; on forced labor, Tenente Colonnello Paolo Giovannelli à P/H-S, Obj.: "Recrutement des juifs pour le travail obligatoire," August 11, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1515 (original copy in French without indication of translation).

8. For Italian objections, see Tenente Colonnello Enea Anchisi, Comando Truppe Italiane, al P/H-S, Ogg.: "Colonia di bimbi francesi a Megève," April 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1348; on CSMM, Brustel, "Au sujet de la situation créée à Megève," July 25, 1943, fr. 1407.

9. Barbie, Lyon, to BdS Frankreich, telegram, May 15, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 9, Doc. No. 82198806.

10. SS-Sturmbannführer Hagen, "Auszug aus Besprechungs-niederschrift mit Secetaire à la Police Bousquet am 23.6.43," June 23, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 9, Doc. No. 82198815; BdS Paris to RFSS and Kaltenbrunner, July 1, 1943, Betr.: "Behandlung der Judenfrage in Frankreich durch die italienischen Besatzungsbehörden," ITS, 1.2.7.18, folder 2, Doc. Nos. 82196964–82196965.

11. For the closure date and destination, see P/H-S à Chef de l'État-Major allemand de liaison, Obj.: "Camps de concentration," September 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.084M, 22W19, reel 4, fr. 1487.

MENTONE

During the Italian invasion of France, on June 23, 1940, Italian forces occupied the city of Menton (Italian: Mentone), which is located 179 kilometers (111 miles) northeast of Marseille and 145 kilometers (90 miles) south of Turin. The city

was the Fascist regime's principal conquest in what was otherwise a highly ineffective and expensive campaign. The French Army evacuated most of Mentone's inhabitants shortly before the city changed hands. Renamed Mentone and annexed by Italy, the city became the focal point of the Fascist regime's italianization policy in France. After the expanded occupation of southeastern France following the Allied landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942, it served as the headquarters of the Italian Fourth Army.

The Italian authorities established the judiciary prison of Mentone (*carcere giudiziaria di Mentone*) in the city's former town hall, known locally as Forty Barracks (*Caserne Forty*). During the roundup of foreigners (especially Allied nationals), regime opponents, and resisters, the Mentone prison served as a pretrial detention center. Those tried before the Fourth Army's secret courts-martial at Breil-sur-Roya were held at Mentone. The prison also held common law prisoners (Italian and foreign). Some political prisoners in the occupied zone awaiting transfer to camps and prisons in Italy passed through the prison in Mentone because of its close proximity to the port.¹ The Military Intelligence Service (*Servizio Informazioni Militare*, SIM) ran the detention site,² and the carabinieri served as guards.

A French report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) complained that prisoners received only 200 grams (just over 7 ounces) of cornbread per day and a thin rice soup. Health care was inadequate, with one prisoner, Marcel P., not receiving any treatment for chronic medical conditions. Only the deposal of Benito Mussolini on July 25, 1943, brought some improvement in treatment.³

Common law and political prisoners of all backgrounds shared cells, called "chambers" (*cameroni*), grouped by a dozen prisoners at a time. For those not held in solitary confinement, once-daily exercise breaks—a 10-minute walk in the courtyard—took place chamber by chamber. Prisoners were accorded the privilege of writing letters and receiving parcels, but because of the city's annexation by Italy, they had to pay "international" postage when corresponding with relatives in France.⁴

According to Daniel Fauquier, a prisoner held in connection with resistance activities between May and July 1943, the Italian authorities conducted interrogations inside the prison.⁵ Apart from local lore, Mentone did not garner the loathsome reputation as a torture site as did Lynwood Villa.

The Italian authorities abandoned the prison in Mentone at the time of the Armistice on September 8, 1943. The prison continued to serve briefly as a detention site under the German occupation.⁶

SOURCES To date, there is scant historical literature on the Italian-run prison at Mentone. A brief reference to it can be found in Solange Frediani, "Les lieux de mémoire à Menton: De 1860 à nos jours" (Mémoire de maîtrise, Histoire contemporaine, Nice, 2001), www.departement06.fr/documents/Import/decouvrir-les-am/rr162-memoimenton.pdf.

Primary sources documenting the Mentone prison start with ITS (Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano, reproduced online

at campifascisti.it; and AD-A-M (616W242, Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945, reproduced digitally at USHMM as RG-43.115M). Published accounts by former prisoners are Michel Fauquier, *Itinéraire d'un jeune résistant français, 1942–1945* (Paris: Harmattan, 2005), which consists of the annotated memoir of Fauquier's father, Daniel; Conrad L. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière* (Paris: Peyronnet & Cie, 1946); and E. A. Rheinhardt, *Tagebuch aus den Jahren 1943/1944: Geschrieben in den Gefängnissen der Gestapo in Menton, Nizza und Les Baumettes (Marseille)*, ed. Martin Krist (Vienna: Turia + Kant, 2003).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Flavian, *De la nuit vers la lumière*, pp. 131–132.
2. ACVG, "Liste indicative des prisons et des camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administré par l'ennemi," May 24, 1949, p. 9, ITS, Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517.
3. Ibid.; for the arrest of Marcel P., see also USHMM, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 166W9 (The Italian occupation: Name lists, 1942–1945), p. 574.
4. Fauquier, *Itinéraire d'un jeune résistant français*, pp. 57–58, 60.
5. Ibid., pp. 65–67.
6. Rheinhardt, *Tagebuch aus den Jahren 1943/1944*, p. 7.

MODANE

In May 1943, the Italian Fourth Army established a civilian internment camp (*campo internati civili di guerra*) in Italian-occupied France near Modane (Savoie Département), 172 kilometers (107 miles) northwest of Menton, the headquarters of the Fourth Army.¹ Although commonly referred to as Modane, the camp was actually located closer to the village of Aussois, 6.7 kilometers (4.2 miles) northeast of Modane, in Fort Vittorio Emmanuel, the largest of a network of nineteenth-century fortresses erected by the Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia called the Forts of the Esseillon Mountains (*Forts de l'Esseillon*). Perched above the Arc River valley at an elevation of 1,600 meters (almost 1 mile), Fort Vittorio Emmanuel had a capacity of 1,500 troops, complete with hospital, chapel, and military jail. The remotely placed camp was only accessible by an elevated bridge, called Devil's Bridge (*Pont du Diable*).

Modane's establishment followed the roundup of French resisters and resistance suspects in Nice in early May 1943 and took place concurrently with the closure of the Sospel internment camp and the opening of a similar camp at Embrun. The mostly French, Italian, and some Jewish internees in the Modane internment camp numbered about 450. Modane's population was supposed to consist of suspected communists and Gaullists, but French police documentation, discussed later, calls that claim into question.

The first commandant, Colonel Calzolari, warned the new arrivals: "You are all terrorists or communists. At the slightest intention of escape or disorder, you will be shot by firing squad. If incidents take place in Nice, you will be held

responsible. You are here, on Italian territory.”² Calzolari’s allusion to Nice referred to attacks in late April 1943 on Italian troops by the maquis. In retaliation, the Fourth Army initiated a roundup of French citizens, Italians, naturalized French citizens of Italian origin, and others in Nice on May 6 and 7, 1943. Most of the arrests took place in the early hours of the morning. The French police in the Alpes-Maritimes Département assiduously recorded what could be discovered about the arrests because the cases were considered a violation of French sovereignty. The file of police records (*fiches des renseignements*) had information on 59 people who were either definitely or likely dispatched to Modane. Of the 59 cases, only 8 were identified as former or active leftists (communists, Popular Front members, radical socialists, or members of the French Section of the Workers’ International), and there was one Gaullist. The political views of seven arrestees were characterized as loyal to the Vichy regime or “correct” in the eyes of the French police. In an indication of Vichy priorities, the French police identified eight suspects as Jewish or half-Jewish. Of the 59 arrestees, 40 were taken into custody during the May 6–7 roundup; a smaller wave of 15 arrests took place on June 11, 1943.³

A French report submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS) listed a number of complaints about the conditions at Modane: The camp lacked medical services, punishment consisted of isolation in dank cells for 8 to 15 days without fresh air or light, and until late July 1943, the diet consisted of watery tomato soup with a few onions floating in it and 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread a day. In the wake of imminent military defeat, food rations improved, and the Italian authorities replaced the camp staff with a new commandant and guards. The report further alleged that, although the detainees were permitted to receive parcels, the Italian guards stole from them.⁴ One internee, Henri Lautier, underscored that complaint in a letter to his wife.⁵

The small number of Jewish suspects held at Modane were of French, Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian origins. At least two of them, Roger Béard and Richard Weil, were active in the French Resistance, according to historian Jean-Louis Panicacci.⁶

The Italian authorities abandoned Modane on September 8, 1943. Some of the internees managed to flee the camp thereafter, but the German authorities rearrested many in the weeks that followed.

SOURCES The most detailed description of Modane to date is Emanuele Sica, “Italiani Brava Gente? The Italian Occupation of Southeastern France in the Second World War, 1940–1943” (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2011). Additional secondary sources that mention or document the camp are André Dupouy, *Ma ville à l’heure italienne: Chronique du canton de Modane pendant l’occupation italienne, 11 novembre 1942–9 septembre 1943* (Saint-Julien-Montdenis: Société d’histoire et d’archéologie de Maurienne, 1997); Michel Germain, *Le sang de la barbarie: Chronique de la Haute-Savoie au temps de l’occupation allemande, septembre 1943–26 mars 1944* (Les Marches: Fontaine de Siloé, 1992); Jean-Louis Panicacci, “La répression des

activités résistantes,” in Panicacci, ed., *La résistance auzurénne* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1994), pp. 85–96; Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell’Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003); and Christian Villermet, *À Noi Savoia: Histoire de l’occupation italienne en Savoie, Novembre 1942–septembre 1943*, foreword by Pierre Milza, preface by Pierre Guillen (Les Marches: La Fontaine de Siloé, 1991).

Primary sources documenting the Modane camp can be found in NARA, T-821 (Collection of Italian Military Records, 1935–1943); AD-A-M (616W242, Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945, reproduced digitally at USHMMA as RG-43.115M); ITS (Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano, reproduced at campifascisti.it); and the letters of internee Henri Lautier, digitalrussell.mcmaster.ca/wwwiccc/German-Concentration-Camps-and-Prisons-Search/results/field_internment_camp%3A%22Modane+(Fort+l’Esseillon)%22 (his name is misspelled “Lantier” at the site).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Rapporto No. 3925/Inf. di prot. “Internati civili,” Comando I CdA, Ufficio “I,” May 14, 1943, NARA, T-821 (Collection of Italian Military Records, 1935–1943), roll 265, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, “Italiani Brava Gente?” p. 322.

2. Quotation from ACVG, “Liste indicative des prisons et des camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administré par l’ennemi,” May 24, 1949, p. 9, ITS, Hängemappe Italien / Bolzano, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it/scheda_campo.php?id_campo=517.

3. Fiches des renseignements, USHMMA, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 616W242 (Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945), pp. 673–800 (with gaps).

4. ACVG, “Liste indicative des prisons et des camps situés en Italie ou en territoire exclusivement administré par l’ennemi,” p. 8.

5. Henri Lautier to Anna Lautier, August 18, 1943, digital letter collection (Modane), August 7–September 3, 1943, available at digitalrussell.mcmaster.ca/wwwiccc/German-Concentration-Camps-and-Prisons-Search/results/field_internment_camp%3A%22Modane+(Fort+l’Esseillon)%22.

6. Fiches des renseignements, Béard, Roger; and Weil, Richard Joseph Elie, n.d., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, pp. 704, 800.

SOSPELLO

In early 1943, the Italian Fourth Army established a civilian internment camp (*campo internati civili di guerra*) in Italian-occupied France at Sospel (Alpes-Maritimes Département), about 24 kilometers (just over 15 miles) northeast of Nice near the prewar Franco-Italian border.¹ The camp was also slightly more than 12 kilometers (7.6 miles) northwest of Menton, the headquarters of the Fourth Army. Called Sospello by the Italian authorities, it held approximately 450 men, including British, American, French, Italian, and Belgian nationals and approximately 40 foreign Jewish males from various countries. The Sospello camp’s establishment took place within

the context of the expanded occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942.

The Sospello camp held groups suspected by the Italian authorities of being security threats, especially as the French Resistance became active in the Italian zone in the spring of 1943. A Belgian report, based on three testimonies and submitted to the International Tracing Service (ITS), noted that Sospello held civilians deemed “dangerous” to the “Fascist regime.”² According to historian Jean-Louis Panicacci, at least some of the internees underwent interrogation at Lynwood Villa by the Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism (*Organizzazione vigilanza repressione antifascismo*, OVRA) before consignment to Sospello. According to author Stanley Jackson, the Italian authorities rounded up all male British subjects up to 70 years of age in the Italian zone and briefly dispatched them to Sospello as a form of intimidation.

The Sospello camp consisted of a barrack called the Caserne Salel and a hotel, to which two houses were added for officials. Barbed wire surrounded the site. The internees wore civilian clothing. The carabinieri served as guards,³ and the commandant was Capitano Migliavacca. As presumptive security risks, the inmates were forbidden to leave the camp and did not serve on labor details. At least one internee, an American citizen, died in custody.⁴

About 40 foreign Jewish males were detained as part of the intensification of persecution of Jews by the Fascist regime and possibly because they were of military age. A report by the Reich Security Main Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, RSHA), which described the site as a “concentration camp,” erroneously claimed that Sospello held only Jews who were politically active.⁵ Harry Burger, a Jewish refugee from Vienna, in his description of conditions at Sospello in early 1943, contradicted claims that Sospello was a concentration camp as conventionally understood: “They (the Italian authorities) treated us very well. They gave us food, nothing was rationed, we had clean beds. As a matter of fact, Italian *soldiers* made up the beds because the inmates of this camp were all American and British citizens who lived in the southeast of France in their own big villas and they were very rich people . . . [in actuality there were other nationalities represented here].”⁶ In an interview, Burger added that the Italian authorities furnished the Jews with kosher food for a Passover seder.⁷ Possibly through the intercession of Jewish rescuer Angelo Donati, the Italian authorities transferred Jewish internees to localities of forced residence (*località di soggiorno obbligatorio*) in May 1943. Burger was among the group sent to Saint-Martin-Vésubie.⁸ Other Jews were transferred from Sospello to similar forced residences at Le Mourtier, Megève, Saint-Gervais-les-Bains, and Vence.⁹ Sospello internee Edmond Landau was sent to Saint-Gervais.¹⁰

Internees classified as resisters or communists faced different fates. Those considered “dangerous” to Italian forces, such as the Belgians Hugo Kesler, Jacques Verbrugghen, and Lucien Verbrugghen, were sent to the detention site at Embrun

(Hautes-Alpes Département) at the time of Sospello’s closure.¹¹ Alleged communists, in contrast, were sent to the fortress prison near Modane (Savoie Département).

The internment of native and naturalized French citizens at Sospello gave rise to some complaints in the Alpes-Maritimes Department and in at least one case prompted a minor diplomatic dispute. A Belgian-born French citizen, Yvonne Girard, addressed an anguished letter to the prefecture after learning that her son, arrested before dawn at their home by the Italian authorities on January 25, 1943, was being held at Sospello. In addition to desiring his release, she wanted to know why he was arrested.¹² Her plea went unanswered. The case of Albert Reymond, an engineer and director of a cement factory in Génévrey de Vif, involved low-level negotiations by the Italian Commission of the Armistice with France (*Commission italienne d’armistice avec la France/Commissione Italiana di Armistizio con la Francia*, CIAF). Accused of illegally trafficking explosives, Reymond was detained at Sospello in early January 1943. The French delegation to CIAF sought his release, but the Italian Fourth Army was only prepared to do so provided the engineer was kept under strict surveillance. The Gendarmerie Nationale took custody of Reymond on January 24, 1943, at Sospello, and immediately placed him under house arrest at Nice.¹³

The Sospello camp closed in late May 1943, when its inmates were dispatched to the new Embrun and Modane camps. In defiance of the Italian authorities, the mayor of Nice, Jean Médecin, greeted the internees at the railway station during their transfer from Sospello to Embrun.¹⁴

The Belgian report submitted to ITS erroneously claimed that the Sospello camp closed on September 4, 1943, just weeks before Italy’s Armistice with the Western Allies.¹⁵ As late as June 1943, a French police report indicated that Sospello still admitted internees.¹⁶

SOURCES The most detailed secondary source on the Sospello camp is Emanuele Sica, “Italiani Brava Gente: The Italian Occupation of Southeastern France in the Second World War, 1940–1943” (unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Waterloo, 2011). Additional secondary sources that mention or document the camp are André Jeannin, “Le camp italien d’internés civils de Sospel (Alpes-Maritimes),” *Docs Ph* 13: 62 (1974): 147–161; J. P. Domérégo, *Sospel: Une commune du Comté de Nice dans l’histoire* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1980); Stanley Jackson, *Inside Monte Carlo* (New York: Stein and Day, 1975); Michele Sarfatti, “Fascist Italy and German Jews in South-eastern France in July 1943,” *JMIS* 3: 3 (1998): 318–328; Jean-Louis Panicacci, “La répression des activités résistances,” in Panicacci, ed., *La résistance auzurénne* (Nice: Éditions Serre, 1994), pp. 85–96; Panicacci with Jean Marie Guillon, *L’Occupation italienne: Sud-Est de la France, juin 1940–septembre 1943* (Rennes: Presses universitaires, 2010); Panicacci, *En territoire occupé: Italiens et Allemands à Nice* (Paris: Vendémiaire, 2012); Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell’Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003); Susan Zuccotti, *Holocaust Odysseys: The Jews of Saint-Martin-Vésubie and their Flight through France and Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); and “Les Juifs dans la zone d’occupation italienne: Conférence de Davide Rodogno,”

available at www.cercleshoah.org/spip.php?article25&lang=fr. A useful website on Sospel and other detention sites in Alpes-Maritimes is “La repression de la Résistance par Vichy et par les occupants dans les Alpes-Maritimes,” www.musee-resistance-azurienne.com.

Italian documentation for the Sospel camp can be found in NARA, T-821 (Collection of Italian Military Records, 1935–1943), rolls 265 and 266, IT 3099; and AUSSME, M3 476. Additional primary sources can be found in USHMMA, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 616W242 (Relations with the Italians, 1942–1945), which contains brief prefectural reports and correspondence from the Alpes-Maritimes Département concerning the camp, available in digital form. According to Sica, much more extensive AD-A-M documentation on Sospel can be found in collection 104W4. ITS, collection 2.3.5.1 (Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten), available in digital form at USHMMA, holds a report on the camp. Two reports titled “Camp Reports: France: Sospel Civilian Internment Camp,” and “Camp Reports: France: Sospel” are available in NARA, RG-389 (Records of the Office of the Provost Marshal General), box 2142. A published document on Sospel by the German authorities in the collections of CDJC can be found in Léon Poliakov, ed., *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne*, preface by Justin Gudar (Paris: Éd. du Centre, 1946). USHMMA also holds a testimony by a Jewish internee at Sospel, RG-02.027, “Harry Burger, a Holocaust Survivor: Memoir of the War—1938–1945.” VHA holds two testimonies by Jewish internees of Sospel, including Harry Burger’s (#22059). A published testimony on the camp by former internee, Edmond Landau, can be found in 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), pp. 86–88.

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Rapporto No. 1065, “I,” “Repressione reati in danno delle truppe di occupazione,” Comando IV Armata, Ufficio “I,” 1/30/1943, NARA, T-821, roll 265, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, “Italia Brava Gente?” p. 322.
2. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Royaume de Belgique, MRDG, Rapport définitif No. 526: Sospel, received August 12, 1952, Doc. No. 82374605.
3. Ibid., Doc. No. 82374604.
4. Rapport No. 145, “Décès d’un américain interné au camp de concentration italien de Sospel,” Commissaire de Breil, January 16, 1943, AD-A-M 166W9, as cited in Sica, “Italia Brava Gente?” p. 344.
5. SD-Einsatzkommando Marseille to BdS IV-B, Paris, July 10, 1943, CDJC, facsimile reprinted in Poliakov, *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne*, p. 162.
6. USHMMA, RG-02.027, “Harry Burger, a Holocaust Survivor,” p. 7 (original emphasis).
7. VHA #22059, Harry Burger testimony, October 31, 1996.
8. USHMMA, RG-02.027, “Harry Burger, a Holocaust Survivor,” pp. 10–11.

9. On forced residence sites, SS-Obersturmführer August Moritz to BdS im Bereich des Militärbefehlshabers in Frankreich, stamped received May 27, 1943, CDJC, facsimile reprinted in Poliakov, *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne*, p. 160.

10. Statement of Edmond Landau, House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Investigation of Problems Presented by Refugees at Fort Ontario Refugee Shelter*, p. 88.

11. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Rapport définitif No. 526: Sospel, Doc. No. 82374606.

12. Letter, Yvonne Girard to P/A-M, February 14, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.115M (AD-A-M), 616W242, pp. 91–92.

13. Aldo de Ferrari, Adjoint au Président de la Délégation (Commission Italienne d’Armistice avec la France, Délégation de Contrôle pour le Dispositif Alpin) à Monsieur le Colonel Émile Bonnet, Officier de Liaison auprès de la Délégation Permanente, January 9, 1943, Objet: “Ingénieur Reymond Albert,” USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 642; Ferrari à Bonnet, January 23, 1943, Objet: “Ingénieur Reymond,” USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 644; GN, XV Legion, Compagnie des Alpes-Maritimes, Section de Roquebrune, Brigade de Sospel-Normal, Procès-Verbal constatant la prise en charge de l’interné Reymond, Albert, au camp de concentration Italien de Sospel, January 24, 1943, USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 647.

14. Notiziario No. 30, Comando I Cfa, Ufficio “I,” June 6, 1943, NARA, T-821, roll 266, IT 3099, as cited in Sica, “Italia Brava Gente?” p. 327.

15. ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Royaume de Belgique, MRDG, Rapport définitif No. 526: Sospel, received August 12, 1952, Doc. No. 82374603.

16. Fiche de Renseignements, n.d., Marcel Honoré G., USHMMA, RG-43.115M, 616W242, p. 760.

VENCE

During Fascist Italy’s expanded occupation of southeastern France that followed the Anglo-American landings in North Africa (Operation Torch) in November 1942, the Italian authorities assigned the town of Vence to become a “locality of forced residence” (*località di soggiorno obbligatorio*). Located about 13 kilometers (8 miles) west of Nice and approximately 106 kilometers (66 miles) southeast of Embrun, Vence was one of five such assigned residential centers in the Italian-occupied zone. The town held approximately 250 internees, mostly Jews and a few non-Jews released from the Italian-run camp at Embrun.¹

The German authorities were well aware of the Jews in Vence. A telegram from SS-Obersturmführer August Moritz listed Vence as among the sites where the Italians dispersed some 2,400 Jews from Nice.²

Among the Jewish families who eventually were held in Vence was the Gerstl family, headed by Pauline and Wilhelm, Central European refugees who had already been through ordeals in the French-run camps. When the Italians abandoned Vence, Wilhelm and Pauline hid in Nice for a short time, but eventually secured a hiding place with the Picco family in Vence.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, most of the internees were evacuated from Vence to internment camps in northern Italy.

SOURCES Secondary sources mentioning the camp at Vence are Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003); and Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing: The Axis and the Holocaust, 1941–1943* (London: Routledge, 2002).

Primary sources documenting the locality of obligatory residence at Vence can be found in ITS, 2.3.5.1, Belgischer Katalog über Konzentrations- und Zwangsarbeiterlager in Deutschland und besetzten Gebieten, folder 29, available in

digital form at USHMMA; and CDJC. The latter documentation is reproduced in Léon Poliakov, ed., *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne*, preface by Justin Gudard (Paris: Éd. du Centre, 1946).

Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. Rapport définitif No. 526 bis, ITS, 2.3.5.1, folder 29, Doc. Nos. 82374609–82374610.

2. BdS im Bereich des Militärbefehlshabers in Frankreich, Telegram, stamped received, May 27, 1943, reproduced in Poliakov, ed., *La condition des Juifs en France sous l'occupation italienne*, p. 160.

ITALIAN-OCCUPIED YUGOSLAVIA*

ANTIVARI

The Italian Ninth Army set up the Antivari concentration camp in Bar, an ancient coastal city in Montenegro, in the summer of 1942, and the first internees arrived in September of that year. Bar is almost 42 kilometers (26 miles) southwest of the Montenegrin capital, Podgorica, and just on the opposite shore from Bari (hence the Italian name), nearly 216 kilometers (134 miles) northeast across the Adriatic. The facility was built in Topolica, a small neighborhood close to Bar.

Following the insurrection that broke out in Montenegro in July 1941, both the governorship and Italian occupation forces issued a number of announcements and provisions pertaining to the internment of civilians in special concentration camps. Initially, both the actual and suspected rebels ended up confined in concentration camps in close proximity to Albania. Later, when those camps were overcrowded, the authorities established the Antivari camp situated close to the Albanian border; there, the rebels were locked up along with their relatives (sometimes entire families) who resided in Bar as well as other nearby places.¹ The camp consisted of 22 houses divided into 10 sectors, each designed in a semicircle. One sector of the camp was reserved for women and children and was separated from the sectors for men by barbed wire.

Many of the internees arriving at Bar came from the Albanian concentration camps of Kavaja (Kavajë), Klos, Tepa, and Burell (Gërman). Others came from temporary camps located across Montenegro (Podgorica, Cetinje or Cettigne, and Kolašin). There were already some 2,000 internees present at the camp of Bar in early November 1942, and by April 1943, the number had increased to 3,000. The maximum occupancy occurred in June 1943, when some 7,000 people, including 900 women and several hundred children of all ages, were being held in the camp.

The living conditions were particularly harsh at Antivari, and hunger was constant. The prisoners did not receive any material aid or other kind of protection, local or international. Above all, food was insufficient to guarantee the minimum amount of calories required to sustain life. Along with poor sanitary conditions, starvation was responsible for the deaths of 34 detainees in the course of one year.

Antivari served as a camp for political prisoners who had often been selected arbitrarily. The police managed the camp's internal security. Frequently, they employed random disciplinary actions against the internees: beatings, sometimes to the point of loss of consciousness; denial of rations for days; "pole punishments" (in which the prisoner was tied to a pole and whipped); and security cell lockups. Several internees were

treated as hostages. In early 1943, following heavy losses suffered by the Italian Army at the hands of Yugoslav Partisans, the governor of Montenegro, Pirzio Biroli, ordered that 180 internees from Antivari, most likely belonging to the resistance movement, be murdered in retaliation. The victims included boys younger than 16 years of age and the elderly as old as 72. On June 24, 1943, they were divided into seven groups before leaving Bar for other places in Montenegro where, to make an example, they were publicly executed.

The retaliatory murders of Antivari internees continued to occur occasionally even on the eve of the Fascist regime's demise. On September 17, 1943, after the announcement of the Armistice between Italy and the Allies, the camp passed into German hands. After a few days, the German authorities released certain categories of internees (namely the elderly, sick, and the young) and closed the camp on October 19, 1943.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Antivari camp include Gojko P. Vukmanović and Radoje Pajović, *Koncentracioni logor u Baru: 1942–1943* (Podgorica: Istorijski Institut Crne Gore, 2002); and Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 67–78. Brief mentions can be found in Alessandra Kersevan, *Lager italiani: pulizia etnica e campi di concentramento fascisti per civili jugoslavi 1941–1943* (Rome: Nutrimenti, 2008); Giacomo Scotti, *Bono Taliano: Militari italiani in Jugoslavia dal 1941 al 1943: Da occupatori a "disertori"* (Rome: Odradek, 2012); and Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003).

Primary sources documenting the Antivari camp can be found in VaB and A-IICG, "Koncentracioni logor u Baru." Additional documentation can be found in ITS, collection 1.2.7.23, folder 7. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. A published testimony is Dragutin Drago V. Ivanović, *Memorie di un internato montenegrino: Colfiorito 1943* (Foligno: Editoriale Umbra, 2004).

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. See the report by Pero Damjanović, "Le Camp de concentration de Bar (Campo di concentramento internato—Antivari)," ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205202.

ARBE

The Italian Second Army established the Arbe camp in July 1942 on the southeastern part of the Italian-annexed Yugoslavian island of Rab (Italian: Arbe), which is 66 kilometers (41 miles) southeast of Rijeka (Italian: Fiume). Estab-

*For a map of the camps in Italian-controlled Yugoslavia, see page 396.

lished in the town of Kampo (Italian: Campora) on a wide plain, it was located between the Campora and Sant'Eufemia coastal inlets. Officially called the Arbe concentration camp of civilian internees (*campo di concentramento internati civili Arbe*), the camp's mostly South Slavic inmates called it Rab or Kampo. At the end of June, Italian soldiers began building a complex intended to hold some 16,000 Slovenian civilian internees. The camp was initially divided into two areas, one with barracks for 10,000 people and the other with tents for 6,000. In the autumn of 1942, the Italian authorities reduced the camp's capacity to 10,000 detainees.

Arbe's first commandant was carabinieri tenente colonnello Vincenzo Venne. Its last commandant was a carabinieri of the same rank, Vincenzo Cuiuli, known to the inmates as the "Snake" (Serbo-Croatian: *zmija*). Approximately 2,000 soldiers and carabinieri served as guards and other security personnel. A Yugoslavian report submitted in 1946 to the International Tracing Service (ITS) depicted the Italian guard force as "very strict."¹

Initially, Arbe consisted only of camp I, subdivided into four sectors. From the vantage of the town of Arbe, camp I was located on the northeast side of the main road. On the southwest side were spaces set aside for camps II through IV. Additionally, there were various security structures and a prisoners' graveyard. Women, children, and the elderly were initially accommodated in camp I and then in camp III; finally in the late autumn of 1942 they were moved to the Gonars camp in Italy. In the spring of 1943, camp II opened and accommodated 2,761 Jewish men, women, and children held in "protective internment" (*internamento protettivo*). The space originally intended for the fourth camp remained virtually unused.

Barracks construction started in the autumn of 1942. Some buildings were wooden, whereas others were made of brick. The first structures were not completed until January 1943; before that time Arbe's detainees were lodged in six-person tents. Larger tents capable of accommodating 80 to 90 people were supplied only after completion of the first barracks.

The first prisoners, 198 Slovenian males, came from Ljubljana (Italian: Lubiana) on July 28, 1942, after being trans-

ported from Fiume aboard the ship *Plav*. Because Arbe was still far from being completed, they had to pitch their tents. The second transport with 243 Slovenian men arrived on July 31. The largest transport, 1,194 internees from Ljubljana, reached Arbe on August 6, 1942. Arbe's population peaked at 5,562 inmates on December 29, 1942.

Despite the influx of new prisoners in several transports, Arbe's population gradually fell, beginning in late 1942. The decline was due partly to increased mortality and transfers to Italy: between December 1942 and April 1943, almost 1,800 detainees, mostly women, children, and the elderly, were sent to the Gonars, Monigo, and Chiesanuova camps in Italy. In addition, many prisoners enlisted in collaborationist formations called "anti-communist voluntary militias" (*Milizia volontaria anticomunista*, MVAC).²

Based on Arbe police command reports on transfers, at least 27 transports with a total of 7,541 civilian detainees, labeled "punitives" (*repressivi*), arrived at the camp.³ Two-thirds were Slovenians and the remainder Croatians, the latter originating predominantly from the Gorski Kotar area, which had been recently annexed to the province of Fiume. Rounding out Arbe's detainees were 2,761 Jews, either residents or refugees in the Italian-occupied zone, who were protectively interned at Arbe in the spring of 1943. Throughout its existence, more than 10,000 civilians were held in the camp: men, women, children, and often nuclear families. Five thousand inmates originated from the Ljubljana province, around 1,900 from the Fiume province (particularly from the Čabar area), and 350 from the Monigo, Chiesanuova, and Gonars camps in Italy. The Jews came from the Porto Re internment camp and from "free internment" (*internamento libero*) in Italian-occupied Yugoslavia. The detainees consisted mostly of farmers, lumberjacks, and laborers, but there were also merchants and a small number of intellectuals included in this group.

In the punitive camps I and III, the living conditions were harsh, marked by hunger, cold, and overcrowding, especially for those sleeping in tents. According to former prisoner Metod Milač, the tents were so crowded that three prisoners at a time had to roll over "in unison" in their bedrolls.⁴ During thunderstorms in the autumn of 1942, rain clogged the few available latrines, causing widespread outpours of sewage. On the night of October 29, a storm swept away more than 400 tents and five children drowned. The rations in camps I and III were insufficient. For example, prisoners did not receive more than 80 grams (just under 3 ounces) of bread a day. As a result, even the youngest and most able-bodied quickly lost half their body weight. Moreover, Italy had not yet consented to the International Committee of the Red Cross's (ICRC's) intervention in favor of "ex-Yugoslav" detainees, and the first food supplies sent by prisoners' relatives did not arrive until November 1942. A January 1943 report by Captain Giovanni de Filippis described conditions in the camp as "nearly barbarous" (*quasi inumane*).⁵ Hygienic conditions were equally deplorable, particularly for pregnant women who often gave birth to stillborn babies.⁶ In the most critical periods, there were deaths reported almost daily. Arbe's military doctors falsely attributed such deaths to



An entrance to the Arbe internment camp, 1943.
USHMM WS #98920, COURTESY OF BEIT LOHAMEI HAGHETAOT (GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE MUSEUM).

“heart attacks,” when in reality, hunger was the cause. In a November 1942 memorandum, Italian medical officer Carlo Alberto Lang conceded that the increased mortality rate among Yugoslavian internees was “caused by an insufficient food supply that failed to meet standard nutritional requirements.”⁷

The conditions in camp II were better. The Jews formed a self-administration committee, thereby shielding the internees against much Italian interference. Interned doctors furnished medical care, so that Italian army doctors rarely visited the camp. In contrast to the tent camps, the Jewish internment camp had well-equipped barracks. The internees maintained a sizable kitchen, a small library, and a Jewish school for the children.⁸

According to the Superior Command of the Armed Forces, “Slovenia and Dalmatia” (*Comando Superiore FF. AA. “Slovenia e Dalmazia,”* or Supersloda), 502 Arbe prisoners had died by mid-December 1942.⁹ The first significant wave of deaths occurred in August 1942; the second, starting at the end of October, lasted until January 1943. It remains impossible to definitively determine the number of deaths because Italian authorities usually placed more than one corpse in a single coffin. At present, only 1,436 bodies have been identified, or more than 19 percent of the Slavic inmates at Arbe.

On September 11, 1943, following the Armistice, a Slovenian Liberation Front cell active inside Arbe disarmed its military garrison, arrested Cuiuli, and sentenced him to death. The commandant subsequently committed suicide. The revolt led to the formation of a partisan group consisting of 1,600 men and women, the “Rab” Brigade commanded by Franc Potočnik. It had five battalions, one exclusively Jewish, which fought against the Germans and Ustaše, the Croatian fascist organization. Approximately 250 Jews—the elderly, women, children, and the sick—remained on the island before their deportation by the German authorities, first to the Risiera di San Sabbaca camp and then to Auschwitz. With the help of Yugoslav Partisans, some Jewish ex-internees crossed the Adriatic Sea via the Island of Vis and reached British-controlled Bari, Italy. According to survivor Ivo Herzer, the British authorities redirected their landing to Taranto, where they received assistance.¹⁰

SOURCES Secondary sources on the Arbe camp include Tone Ferenc, *Rab-Arbe-Arbissima: Confinamenti, Rastrellamenti e Internamenti nella Provincia di Lubiana 1941–1943* (Ljubljana: Institut Za Novejšo Zgodovino, 2000); Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L’internamento civile nell’Italia Fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 268–271; Ivan Kovačič, *Kampor 1942–1943: Hrvati, Slovenci i Židovi u koncentracijskom logoru Kampor na otoku Rab* (1983; Rijeka: Adamić, 1998); Jaša Romano, *Židovi Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Zrtve Genocida i Uesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing: The Axis and the Holocaust, 1941–1943* (London: Routledge, 1990); and Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell’Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)*, preface by Philippe Burin (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2003). Arbe prisoner and resistance fighter Franc Potočnik published a mem-

oir about the camp and the “Rab” Brigade, titled *Koncentracijsko Taborisce Rab* (Koper: Založba Lipa, 1975). An early collection of documents on the Italian occupation of Slovenia contains some information on Arbe: Komisija za ugotavljanje zločinov okupatorjev in njihovih pomagačev za Slovenij, ed., *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljubljanski pokrajini*, vol. 1: *Internacije* (Ljubljana: Institutu narodne osvoboditve pri predsedstvu vlade LRS, 1946). A scholarly anthology that concerns the persecution of Slavic youth in Italian camps, including Arbe, is 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 und Andrea Wernig (Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag, 2009). A brief guide to the Arbe camp is Herman Janež, *Koncentracijsko taborišče; Koncentracijski logor Kampor-Rab: 1942–1943* (Ljubljana: Glavni odbor ZZZ NOB Slovenije, Komisija za bivše politične zapornike, interniranje in druge žrtve nacifašizma, Taboriščni odbor Rab, 1999).

Primary sources on the Arbe camp can be found in A-RS, II, folder 1079, Sezname internancev, sub-folder 1-67 (Rab); AUSSME, Uff. PG, SME, Ds; AVI, Anj, Br. Reg. 20/5, k. 897; and NARA, RG-242 (Foreign records, seized, 1942–), T-821 (Records of the Italian Armed Forces, ca. 1940–1945, 506 reels). A report on Arbe and Gonars is available in A-ICRC (G17/74). Some documentation on the Jewish internment camp at Arbe is in AME-ASD, in fondo Lancellotti. At CDEC, there is a collection on the founding of the Jewish internment camp under Fondo Israel Kalk (archival holding G-1). An early postwar report on Arbe, “Konzentrationslager Insel Raab, June 1943–Ende 1943,” submitted by the Yugoslavian Information Division, can be found in ITS, 1.2.7.23, Persecution Action in Serbia, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204839 (available in digitized form at USHMM). The collection of documents, *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljubljanski pokrajini*, reproduces a number of captured Italian Army documents from Supersloda, the Second Army, and other units dealing with Arbe and related camps. Photographs of Arbe are available at YVA, GFH, and JIM-bg. USHMMMA holds copies of these photos, including some of the Jewish internment camp (for example, WS # 78469, showing Jews working in the camp kitchen). Owing to Arbe’s role as a protective internment camp, VHF has collected nearly 150 Jewish survivor testimonies that mention the camp. USHMMMA holds the interview with former internee Ivo Herzer (RG-50.030*0097). Published letters and drawings from the Arbe camp can be found in the earlier cited anthology, *Als mein Vater starb*. A published testimony is Metod Milač, *Resistance, Imprisonment, and Forced Labor: A Slovene Student in World War II* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002); Milač also published an article on his ordeal, “The War Years, 1941–1945: From My Experiences,” *SIS* 16: 2 (1994): 31–47.

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco and Jens Hoppe
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. “Konzentrationslager Insel Raab, June 1943–Ende 1943,” ITS, 1.2.7.23, Persecution Action in Serbia, folder 5, Doc. No. 82204839 (digital copy available at USHMM).

2. On recruitment at Arbe, see, for example, Comando MVAC Horjul al Comando I. Battaglione, January 3, 1943, reproduced in *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljubljanski pokrajini*, Doc. 86, p. 167.

3. A-RS, fasc. 1079, Seznami internancev, s.f. 1-67.

4. Milač, *Resistance, Imprisonment, and Forced Labor*, p. 75.

5. De Filippis, Comando 209 Sezione mista Carabinieri Reali al Comando dei Carabinieri Reali dell' XI CdA, January 3, 1943, reproduced in *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljubljanski pokrajini*, Doc. 79, p. 163.

6. Note à l'attention de M. Salis, délégué du CICR en Italie, April 14, 1943, A-ICRC, G17/74, B 488, as cited in Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 421, n. 59.

7. Supersloda (II Armata), relazione del capitano medico Carlo Alberto Lang, November 22, 1942, NARA, RG-242, T-821, roll 398; see also Alto commissario per la provincia di Lubiana al comando dell' CdA, Uff. Segretaria Particolare, No. 1642/2 Ris., Ogg.: Rientro internati Situazione sanitaria, December 15, 1942, reproduced in *Zločini italijanskega okupatorja v Ljubljanski pokrajini*, Doc. 78, p. 162.

8. See USHMPA, WS # 78484, Jewish prisoners work in the kitchen at the Rab internment camp, 1943 (Courtesy of JIM-bg).

9. Generale Mario Roatta al CS, December 16, 1942, AUSSME, N I-II, Ds, B 1130, as cited in Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 420, n. 58.

10. USHMPA, RG-50.030*0097, Ivo Herzer, oral history interview, September 13, 1989.

BRAZZA ISLAND

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established several small camps on the Adriatic island of Brač (Italian: Brazza). Brazza Island is 282 kilometers (175 miles) southeast of Zagreb. The camps were located in the villages of Bol (Boli or Vallo della Brazza), Milna (Milona), Nerezisce (Néresi), Postire (Postira), Sumartin (San Martino), and Supetar (San Pietro della Brazza). Already by the summer of 1942, plans existed to confine Jews fleeing to Italian-occupied territory in Croatia, including Brazza Island. Finally, the Italian XVIII Army Corps, to whose region the island belonged, seized a few buildings toward the end of October 1942 and made them available for the detention of Jews.

Beginning in November 1942, Jews were confined in various camps on Brazza Island. The conditions in these camps were similar. The Jews, who mostly came from the regions of Knin and Drniš, were permitted to leave the seized buildings, all small houses, during the day, but had to remain within a radius of 150 meters (almost 500 feet). There was a prohibition against leaving the buildings at night. The Jewish prisoners apparently were forced to perform construction work on roads and at electrical power plants. The carabinieri were in charge of guarding the prisoners. At the beginning of December 1942, six Jews from Omiš (a town in Croatia) arrived at the San Martino camp, which consisted of an unfinished hotel. Franjo Spitzer, who published books under the pseud-

onym Ervin Sinkó, was elected capo by the inmates. He organized life in that camp and maintained contact with the Italian authorities.

According to historian Jaša Romano, there were only 211 Jews imprisoned on Brazza Island. However, he mentions only the camps at Postire and San Martino, which in April 1943 were listed in a report by the Italian Second Army. In any case the camps on the island were small, consisting mostly of single, isolated buildings. The small number of prisoners eased the strain on food supplies to the island. According to Romano, the prisoners in Postira and San Martino did not suffer from hunger.

According to Italian documentation, 217 Jews were imprisoned on Brazza Island as of December 29, 1942.¹ On February 1, 1943, an Italian account lists a total of 240 Jewish prisoners—115 men, 118 women, and 7 children—on the island camps: 42 in San Martino, 41 in Postira, 15 in Néresi, 45 in Milona, 25 in Boli, and 72 in San Pietro.² On April 15, there were only 238 detainees—32 children, 111 women, and 95 men—in three camps: 115 in Postira (of whom 12 were listed as Catholics and 1 as Orthodox Christian), 1 (a Jew) in Milona, and 122 in San Martino (including 9 Catholics and 1 Orthodox Christian). On April 25, 1943, the Italian authorities transferred 50 internees to the Monigo concentration camp near Treviso in Italy.³ Whether these changes resulted in a different absolute number of internees or there was a small exchange of prisoners with other camps is unclear.

By mid- to late June 1943, according to Italian sources there were only 113 people—103 Jews, 1 Orthodox Christian, and 9 Catholics—held in Postira, whereas an additional 118 prisoners were counted in San Martino, including 107 Jews, 4 Orthodox Christians, and 7 Catholics.⁴ The number of children was reduced to 4, whereas that of men rose to 107 and that of women to 121. One may presume that some of the children were recategorized as adults. As far as is known, the Italians did not murder any prisoners in the small camps. At least in the beginning, there existed contacts between the inhabitants of the island and the prisoners, so the non-Jewish villagers knew about them.

In March 1943, the Italian Second Army closed the camps at Boli, Néresi, and San Pietro della Brazza, and the one at Milona in April. The inmates from these camps were brought to Postira and San Martino. The last two camps on Brazza Island were dissolved when the prisoners were transferred to the Arbe camp on June 27, 1943. This transfer may have taken place via Split, from where the inmates were dispatched together with the Lesina Island prisoners, who had already been brought to the Dalmatian port city.

SOURCES No monographic study on the Brazza Island camps is available, but there are a few works that mention them in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Duško Kečketmet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—*

Holocaust—Anti-Fascism (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski jevreji u bekstvu od holokausta 1941–45* (Belgrade: Službeni List SRJ, 1998). From Italian sources, Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the prisoners on Brazza Island. In German, the camps are mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993). The camps are briefly mentioned in Marija Vulescica, “Kroatien,” in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9: 313–336.

Primary sources on the Brazza Island camps can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento; and B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASD-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. Under its Croatian name, VHA holds eight testimonies by Brazza Island camp survivors. The published diary of Franjo Spitzer is Ervin Sinkó, *Bezúzott háborús napló, 1939–1944*, ed. István Bosnyák (Újvidék: Jugoszlávai Magyar Művelődési Társaság, 2000). A published testimony on the San Martino camp is Nada and Vlado Salzberger, “The Osijek Flying Squad,” in Aleksandar Gaon, ed., *We Survived . . . Yugoslav Jews on the Holocaust*, trans. Stephen Agnew and Jelena Babšek, 3 vols. (Belgrade: Jewish Historical Museum, 2005), 1: 144–153.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla del 1e Febbraio 1942-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. II Armata, Intendenza del Supersloda, Ufficio prigionieri di guerra, Ogg.: “trasferimento internati civili,” April 25, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 64, fasc. Campi di concentramento, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

4. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

BUCCARI

Buccari (Croatian: Kakar) is a small town on the coast of Dalmatia roughly 126 kilometers (79 miles) southwest of Zagreb.

During the Italian occupation of Slovenia it became part of the province of Lubiana and was annexed directly to the Kingdom of Italy. The Superior Command of the Armed Forces, “Slovenia and Dalmatia” (*Comando Superiore FF. AA. “Slovenia e Dalmazia,”* or Supersloda), set up a concentration camp at Buccari for the internment of family members of “rebel Croats”; that is, family members of Yugoslav Partisans kept there as hostages. Together with the Porto Re internment camp, Buccari came under the jurisdiction of the Italian V Army Corps of the Italian Second Army. The decision to build the camp was made between January and February 1942. On March 10, 1942, the camp contained 53 people, all relatives of “rebel Croats.”

A document of the military administration office Intendenza (*Intendenza*) of Supersloda, from April 20, 1943, relating to the transfer of interned civilians, established that the non-Jewish internees of the camp would be “carefully cleaned, because there were a few cases of typhus [*tifo*],” and then transferred.¹ According to historian Davide Rodogno, on April 15, 1943, there were 861 internees at Buccari: 460 men, 334 women, 40 boys, and 27 girls. In a document of April 20, 1943, the Interior Ministry refused permission to transport sick prisoners into Italy, because Italian law prevented the entry of foreigners without valid passports and consular visas into the territory of the kingdom. The document went on: “[In cases such as] the camps of Porto Re and Buccari [where] the people involved are predominantly of the Jewish race, the solution appears even more difficult due to noted principal policies which prohibitively forbid the entrance of foreign Jews into national territory.”²

On April 30, 1943, there were 893 inmates in the camp, of whom the non-Jews, numbering 842, were subsequently transferred.³ The camp closed in July 1943.

SOURCES No specific studies exist for the camp of Buccari, but minimal reference to it can be found in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, “Internamento e deportazione dei civili jugoslavi (1941–43),” in Costantino Di Sante, ed., *I campi di concentramento in Italia* (Milan: Angeli, 2001), p. 154; Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), p. 136; and Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)*, preface by Philippe Burin (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2003), p. 425.

The archival sources on Buccari come from ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B. 109 and 134; and USSME, “Massime” M3, B. 64.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. USSME, “Massime” M3, B. 64, cited in Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 425.

2. ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. “Massime” M4, B.109.

3. USSME, “Massime” M3, B. 64, Comando II Armata al v CdA e all'Intendenza, May 31, 1943, as cited in Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 425.

CIGHINO AND TREBUSSA INFERIORE

In February 1942, the Italian Second Army established a camp at Cighino (Slovenian: Čiginj; Gorica province; today: Nova Gorica), 4 kilometers (more than 2 miles) south of Tolmin and almost 63 kilometers (39 miles) northeast of Ljubljana. As part of the same command structure, the Italian authorities set up a similar but smaller camp at Trebussa Inferiore (Dolenja Trebuša), almost 13 kilometers (8 miles) northeast of Cighino. The two provisional camps held suspected Slovenian resisters from the Ljubljana area.¹

Cighino was designed to hold 600 prisoners in a single, barbed-wire enclosed barrack; it reached capacity in March 1943. To enhance security, the windows were bricked in, and a high wall was erected; the prisoners were only permitted to go outside the dark barracks for a half hour each day. They slept on wooden bunks. The Italian authorities did not issue uniforms, so the inmates wore whatever clothing they had. The Second Army's cut in bread rations for prisoners of war (POWs) in March 1943 affected the Slovenes held at both Cighino and Trebussa Inferiore.

Like Cighino, Trebussa Inferiore was a barrack camp, but with a capacity of only 400. In April 1942, both camps were closed, and the prisoners were dispatched to Gonars, nearly 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Tolmin. At the time, Cighino had 400 prisoners, the other 200 having already been transferred to other Italian-run camps, including Arbe (Rab Island).

SOURCES The camps at Cighino and Trebussa Inferiore are briefly described in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *Renicci: Un campo di concentramento in riva al Tevere* (Milan: Mursia, 2003); Luciano Patat, *Percorsi della memoria civile: La Resistenza nella provincia di Gorizia* (Udine: Istituto friulano per la storia del movimento di liberazione, 2005); Francesco Caccamo and Luciano Monzali, eds., *L'occupazione italiana della Jugoslavia, 1941–1943* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2008); Fabio Galluccio, *I lager in Italia: La memoria sepolta nei duecento luoghi di deportazione fascisti*, 2nd ed. (Civezzano: Nonluoghi, 2003); Daniele Finzi, *La vita quotidiana di un campo di concentramento fascista: Ribelli sloveni nel querceto di Renicci-Anghiari (Arezzo)* (Rome: Corocci, 2004) (eBook); Alessandra Kersevan, *Un campo di concentramento fascista: Gonars 1942–1943* (Udine: Kappa Vu, 2003); Vitomil Zupan, *Menuet za gitaru: U dvadeset i pet pucnjeva* (Zagreb: Globus, 1985); and Ivan Kovačić, "Problem broja žrtava fašističkog logora Kampor na otoku Rabu, 1942–1943. Godine," *VDAR* 40 (1998): 243–287.

Primary sources documenting the Cighino and Trebussa Inferiore camps can be found in USSME, fondo Diari Storici II Guerra Mondiale, SMRE, Racc. 667, Uff. PG; and ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), folder 7. The latter documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Pero Damjanović, "Lager Ciginj (Campo di concentramento Cighino)," April 29, 1976, ITS, 1.2.7.23, folder 7, Doc. No. 82205337.

CUPARI

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established a camp in a place south of Dubrovnik called Kupari (Italian: Cupari).¹ A few weeks earlier the Italian VI Army Corps, which included the Dubrovnik region, had commandeered the Kupari Hotel to house the inmates. Dubrovnik is approximately 397 kilometers (246 miles) southeast of Zagreb.

Along with the Gravosa and Mezzo Island camps, Cupari was one of the Dubrovnik camps, which together held almost 1,800 Jews from the city of Dubrovnik and from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Cupari camp primarily detained Jews from Bosnia and 117 people previously imprisoned in Gacko (Bosnia-Herzegovina). In addition to the Yugoslav Jews, there also were German and Austrian refugees imprisoned in Cupari. The Jews in Cupari did not have to perform forced labor for the Italians.

According to Italian reports, on December 29, 1942, there were 294 Croat Jews imprisoned in the Kupari Hotel in Cupari.² In February 1943, the number of people interned in the hotel rose to 420, of whom 324 were listed by the Italians as Jews, along with 81 Catholics, 10 Protestants, 1 Orthodox Christian, and 4 Muslims. Altogether, there were 202 men, 201 women, and 17 children internees. Historian Davide Rodogno has established that the officially registered number of prisoners rose to 428 by April 15, 1943. At this point, Italian sources list 422 as Jews, 5 Catholics, and 1 Orthodox Christian. The number of men rose slightly to 204 and that of women rose to 209, whereas the number of children decreased to 15. On June 27, 1943, the number of Jewish prisoners increased to 445, of whom 439 were Jews, 5 Catholics, and 1 Orthodox Christian.³ Surprisingly, the number of men decreased to 193 and that of women to 204, whereas 48 children were then imprisoned. According to historian Milan Ristović, however, the Italians accommodated about 900 Jews in Cupari. The discrepancy between the official number given by the Italian occupiers and the actual number of prisoners is found in numerous Italian-run camps in Croatia.

Tenente Riccardo Ricci was the commandant of all Dubrovnik region camps. His deputy was Favoloro. The guards were carabinieri.

Rudi Bier served as the prisoner capo. He maintained contact with the Italian camp leader and had a deputy named Maestro. In addition, a Jew from Sarajevo named Sprung was in charge of the mail, which was an influential position because the packages sent from Dubrovnik brought essential aid to the prisoners. Another Jew named Icković from Dobož worked as the chief cook and was responsible for prisoner food supplies.

The prisoners pooled their financial resources to purchase additional food through the Italian Army. In addition, care packages arrived from the Dubrovnik Jewish community and from friends or relatives of the prisoners. Through these means, a small but sufficient supply of food was assured for all of the prisoners. The prisoners also organized cultural events to raise morale.

Historian Klaus Voigt reports that from the very beginning the prisoners in Cupari were completely isolated from the local population, but some survivors report that at least in November 1942 they were still able to walk to neighboring places. Although some authors note that there was no barbed wire around the camp, historian Duško Kečkemet reports that Cupari was the only Dubrovnik camp surrounded by barbed wire; thus relationships could not easily exist between the prisoners and the local population.

The Cupari camp was dissolved in July 1943 after all of the prisoners were transferred to the Arbe camp on Rab Island, presumably together with the Jewish prisoners from Gravosa.⁴

SOURCES No monographic study on the Cupari camp is available, but there are a few works that mention it in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Duško Kečkemet, “Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation,” in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and Milan Ristović, *Upotrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski jevreji u bekstvu od holokausta 1941–45* (Belgrade: Službeni List SRJ, 1998). From Italian sources, Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the prisoners at Cupari. In German, the camp is mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993).

Primary sources on the Cupari camp can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASd-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. Available at USHMM are RG-61.011M, Ustaša Supervisory Office—Jasenovac, Lobar-Grad, Gornja Rijeka, Krušćica, and Kupari Concentration Camps, microcopied from HDA; and an oral history interview with Iakov Kayun, RG-50.120*0073, n.d. VHA holds 18 survivor testimonies on the Cupari camp.

Jens Hoppe

Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. VI CdA, Ogg.: “Internati ebrei. Disciplina,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

4. Ibid.

CURZOLA ISLAND

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established two camps on the Adriatic island of Korčula (Italian: Curzola), in the eponymously named village and in the village of Vela Luka (Valle Grande or Vallegrande). Curzola is 83 kilometers (52 miles) southeast of Split and 330 kilometers (205 miles) southeast of Zagreb. After the official establishment of camps on the island, the Italian authorities described them collectively as a “quarantine camp for Jews at Curzola.”¹

Jews were imprisoned in the Curzola Island camps beginning in 1942. As early as August 1941, however, the Italian authorities from the city of Split sent very small transports of Jews to the island under house arrest: these Jews were refugees from occupied Yugoslavia fleeing German and Ustaša persecution. Among them were Jews who had immigrated to Yugoslavia from Central Europe before the war. Larger transports were inaugurated with a first group of 50 Jews on November 20, 1941. Five more transports followed until there were 740 Jews interned in vacant hotels and private houses in Curzola and Valle Grande by December 15, 1941. In Valle Grande, a hachshara (Zionist collective) facility that existed before April 1941 as a Jewish fishery school was also used to hold internees. Toward the end of 1941, the first 100 Jews were transferred from Curzola through Trieste to Fort Vittorio Emmanuel, a camp near Modane in Italian-occupied France; other transfers followed. Beginning in November 1942 stricter rules were imposed on the Jews: they were confined to their quarters at night and during the day had to stay within a surrounding area of 150 meters (about 500 feet). According to survivor Alexander Mošić, the curfew was in force all day for Jews sent to the island, but ran from dusk to dawn for local inhabitants.² In January 1943, the number of internees in Curzola and Valle Grande stood at 534.³ The total number of Jews held on Curzola Island declined to 506 by August 1943.

It is not known whether the Italian authorities subjected the Jews to forced labor. Until November 1942, however, young Jews in Valle Grande worked in the village as a means of support.⁴

In 1941, the linguist Angelo (Anđelko) Farhi, who spoke good Italian, represented the Jews in Curzola before the occupying authorities. In December 1941 the Italians transferred him to the Fort Vittorio Emmanuel camp, together with others. Afterward, the Italian-speaking trader Heinrich (Hajnrüh) Levi took charge. He organized contact not only with the occupying authorities but also with the Jewish community in Split. He also created facilities such as a communal kitchen for Jewish youths in one of the internment buildings, and a school. In Valle Grande, the former bank director Jozef Maestro together with two assistants represented the approximately 300 Jews held there to the Italian guards, who were led by a non-commissioned officer (NCO) of the carabinieri. Avram Papo headed a communal kitchen for the Jews accommodated in the hachshara facility.

On January 25, 1943, in Valle Grande, the Italian authorities shot five inhabitants and three Jews—Isak Kabiljo, Avram Roman, and Leon Romano—among others, in reprisal for a partisan attack that killed seven carabinieri. This incident seems to be the only case in which the carabinieri murdered imprisoned Jews. However, based on a denunciation in the fall of 1942, the carabinieri arrested the brothers Fedor and Boris Njemirovski from Zagreb and brought them to a prison in Šibenik. Fedor subsequently died from the effects of mistreatment suffered in prison.

Given that around 600 Jews were confined to Curzola after November 1942, the mortality rate amounted to 0.5 percent.

Interned with his parents at Valle Grande, Fred Schiller was one of the young Jewish men rounded up after a partisan attack. Taken by motor launch to Curzola with 30 others, he recalled that the carabinieri handcuffed them to each other, two at a time. One day after reaching the Curzola jail, the suspects were released thanks to protests by their fellow internees, who warned the Italian authorities of repercussions in the case of the illegal killing of internees who were protected by the Geneva Convention.⁵

Under Captain Alfredo Roncoroni, the commandant of the Stazione Carabinieri in Curzola, the carabinieri kept watch on the Jews. Roncoroni also supervised the NCOs assigned to Valle Grande and was thus responsible for both camps. On various lists of Italian war criminals alleged to have committed crimes in Yugoslavia, Roncoroni was accused of murdering people in Dalmatia and on Curzola Island in 1943. However, he never came to trial.

In Curzola, Josef Alkalaj from Sarajevo and Isak Kučo from Belgrade founded a sort of cooperative in the Bon Hepos Hotel that accommodated about 100 Jews. In addition, beginning in 1942, there existed a school, in which imprisoned Jewish students were active as teachers. There were lectures, such as the one in German by Franz Theodor Csokor about the history of art. There were also musical performances by Samuel Čaček from Mostar and by the singers Maks Savin and Zvonko Glika, supported by Zagreb composer Bruno Bjelinski. Such activities mostly ceased in November 1942. From 1941 on, the Jewish community in Split and the Italian Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (*Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei*, DELASEM) helped support the Jews on Curzola Island. Additionally, Leon Alkalaj organized a supply of bread from Italian soldiers, which supplemented the daily ration of 300 grams (10.6 ounces) per Jewish family.

At the beginning of 1943, 15 young Jews joined the Partisans. Because they could not be removed from the island, however, they had to return at night to their assigned accommodations. Only after Italy's capitulation was the group finally able to join the Partisans.

Because of the more liberal conditions of their stay before November 1942, some close contacts existed between the imprisoned Jews and some of the island inhabitants, especially in Valle Grande. In this way toward the end of 1942 the Jewish internees found out from a Franciscan monk named Fra Vid (Andro Vid Mihičić, later a professor at the Academy of Fine

Arts in Zagreb) that the Germans demanded from the Italians the deportation of Jews from occupied Croatia.

The Italian authorities dissolved the Curzola Island camps at the time of the September 1943 Armistice. Most of the inmates were transported by ship to liberated southern Italy. Some Jews joined the Partisans, whereas 88 remained on the island. Shortly after the German occupation, on December 23, 1943, the remaining Jews on Curzola fled with groups of Partisans to the island of Vis, and from there they were brought to liberated Italy, with only one falling into German hands.

Among the 88 Jews remaining on the island were Fred Schiller and his parents. Caught in the crossfire between Partisans and the retreating carabinieri, they took shelter in an abandoned house and were able to escape the island on a barge in October 1943. Their harrowing crossing of the Adriatic ended with their landing behind British lines, after which they went to the displaced persons (DP) camp at Carbonara, near Bari.⁶

SOURCES To date, there is no monographic study on the Curzola Island camps, but there are a few works that mention them in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia, such as: Duško Kečkemet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993). Information on the reprisals against partisan attacks can be found in 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).

Primary sources on the Curzola Island camps can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia; and fasc. Campi di concentramento); ASd-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. USHMM holds the memoir of a Curzola Island survivor, Fred Schiller with Janice Blumberg, "Dancing through the Minefields" (unpub. MSS, n.d.), under RG-02.043. Franz Theodor Csokor published a memoir of his experiences on Curzola Island, *Als Zivilist im Balkankrieg*, ed. Franz Richard Reiter (1947; Vienna: Elephant Verlag, 2000). As a non-Jew, he was able to move freely about the island. In English, there is a description of the circumstances of one of the Jewish internees by Aleksandar Mošić: "Jews on Korčula," in Aleksandar Gaon, ed., *We Survived . . . Yugoslav Jews on the Holocaust*, trans. Stephen Agnew and Jelena Babšek, 3 vols. (Belgrade: Jewish Historical Museum, 2005), 1: 208–222.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. Supersloda to VI CdA, Ogg.: "Campo contumaciale per ebrei a Curzola," March 30, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia - Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. Mošić, "Jews on Korčula," *We Survived*, 1: 213.

3. Colonello Carlo Cigliani, VI CdA, "Ebrei residenti in territori della prima zona (internati a Curzola e Vallegrande)," January 18, 1943, USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Campi di concentramento, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

4. Ibid.

5. USHMM, RG-02.043, Schiller with Blumberg, "Dancing through the Minefields," pp. 79–80, 86.

6. Ibid., pp. 88–89.

GRAVOSA

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established a camp in a neighborhood of Dubrovnik called Gruž (Italian: Gravosa).¹ Dubrovnik is approximately 389 kilometers (242 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Toward the end of October 1942, the Italian VI Army Corps, which occupied the Dubrovnik region, had commandeered the Vreg and Petak Hotels for this purpose.

Together with the camps at Cupari and Mezzo Island, Gravosa held nearly 1,800 Jews from the city of Dubrovnik and from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of those, up to 100 Jews from Dubrovnik and its environs were accommodated in Gravosa.

According to Italian documentation, on December 29, 1942, 53 Jews listed as Croat Jews were imprisoned in Gravosa.² On February 1, 1943, there were an additional 53 prisoners—16 men, 26 women, and 11 children; 35 of these prisoners were listed as Jews, and the rest were Catholics (14) and Orthodox Christians (4). According to historian Davide Rodogno, as of April 15, 1943, there were 80 prisoners at Gravosa, with the addition of 12 men, 13 women, and 2 children. Of those 80 prisoners, 58 were listed as Jews, with 14 listed as Catholics and 8 as Orthodox Christians. By contrast, Milan Ristović places the number of prisoners at approximately 200. The differing estimates possibly reflect the well-known discrepancy between the numbers claimed in Italian documents and the actual number of prisoners.

Officer Riccardo Ricci was the commandant for all camps in the Dubrovnik area. The guards in Gravosa were carabinieri.

The prisoners pooled their personal funds to procure additional food from the Italian Army, which ensured a small but sufficient food supply. Historian Klaus Voigt reports that from the very beginning, the prisoners were completely isolated from the local population. As a result, close relationships did not develop between the two groups. It is not known whether the Jews in Gravosa had to perform forced labor for the Italians.

According to Italian sources, there were no prisoners at Gravosa at the beginning of June 1943, so it can be assumed that the camp had been dissolved by this time. It is possible that the prisoners were brought first to the Mezzo Island camp and then deported together with its prisoners to the Arbe camp on Rab Island. An alternative, but less likely, claim is that the prisoners at the Cupari camp were brought to Gravosa in

June 1943 and moved together with Gravosa's prisoners by steamship to Rab Island. The Italians, however, still listed prisoners as being held in Cupari toward the end of June, so this camp cannot have been dissolved before Gravosa.³

SOURCES No monographic study on the Gravosa camp is available, but there are a few works that mention it in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Duško Kečkemet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski jevreji u bekstvu od holokausta 1941–45* (Belgrade: Službeni List SRJ, 1998). From Italian sources, Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the prisoners at Gravosa. In German, the camp is mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993).

Primary sources on the Gravosa camp can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASd-MAE (Fondo Lancillotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it.

Jens Hoppe

Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. VI CdA, Ogg.: "Internati ebrei. Disciplina," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

3. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

LESINA ISLAND

In November 1942, following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established three camps on the Adriatic island of Hvar (Italian: Lesina). Lesina Island is just over 303 kilometers (188 miles) southeast of Zagreb. The camps were set up in the village of Lesina, as well as Jelsa (Italian: Gelsa) and Stari Grad (Italian: Cittavecchia). Plans to detain Jews fleeing to Italian-occupied territory in Croatia on Lesina

Island, among others, were devised as early as the summer of 1942. Ultimately the Italian XVIII Army Corps, which occupied the region, commandeered small houses and hotels toward the end of October 1942 and made them available for the imprisonment of Jews.¹ The camps were designed to hold 500 detainees.

Beginning in November 1942, Jews were transferred to various sites on Lesina Island. The imprisoned Jews were former Yugoslav citizens, who mostly originated from Bosnia and more specifically from Sarajevo and Mostar. The Italian authorities categorized the internees as Jews (*confessione religiosa: Ebrei*) and Croats (*razza: Croati*). In the village of Lesina, Jews were accommodated in the Slavija, Palaca, Olevan, and Kovačić Hotels. The internees were permitted restricted movement in daytime, but were under strict curfew at night.

At the Lesina Island camps, the carabinieri guarded the prisoners, whereas the Italian Second Army was responsible for providing food for the Jews. However, the imprisoned women organized communal kitchens in the buildings, so that basic supplies were available for all and no one died of starvation. Survivor Jeti Svarc recalled that the families were assigned rooms, in her case at the Slavija Hotel.² It is not known whether the prisoners were called on to perform forced labor.

There were sporadic escape attempts from the Lesina Island camps. Some of the escapees were recaptured by carabinieri and returned to the camps. The local population knew of the camps, but contact between the prisoners and the inhabitants of the local places was almost impossible because the Jews were watched by the carabinieri at all times and because in daytime they were allowed only to walk in a limited area around their buildings (a distance of 150 meters or almost 500 feet). The Italian authorities, Svarc recalled, only granted permission for leaving the hotel's premises under exceptional circumstances.³

According to Italian documentation, 344 Jews were imprisoned in Lesina as of December 29, 1942.⁴ A report from December 8, 1942, by the Italian VI Army Corps noted that there were 13 Jews at Cittavecchia and 130 at Gelsa (here spelled Jelsa).⁵ This population was reduced to 215—90 men, 110 women, and 15 children—by February 1, 1943.⁶ Historian Davide Rodogno has established that by April 15, 1943, the number of detainees rose again to 365, of whom 342 were Jews, 22 were Catholics (who were imprisoned as “racial” Jews), and there was 1 Muslim. There were 120 men, 142 women, and 103 children. This increase in population was probably related to the dissolution of the Cittavecchia camp and the transfer of its inmates to the village of Lesina.

There were 364 prisoners on Lesina Island in late June, an unaccounted-for reduction of one internee since the April 1943 report.⁷ Contradicting these numbers, historian Jaša Romano reports that 404 Jews were imprisoned on Lesina Island. It is not known whether any Jews in the camps on Lesina Island died as a result of persecution.

On June 23, 1943, the camps on Lesina Island were dissolved, and the prisoners were transferred to Arbe on Rab Is-

land. According to other reports the inmates had already been transferred to Split in May 1943, where they were imprisoned in barracks near the port and then shipped to Rab together with Jews from the Brazza Island camp. This claim, however, contradicts Italian sources, which still indicate the presence of imprisoned Jews at Lesina in June 1943. Presumably the camp in Cittavecchia and probably also the one in Gelsa were already dissolved in March 1943, and the Jews imprisoned there were transferred to the village of Lesina. Svarc recalled, that some detainees, including herself, were sent directly to Arbe in March 1943.⁸

SOURCES No monographic study on the Lesina Island camps is available, but there are a few works that mention them in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in Jaša Romano, *Žrtve Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); Duško Kečketmet, “Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation,” in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; and Milan Ristović, *Upotrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski jevreji u bekstvu od holokausta 1941–45* (Belgrade: Službeni List SRJ, 1998). From Italian sources, Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the prisoners at Lesina Island. In German, the camps are mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993).

Primary sources on the Lesina Island camps can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASD-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. USHMM holds a testimony by Jeti Svarc on the Lesina Island camps (RG-50.459*0012, oral history interview with Lea Popovic, Blimka Rosic, and Jeti Svarc, April 18, 1997).

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. VI CdA, Ogg.: “Internati ebrei. Disciplina,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

5. VI CdA, Ogg.: “Internamento ebrei a Lesina,” December 8, 1942, USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

6. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla del 1e Febbraio 1942-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

7. II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI," USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

8. USHMMA, RG-50.459*0012, oral history interview with Lea Popovic, Blimka Rosic, and Jeti Svarc, April 18, 1997.

LUBIANA

In April 1941, following the invasion of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Italy annexed part of Slovenia and established the province of Lubiana (Slovenian: Ljubljana), which is located 116 kilometers (72 miles) west-northwest of Zagreb. The population immediately responded by engaging in partisan warfare against the occupiers. The Fascist regime's reaction was swift and violent, including repression, killings, deportations, and forced italianization. A remand prison was set up close to the Italian Second Army's military tribunal, seated in Lubiana, with the first available source listing the names of 56 people detained there from April 25, 1941. The detainees were arrested on the orders of the Supreme Command (*Comando Supremo*) or because the war tribunal had brought charges against them. In the case of the former, the reasons for arrest were not mentioned, but in the latter case the alleged offenses included "anti-Italian demonstrations," "contempt for the flag and image of the Duce," "possession of arms and explosives," or "failure to deliver material of the former Yugoslav Army."¹

With the escalation of violence in Slovenia, the people of Lubiana found themselves imprisoned in their own city. On the orders of the High Commissioner of the Lubiana province, Emilio Grazioli, and at the urging of the commander of the Italian Second Army, Generale di Corpo d'Armata Mario Robotti, the occupying forces encircled the city with barbed-wire fencing on the evening of February 22, 1942. The fence was soon dotted with watchtowers and checkpoints, and the city was divided into five sectors.

The former Belgian Army barracks (Slovenian: *Belgiska kasarna*) served as a provisional prison, transit camp, and interrogation center. Located in Sector 3 at the corner of Metelkova and Tabor Streets, it was the headquarters of the 21st Infantry Division, "Grenadiers of Sardinia." The Italian authorities renamed the barracks after King Victor Emanuel III (*Caserma Vittorio Emanuele III*, V. E. barracks). It is impossible to tell with exact certainty when the prison started operating. A document dated February 11, 1942, mentions a list of 17 people transferred to the prison for interrogation.²

In February 1942, the V. E. barracks were used to intern civilians arrested during the first big roundup in Lubiana. The same fate met those arrested en masse in the summer of 1942. There were 645 civilian detainees at the site as of November 1942. The overcrowding, wrote Tenente Mario Rossi of

the 375th Section of the carabinieri and who was responsible for Sector 3, led to a scabies outbreak. He urged the removal of some 300 inmates to other facilities as a health measure.³ The camp was the entry point for the detention of Slovenian prisoners. Their subsequent paths of persecution included detention in a succession of sites, such as Cighino, Visco, Arbe (Rab), and/or Gonars. For some time, the V. E. barracks also served as a holding center for hostages to be shot in retaliation for resistance activity.

After the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the Wehrmacht occupied Lubiana (German: Laibach) and maintained the city's isolation while also stepping up violence against the already very stressed population. Lubiana was liberated by Yugoslav Partisans on May 9, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Victor Emanuel III barracks and the persecution of the Lubiana population include Alessandra Kersevan, *Lager italiani: Pulizia etnica e campi di concentramento fascisti per civili jugoslavi 1941-1943* (Rome: Casa Editrice Nutrimenti, 2008); Metka Gombač, "I bambini sloveni nei campi di concentramento italiani (1942-1943)," *DEP* 3 (July 2005): 49-63, available at www.unive.it/media/allegato/dep/Ricerche/4-I_bambini_sloveni_nei_campi_di_concentramento_italiani.pdf; 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 und Andrea Wernig (Klagenfurt, Austria: Wieser Verlag, 2009); Tone Ferenc, *La provincia "italiana" di Lubiana, documenti 1941-1942: Studi e documenti* (Udine: Istituto friulano per la storia del movimento di liberazione, 1994); Tone Ferenc and Pavel Kodrič, *Si ammazza troppo poco: Condannati a morte, ostaggi, passati per le armi nella provincia di Lubiana; 1941-1943* (Ljubljana: Društvo piscev zgodovine NOB; Società degli scrittori della storia della Lotta di Liberazione, 1999); Giuseppe Piemontese, *Ventidue mesi di occupazione della provincia di Lubiana: Considerazioni e documenti* (Ljubljana: N.P., 1946); and *Report on Italian Crimes against Yugoslavia and Its People* (Belgrade: State Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, 1946).

Primary sources documenting the Victor Emanuel III barracks and the persecution of the Lubiana population can be found in A-RS, AS 1775 and AS 1840; and AUSMME, fondo H-8, "Crimini di guerra." USHMMA holds two oral history interviews (in Slovenian) relating to Italian persecution in Lubiana: USHMMA, RG-50.592*0031, oral history interview with Miloš Poljanšek, November 23, 2009; and RG-50.592*0001, oral history interview with Dušan Stefančič, January 31, 2009.

Frida Bertolini

Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. Applicazione decreto del Duce del 19 gennaio 1942 ("Si stabilisce che a norma del Decreto del Duce del 19 gennaio 1942, la difesa delle carceri giudiziarie di Lubiana venga assunta dalle autorità militari"), January 19, 1942, A-RS, AS 1840 660.

2. "Elenco nominativo dei fermati per accertamenti detenuti nelle carceri del 2° Reggimento Granatieri e in quelle

della Caserma Vittorio Emanuele III di Lubiana,” February 11, 1942, A-RS, AS 1840 5.

3. Rossi to XXI CdA, November 19, 1942, A-RS, AS 1775 661, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

MAMULA ISLAND AND PREVLAKA

Established by the Italian VI Army Corps command's Ordinance No. 1297 on March 30, 1942, the concentration camps for Slavs in Mamula and Prevlaka were located, respectively, on the island of Mamula, 6.3 kilometers long and 2 kilometers wide (3.9 by 1.2 miles), in today's southern Montenegro, and on the peninsula of Prevlaka in the south of Croatia at the entrance to the Bay of Kotor (Bocche di Cattaro). Both camps were about 60 kilometers (37 miles) west of Podgorica. The two camps constituted an “integrated system” with complementary and intertwined functions.

In the nineteenth century, the Austro-Hungarians had constructed sturdy fortifications in Mamula to protect the bay against attack. These fortifications, isolated by sea, came to serve as a residence for internees in rooms previously used for storing guns and with windows overlooking the sea. The doors of the cells were only opened during the hours when the inmates were permitted to go out.

The Prevlaka camp, situated in a Yugoslav Royal Army barracks, was also modified to accommodate those internees whose freedom had to be restricted for security reasons; according to Ordinance No. 1297, they could be both men and women. To proceed with arrests, it was not necessary to prove guilt beforehand, because the mere suspicion of being an enemy of the Italian regime sufficed. The civil authorities could investigate cases even after the disposition of the internment. Many sympathizers of the Unitary People's Liberation Front (*Jedinstveni narodnooslobodilački*, JNOF) or members of Partisans' families were held hostage at Prevlaka.

The two camps held mostly civilian inmates from the zones of Kotor, Herzegovina, and Mediterranean Dalmatia. The interrogations took place at Prevlaka, and the more serious cases were sent to Mamula where the living conditions were harsher. Mamula also functioned as a prison facility where people were incarcerated either based on a police decision made by a prefect or a provincial police chief (*questore*) or in anticipation of a military tribunal. Only in few specific cases was the direction of transfers reversed. To be sent from Mamula to Prevlaka, reasons of poor health or a special recommendation were necessary.

From the beginning, the Prevlaka camp was divided into two sectors: one that was reserved for internees coming from the region of Kotor and one for prisoners from Herzegovina and Dalmatia. In addition, some subdivisions of sectors were intended solely for men, whereas others sheltered women and children. However, on May 29, 1942, the commander of the Italian VI Army Corps, General Renzo Dalmazzo, ordered that only male detainees expected to remain in the area of Kotor for a long time be sent to Mamula. This very same instruction also stated that all those men and women whose

length of internment was not specified be sent to Prevlaka. Thus, in the course of the same month, all women interned at Mamula were transferred to Prevlaka only to be replaced by prisoners coming from Herzegovina.

At the beginning of the summer of 1942, the number of internees started increasing rapidly, soon reaching several hundred, as a result of the continuous dissolution of various formations of the JNOF. These formations remained clandestinely active inside the two camps. During this period, there were more than 1,000 internees in Prevlaka, a number that remained constant according to a Yugoslavian source. However, according to historian Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, this number, with certain exceptions, gradually decreased over time—there were 640 internees in the camp on December 30, 1942; 497 on February 1, 1943; 283 on April 15, 1943; and 435 on June 1, 1943. Mamula held about 500 inmates from June 1942 until its dissolution. On October 30, 1942, the number stood at 493 before reaching 560 in December 1942 (of whom 380 were sent to the camp by military authorities and 180 by civil authorities). On June 25, 1943, there were 509 inmates in the camp.

As in other Italian camps set up in Yugoslavia, the life of internees in Mamula and Prevlaka was entirely dependent on the camp authorities' mood. In Prevlaka, there were two underground quarries without light or ventilation where the prisoners were sent for punishment that included spending an entire day without water or food. In addition, the prisoners were beaten, forced to make Fascist salutes, threatened with execution, and deprived of packages they had been sent from home. One of the camp's vice-commanders, dubbed Moskorom, often drove around the camp with a gun in his hand, shouting “I want to see blood!”¹

The living conditions in Mamula were particularly tough. Before late 1942, when the inmates were finally provided with bunk beds, there were only straw mattresses (at best) crammed in very small rooms sheltering up to 60 people each. The internees were even forbidden to use the toilet; they could only make use of an old barrel that did not have a lid and was emptied only once a day. Such poor hygienic conditions helped spread various kinds of vermin that only added to a deterioration of the already bad sanitary conditions prevailing throughout the facility.

In Prevlaka and Mamula, the daily rations for internees consisted of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread, a soup containing 30 grams (just over an ounce) of pasta or rice, and 30 grams of cheese. A cup of amaro (Ethiopian) coffee was served in the morning. The internees only survived by receiving food packages from their families not to exceed 5 kilograms (11 pounds) in weight. However, inmates from Dalmatia and Herzegovina, and most prisoners from Prevlaka, could only receive a single package a month, weighing no more than 2 kilograms (4.4 pounds).

It should be noted here that the postal service in Mamula and Prevlaka functioned well—a rare exception in view of the general state of affairs in most other concentration camps for Slavs. Due to the efforts of the 155th Infantry Division (Emilia)

under General Ugo Butta, approximately 10,000 packages reached the internees between the summer of 1942 and the autumn of 1943.

There were more than 500 deaths in Mamula and Prevlaka. This mortality rate was one of the highest among all camps in Yugoslavia. In addition, in both the concentration and transit camps located in Montenegro, including Mamula and Prevlaka, about 100 people were killed by shooting.

Following the Armistice of September 8, 1943, the camp of Mamula was dismantled while the one in Prevlaka passed into the hands of German authorities on October 1, 1943. On the same day, the Germans dissolved Prevlaka and released its prisoners.

SOURCES The following secondary sources mention the camps at Mamula and Prevlaka: Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia Fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 273–275; Alessandra Kersevan, *Lager Italiani: Pulizia Etnica e Campi di Concentramento Fascisti per Civili Jugoslavi, 1941–1943* (Roma: Nutrimenti, 2008), pp. 64, 267; and Kersevan, *Un Campo di Concentramento Fascista: Gonars 1942–1943* (Udine: Kappa Vu Edizioni, 2003), pp. 261–270.

Primary sources on the camps at Mamula and Prevlaka are found in ISI, which consist of war crimes investigation reports. Copies of these reports are found in ITS in 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Action in Serbia) as “Le camp de concentration de Prevlaka” (Doc. ID 82205114–82205120); and “Le camp de concentration Mamula (Campo Mamula)” (Doc. ID 8220548–8220560). Digitized copies of these reports are available at USHMM.

Giovanna D'Amico
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTE

1. ISI, “Le camp de concentration de Prevlaka,” ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. ID 82205117.

MELADA

The island of Melada (Croatian: Molat) lies off the Croatian coast of Dalmatia, 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of the city of Zara (Zadar). When Germany and Italy attacked Yugoslavia in March 1941, it was occupied by Italian troops. After the destruction of Yugoslavia it was annexed by Italy and formed part of the Civil Governorate of Dalmatia, prefecture of Zara.

As early as June 1941, the Italians detained political and other prisoners in assembly and internment camps in the occupied Yugoslav territories. On June 27, 1942, the camp on the island of Melada was established as a central place of confinement by order of the governor of the Italian province of Dalmatia, Giuseppe Bastianini.¹ The camp was located in a bay called Jaz Cove.

The detainees were ferried to the camp from various embarkation points on the coast. In the summer of 1942, the majority of the 1,320 detainees were civilian relatives of actual or

alleged Partisans, as well as “individuals dangerous to public order” as defined by the prefect of Zara.² In addition, 361 inhabitants of the island of Eso Piccolo (Iž Mali) were deported to Melada following the anti-Italian revolt there. Another group consisted of 250 laborers taken from the factories of Lozovac. By August 15, 1942, there were 2,337 prisoners in the camp (1,021 women, 866 men, and 450 children, of which approximately 10 were born in the camp). Even after the fall of Mussolini, groups of prisoners continued to be deported to the camp.

Guarding the island and the camp were 180 carabinieri and a few hundred soldiers, among them a company of the 158th Infantry Division (“Zara”). A few sections of the Volunteer Militia for National Security (*Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, MVSN) also guarded the camp. The first camp commandant was Commissioner of Public Security Leonardo Fantoli, who held the position until January 7, 1943. Fantoli was replaced by Carlo Sommer, who was born in Zara on August 21, 1905. Sommer worked as a Zara municipal employee; the regime described him as a “Catholic Aryan.” He served as deputy head of the MVSN on inactive reserve.³ His vice director, Antonio Amoroso, born in Bari on April 25, 1902, was an employee of the city of Milan, a “Catholic Aryan,” and a deputy head of the 7th Battalion, MVSN. From February 1, 1943, the director reported directly to the provincial police chief (*questore*) of Zara, who managed the archive containing the records of prisoners from the Melada and Le Fraschette di Alatri camps. Sommer resigned at the end of August 1943, but it seems unlikely that he was replaced before Italy surrendered to the Allies on September 8. The officer in charge of medical services was Dr. Giuseppe Spinone, later replaced by Camillo Croce.

A 1-kilometer (0.6-mile) barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp, dotted by five armed watchtowers for surveillance. The camp's only two-story building served as headquarters. Initially, the camp consisted solely of tents, in which the prisoners slept on a layer of straw. The washroom lacked running water, and the five latrines soon proved insufficient. The hygienic situation was already critical by the end of August 1942. Anticipating the autumn rains, which would have made the prisoners' situation completely unsustainable, Bastianini wrote to the Interior Minister urgently requesting the transfer of at least some of the camp's 2,300 detainees. In response, 12 large wooden barracks were constructed, each on a cement base and each with a capacity of 100 people. At the end of 1942, the camp's population numbered almost 3,000, and on January 9, 1943, 280 prisoners were still living in the temporary tents. When the Melada camp became too crowded, the commandant refused to accept more prisoners, and the newcomers were sent to provisional camps near Vodizza (Vodice) and Zaravecchia (Biograd na Moru). The prisoners were not allowed to work.

Over the course of 1943 the number of prisoners declined notably with the transfer of about 2,000 inmates to camps in Italy like Le Fraschette di Alatri. In June 1943, the prefect of Zara asked the commander of the Italian Second Army, who was in military control of the zone, to remove all the detainees

taken prisoner by the army. The camp was then progressively emptied, as groups of 100 prisoners at a time were set free, beginning with women, the elderly, the infirm, and children.

The number of detainees also declined due to the extremely high mortality rate, which was a result of the terrible living conditions and reprisal shootings. The harsh living conditions included the lack of water on the arid island (less than a liter, or just over one quart, each day for each inmate for drinking and washing); scarcity of food; inadequate medical assistance; and overcrowding. Of approximately 10,000 prisoners, approximately 1,000 died, 300 of whom were shot. The firing squads conducted retribution in cases of rebellion against Italian control. With a decree of May 19, 1943, the then-prefect of Zara, Generale della Milizia Gaspero Barbera, ordered that all male detainees aged 21 to 50 years be considered hostages eligible for shooting.⁴ The prefect had the decree displayed in all public offices and parish halls. On the prefecture's behalf, the camp commandant constantly updated the list of detainees who had been shot. Twenty hostages were to be executed for every Italian officer or official killed, and five for every murdered civilian loyal to the Italians. In one case, on May 22, 1943, Barbera ordered the killing of 66 inmates in retaliation for the disruption of a telegraph line. The number of hostages was reduced only after intervention by the Italian Army. The shootings mostly took place outside the camp or on the mainland. Arrival of the police boat, by which hostages were taken to the mainland for shooting, caused panic among the inmates.

The harsh conditions in the camp and the high number of shootings evoked public condemnation of the camp. The bishop of Sebenico (Šibenik), Girolamo Mileta, described the camp as "a tomb for the living" (*un sepolcro di viventi*).⁵ However, conditions were less burdensome and the mortality rate somewhat lower than in other camps, such as Arbe (Rab), because the prisoners were able to receive care packages from their families and the climate and resources of the area were more favorable. The island was very close and relatively well connected to the mainland, which permitted easier contact between the inmates and the rest of the population.

On September 9, 1943, after hearing of the Armistice, the guards abandoned the camp, marking the end of Melada as a detention site. A group of inmates disarmed the remaining Italian soldiers on the islands. Josip Broz Tito's Partisans successfully evacuated most of the prisoners to the mainland by boat before German troops reached the island. The majority of the former inmates joined the Partisans, many serving in the partisan maritime detachment that operated on the Adriatic Islands under the name of the "Molat Fleet of Armed Ships."

SOURCES A detailed overview of the Melada camp can be found in Zdravko Dizdar's article, "Italian Policies toward Croats in Occupied Territories during the Second World War," *RCH* 1 (2005): 179–210. It is partly based on Narcisa Lengel-Krizman, "Koncentracioni logori talijanskog okupatora u Dalmaciji i Hrvatskom primorju (1941–1943)," *Popr* 2 (1983): 247–283. The Italian-language bibliography contains material on the camp at Melada, but it is rather sparse. The

most detailed information can be found in Roberto Spazzali, "Il campo di concentramento dell'isola di Melada (Molat) 1941–1943," *Rd* LXVII: 3 (1996): 210–223. There is also a mention of the camp in Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 271–273. Some additional references to the Melada camp can be found in Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)*, preface by Philippe Burin (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2003), pp. 424–425. Additional references and documentation can be found in Oddone Talpo, ed., *Dalmazia: Una cronaca per la storia (1942)* (Rome: Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito, Ufficio Storico, 1990).

Archival references to the Melada camp are in ACS, in Mi and specifically in file Dggs, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 138 and in file Dggs, Dagr, Cat. A5g (II Guerra mondiale), B. 425. Some mention of the camp can be found in USSME, file M3, Racc. 64, OP2 "Campi di concentramento." The ITS collection 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Action in Serbia) includes copies of Italian documentation on Melada from ISI. This collection is available in digital form at USHMM. The Yugoslav war crime commissions also investigated the crimes committed at the Melada camp: see *Komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i kolaboracionista, zločina Italijanskih okupatorskih snaga u Dalmaciji* (Belgrade, 1946), p. 108.

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi and Alexander Korb
Trans. Anthony Majanlahti

NOTES

1. Governo della Dalmazia, Ogg.: "Istituzione e funzionamento di un campo di concentramento in Melada," June 27, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Persecution Action in Serbia), Ord. 8, Doc. No. 82205690.
2. Governo della Dalmazia, Ordine No. 453, June 7, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.23, Ord. 8, Doc. No. 82205677.
3. R. Prefettura di Zara, CV C. Sommer, August 25, 1943, ACS, Mi, Dggs, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 138.
4. R. Prefettura di Zara, Ordine, May 19, 1943, ITS, 1.2.7.23, Ord. 8, Doc. No. 82205680.
5. As quoted in Spazzali, "Il campo di concentramento dell'isola di Melada (Molat) 1941–1943," p. 217.

MEZZO ISLAND

Mezzo Island (or Isla di Mezzo; Croatian: Lopud Island) is 382 kilometers (237 miles) southeast of Zagreb. Following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, the Italian Second Army established a camp on the island in the village of Lopud in November 1942, after earlier considering it as a place for the confinement of Jews. In fact, the first Jews who fled to Dubrovnik in July 1942 were sent there by the occupying authorities and housed in its hotels. At that point, however, they were not yet imprisoned because the Italian VI Army Corps, which occupied the region, did not commandeer three hotel buildings for the purpose of detention until October 1942.

Together with Gravosa and Cupari, Mezzo Island detained almost 1,800 Jews from the city of Dubrovnik and from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mezzo Island primarily held Jews from Sarajevo and other Bosnian towns.

According to Italian documentation, on December 29, 1942, 377 people were imprisoned on Mezzo Island. They were likely Jews, but were listed as Orthodox Croats.¹ In contrast, on February 1, 1943, 371 Jews—113 men, 165 women, and 93 children—were interned on Mezzo Island. Historian Davide Rodogno has established that in April 1943 the number of prisoners was again 377 because of the admission of 3 women and 3 men. Among them, 330 were listed as Jews, 44 as Catholics (who probably were imprisoned as “racial” Jews), 2 as Orthodox Christians, and 1 as a Muslim. Shortly before the transfer of prisoners to the Arbe camp on Rab Island on June 27, 1943, according to an Italian source, there were 385 prisoners on Mezzo Island; the number of Jews had been reduced by 1, 52 prisoners were listed as Catholics, and 3 as Orthodox Christians.² In addition, the number of children stood at 64, whereas the number of men increased to 136 and that of women to 185.

The commandant of all camps in the Dubrovnik region was Tenente Riccardo Ricci. The guards were carabinieri. Although research indicates that the camp at Mezzo Island was not surrounded by barbed wire, there are scattered reports that there was a barbed-wire fence and that attempted escapes were punished by death. It is possible that memories of imprisonment in Arbe, where there was a fenced-in camp, were confused with those of the Mezzo Island camp.

The imprisoned Jews organized a communal kitchen to ensure that there was sufficient food for everyone. It is not known whether the Jews on the island had to perform forced labor for the Italians.

Historian Klaus Voigt reports that the prisoners were completely closed off from the outside world because the seized hotels were located outside the village. Therefore, there was no exchange between Jews and the local population.

In June 1943 the Italians dissolved the Mezzo Island camp, and the prisoners were transferred to Arbe. Historian Jaša Romano reports that somewhere between 600 and 700 Jews were transported from Mezzo Island to the Arbe camp. This finding could mean that the inmates of Gravosa were brought to Arbe via Mezzo Island or that Italian documentation is incomplete. The latter, for example, held true for the Arbe camp, where more Jews were imprisoned than indicated by the Italian authorities.

SOURCES No monographic study on the Mezzo Island camp is available, but there are a few works that mention it in connection with the persecution of Jews in occupied Yugoslavia. Some information can be found in two chapters in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997): Narcisa Lengel Krizman, “Camps for Jews in the Independent State of Croatia,” pp. 89–100; and Duško Kečkemet, “Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation,” pp. 117–128; and Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština

Jugoslavije, 1980). From Italian sources, Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003), has assembled the official estimate of the number of prisoners at Mezzo Island. In German, the camp is mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993).

Primary sources on the Mezzo Island camp can be found in USSME (fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia); ASd-MAE (Fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1, Riconoscimenti benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso Fondo Israel Kalk); NARA (T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces); JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection O-10, Yugoslavia). Some USSME documentation is reproduced online at www.campifascisti.it. VHA holds 25 survivor testimonies on this camp.

Jens Hoppe

Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 29 Dicembre 1942-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

2. II Armata, Supersloda, “Situazione internati civili alla data 1 Giugno 1943-XXI,” USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, fasc. Internamenti ebrei Slovenia-Dalmazia, Autorizzazione dello SME, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

PORTO RE

Following an order by Benito Mussolini for the imprisonment of Jews in Italian-occupied Croatia, a camp that had formerly held Croats began holding Jews in November 1942 in the village of Kraljevica (Italian: Porto Re), which is some 125 kilometers (78 miles) southwest of Zagreb. In Italian documents, the camp was referred to by its Italian name.¹ It was under the command of the antisemitic Generale di Corpo d'Armata Renato Coturri of the Italian V Army Corps.

Eight wooden barracks in the camp housed up to 90 Jews each. In addition, the Italians used four horse stables, into each of which they crammed up to 145 Jewish women and children (according to other sources, up to 300 people). The whole installation was surrounded by barbed wire, and there were watchtowers and permanent sentries at the entrance to the camp. These security measures stemmed from the time when the camp held Croats, who had been arrested by the Italian occupation authorities as Partisans and for reasons of reprisal. The men's section was separated from the women's and children's section by barbed wire, but photographic evidence of the Porto Re camp indicates that the sections were not totally surrounded by fences.

The Jewish inmates were primarily refugees from Zagreb, Slavonija, and other parts of Croatia who had found refuge in Croatian coastal regions and had lived in places such as Crikvenica, Kraljevica, Novi Vinidolski, and Selce. The camp

leaders organized the prisoners into construction crews to perform forced labor, such as road construction and quarrying. In addition, the prisoners worked to upgrade the camp.

The inmates in Porto Re elected leaders who kept in contact with the Italian Army authorities to advocate for the prisoners' interests. Among them were the mathematician Dr. Vladimir Vranik (1896–1976) from Zagreb, Milan Singer, Herman Schossberger, the engineer Arthur Lothe, and Slavko Herak. Toward the end of November 1942, they sent a written petition to Generale Mario Roatta. Their letter, which complained about the difficult living conditions, was forwarded to the Italian V Army Corps, which in reply agreed with the description of the living conditions there, but characterized them to be in accord with Italian camp policies.²

Each barrack had a chief called a commandant. The commandants of the barracks were at the top of the camp hierarchy.

By November 2, 1942, there were 1,003 Jewish prisoners in the camp. Historian Jaša Romano reports that according to information of the Italian Second Army there were as many as 1,172 Jews imprisoned in Porto Re, but a more accurate estimate is 1,250 Jewish prisoners. A report submitted by the Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia to the International Tracing Service (ITS) confirmed the estimate of 1,250 Jews.³ In contrast, historian Ivo Goldstein cites a figure of 1,185 imprisoned Jews, including 110 children. However, according to Italian information, on December 29, 1942, 1,173 Jews were imprisoned in Porto Re, 969 of whom were labeled Croats and 204 "others" (*altri*). Among the latter, Germans formed the majority (122), but there were also 61 Hungarians, 5 Romanians, and 1 each from France and Italy. On February 1, 1943, the camp still had 1,172 Jews, including 462 men, 612 women, and 98 children. As of April 15, 1943, there was a slightly lower number of registered prisoners: 1,160 Jews, including 455 men, 609 women, and 96 children. Just before the transport of the prisoners to the Arbe camp on Rab Island on June 27, 1943, there remained 1,163 Jews—453 men, 611 women, and 99 children—imprisoned in Porto Re.⁴

According to Goldstein, among the more than 1,170 people imprisoned as Jews, only about 52 percent considered themselves to be Jewish. Most others said they were Roman Catholics (about 45 percent). In addition, there were a few Protestants (10), Muslims (2), and atheists (2). Of the children, approximately 39 percent came from Zagreb compared to 53 percent of the adults.

As far as is known, the guards, who were carabinieri, did not murder any inmates in the Porto Re camp. However, because of the difficult living conditions and the fear of being handed over to the Germans, several Jews committed suicide.

To ensure prisoner care, the detainees organized a communal kitchen in one of the barracks and a clinic in another one. In addition, they converted a barrack into a facility for nursing mothers. While upgrading the camp, they established in one of the barracks a synagogue as well as a chapel for Christians persecuted as Jews, who in the Italian accounting of the prisoners, were called Jews (*Ebrei*). The inmates were successful in smuggling medicine into the camp. Moreover, the pris-



Group portrait of male and child prisoners standing outside their barrack in the Porto Re concentration camp, 1942–1943.

USHMM WS #31768, COURTESY OF STANKA WEINREBE LAPTER.

oners organized cultural events of various kinds (for example, lectures and musical performances) and a school. To supply this school, the chief rabbi Dr. Miroslav Salom Freiburger and Dr. Hugo Kom, the president of the Jewish community in Zagreb, who were both subsequently murdered in Auschwitz, sent about 80 books and more than 200 notebooks, sketchpads, and other school materials from Zagreb. To supplement the insufficient foodstuffs provided by the Italians, food from the Jewish community in Zagreb also was supplied to the camp until May 1943.

According to several researchers, the camp was dissolved on June 13, 1943, but Italian records continued to list 1,163 Jewish prisoners in Porto Re as late as June 27. Goldstein states that they were likely transported to the Arbe camp between July 5 and 15, 1943.

SOURCES No monographic study of the Porto Re camp is available. Brief sections on the camp can be found in 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); Duško Kečemet, "Transit Camps for Jews in Areas under Italian Occupation," in Ivo Goldstein and Narcisa Lengel Krizman, eds., *Anti-Semitism—Holocaust—Anti-Fascism* (Zagreb: Zagreb Jewish Community, 1997), pp. 117–128; Jaša Romano, *Jevreji Jugoslavije 1941–1945: Žrtve genocida i učesnici NOR* (Belgrade: Saveza jevrskih opština Jugoslavije, 1980); and Ivo Goldstein, *Holokaust u Zagrebu* (Zagreb: Novi Liber und Židovska općina Zagreb, 2001). See also Davide Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine mediterraneo: Le politiche di occupazione dell'Italia fascista in Europa (1940–1943)* (Turin: Bollato Boringhieri, 2003). In German, the camp is mentioned in the second volume of Klaus Voigt, *Zuflucht auf Widerruf: Exil in Italien 1933–1945*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1993), and in MacGregor Knox, "Das faschistische Italien und die 'Endlösung' 1942/43," trans. Hermann Graml, *VfZ* 1 (2007): 53–92.

Primary sources on the Porto Re camp can be found in ASd-MAE (Yugoslavia [Croatia] B138, Gab AP-42 AG Croatia 35, fondo Lancellotti); CDEC (collection G-1 Riconoscimenti

benemeriti dell'opera di soccorso fondo Israel Kalk); ACS (Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 109); USSME ("Massime" M3, B. 64); NARA (microfilm T-821, Records of the Italian Armed Forces). Additional sources can be found in JIM-Bg; and YVA (collection 0-10, Yugoslavia). The ITS Sachdokumente contains a brief report on the camp, which is available in digital form at USHMM. USHMPA holds several photographs (Courtesy of Stanka Weinrebe Lapter), which show prisoners posing at Porto Re (WS #31767–31769). VHA holds 46 testimonies by Porto Re survivors, including Branko Polić (#4725). A publicist and musicologist, Polić published an account of food provisioning at Porto Re, "Logor Kraljevica i njegova dječja kuhinja," *Bilten ŽOZ* 28–29 (1993): 14. The same issue includes a report by survivor A. Goldstein, "Porto Re 1942/43, Kraljevica," pp. 12–13. A recently published collection of diaries by Porto Re inmates is Mladen Kušec, ed., *Propusnica za koncentracijski logor Kraljevica=Lasciapassare per il campo concentramento di Porto Re* (Rijeka: Adamić, 2007). Some documents related to Porto Re appear online at www.campifascisti.it.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Fred Flatow

NOTES

1. USSME, "Massime" M3, B. 64, Comando II Armata al Comando della II Armata, UAC, June 6, 1943, as cited in Rodogno, *Il nuovo ordine Mediterraneo*, p. 426.
2. Asd-MAE, Gab AP42, 10077-79, as cited in Knox, "Das faschistische Italien und die 'Endlösung,'" p. 87.
3. ITS, 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien), Federation of Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia, "Kraljevica, 1942/1943," Bericht Osijek, March 13, 1946, Doc. No. 822 04839.
4. USSME, fondo M3, B. 69, II Armata, Supersloda, "Situazione internati civili alla data del 1/6/1943," June 27, 1943, reproduced at www.campifascisti.it.

ZLARINO

Zlarino (Serbo-Croatian: Zlarin) was a short-lived concentration camp established for "ex-Yugoslav" males following a March 1943 ordinance by the Italian XVIII Army Corps, then commanded by General Quirino Armellini and based in Spalato (Split). It dissolved only three months later, on June 15, 1943. The camp was located on Zlarino Island, annexed in May 1941 to the province of Zara, which was already part of Italy in 1920. The island is 236 kilometers (147 miles) south of Zagreb. The camp was located on a barren and rocky terrain situated at Capo Marino. Its structure required a space of 6,400 square meters (7,654 square yards) to accommodate approximately 1,000 people. The camp was planned as a detention site for "political prisoners and their families," and its construction was placed under the supervision of the 1st Cavalry "Eugene of Savoy" Division, then stationed in Sebenico (Šibenik). The order for the Zlarino camp's establishment coincided with the decision by XVIII Army Corps to evacuate all males over the age of 15 from the Italian-occupied region

around Sebenico for precautionary reasons. The camp's official name was the "concentration camp for round-ups of Zlarino" (*campo di concentramento rastrellati di Zlarino*).¹

Lieutenant Gino di Rosa, commandant of the 173rd carabinieri section, 1st Cavalry Division, was the first head (*capo*) of the camp. Lieutenant Colonel Umberto Ransava from the 15th "Bergamo" Division replaced him on April 14, 1943, and remained in command until Zlarino's closure. Erroneously naming him "Umberto Pansoya," a report submitted to the International Tracing Service based on Italian accounts accused him of sadism.²

Some 120 soldiers and 20 carabinieri guarded the camp. It opened on March 25, 1943, when the first 50 inmates arrived from Muć and nearby districts. According to a camp commandant's report, there were already 1,652 prisoners in the camp by April 30, 1943. The total number accommodated in the camp reached approximately 2,500. When it was dissolved, on June 15, 1943, there were 1,200 prisoners in Zlarino.

Camp life was harsh because of very poor hygienic conditions and the general scarcity of food. Furthermore, the prisoners were not allowed to drink even a liter of water per day, and there was no source of fresh water available in or around the camp. A report by Battista Benedetti, a radio-telegraphist who worked on the island, stated,

Among the prisoners of an advanced age, there were also boys between the age of twelve and sixteen [. . .]. Watching them was painful as they had to stand on their feet for hours waiting to get their meagre daily ration available only once a day [. . .]. The waiting would be long and enervating and, at the moment when the camp's cooks entered the compound together with their soup containers, people in the line would start agitating and so, in order to maintain order among the starving inmates, several beatings would occur from the side of the guards [. . .]. The meagre diet consisted of half a loaf of bread of about 150 grams [5.3 ounces], a ladleful of broth (if one could call it that) and a quarter of a liter of water. The containers used by the prisoners to collect their meal rations, which did not even guarantee survival, had various forms—pots, pans, bowls, cans or others. The clothes worn by the inmates were the same as at the time of their capture.³

Only by receiving regular packages from relatives did the prisoners' conditions improve.

Along with the food shortage, the prisoners faced various epidemics. In charge of medical care were Sottotenente Pepino Chiedere and, from May 25, 1943, Zlarino's communal doctor, Aurelio Guarnieri. Only the dying were sent to the Sebenico hospital.⁴ According to data collected by the Commission for the Verification of War Crimes Perpetrated by the Occupiers and their Supporters in the Commune of Sebenico (*Commissione di verifica dei crimini di guerra perpetrati dagli occupanti e dai loro fiancheggiatori nel comune di Sebenico*), there

were 26 deaths in Zlarino because of the camp's horrible living conditions.⁵

Before the camp's closure, the Italian authorities initiated the transfer of prisoners to various concentration camps for Slavs on the Italian peninsula. The preparations for one such transport serve as an example of the authorities' attempts to deploy forced laborers on the peninsula. On March 3, 1943, keeping in mind the ultimate objective of removing Partisans, Dalmatian Governor Emilio Grazioli wrote to the Confederation of Agricultural Workers (*Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Agricoltura*), the Confederation of Industrial Workers (*Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Industria*), and, as recently discovered, the President of the Ministers' Council, from which the following passage is quoted:

The uprising that has been spreading all across Dalmatia has forced this Government to arrest and concentrate on the island a great number of men for the purpose of, among other things, removing them from forced conscription into the ranks of the rebels. It follows that the arms of many young and strong men remain inactive while the fatherland is in need of laborers. And as we all know, idleness is a poor political adviser (*cattivo consigliere politico*); the more so when food supply difficulties have been increasing in a territory that's isolated from its homeland. A visiting representative of the Industrial Workers assured me that the respective Confederation would equally welcome [a certain solution to this problem]. I am thus forwarding a proposition to the two Confederations, adding that I can dispatch a ship with some hundred laborers on a trial basis, either to Fiume or perhaps even all the way up to Trieste, selecting only the most able-bodied individuals for each branch of the industry.⁶

This request was later formalized in a letter to the commissioner for immigration and internal colonization. For his part the commissioner contacted the Interior Ministry's general director on May 25, 1943, to ensure that the 2,000 requested aliens, at the time still held in the Melada and Zlarino camps, would eventually be placed under police control in Italy. "Based upon a brief survey conducted earlier," wrote the commissioner, "an adequate occupation has been secured for the ["aliens"]; however, it is necessary [for us] to know beforehand whether this Ministry has the means to provide surveillance for the elements in question in their places of employment."⁷

This response was very important because the military authorities already realized the difficulties involved in placing

their surveillance patrols at someone else's disposal. It was feared that, were such difficulties to occur with the police, it would have been impossible for the prisoners to be transported. As later proved to be the case, on May 28, 1943, the head of the police hastened to respond that, for a set of reasons outlined in detail, the desired police force was unavailable.

Some Zlarino prisoners were transferred to concentration camps in metropolitan areas, such as Visco, Renicci, and Chiesanova, while elderly and sick people were returned to their homes. However, at the time of the camp's closure, most prisoners were sent, according to a report submitted to the ITS, to the transit camp at Fiume (Rijeka), where they were officially registered as No. 83 PM (*Polizia Militare*, military police) 320, on June 15, 1943.⁸ The prisoners were subsequently transferred to Italy.

SOURCES This essay draws on the following secondary sources: Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce: L'internamento civile nell'Italia Fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin: Einaudi, 2004), pp. 136, 275–276; *Nuovo Dizionario dei Comuni e Frazioni di Comune del Regno d'Italia*, 15th ed. (Rome: Voghera, 1943), p. 391; and Alessandra Kersevan, *Lager Italiani: Pulizia Etnica e Campi di Concentramento Fascisti per Civili Jugoslavi, 1941–1943* (Rome: Nutriimenti, 2008), pp. 12, 168.

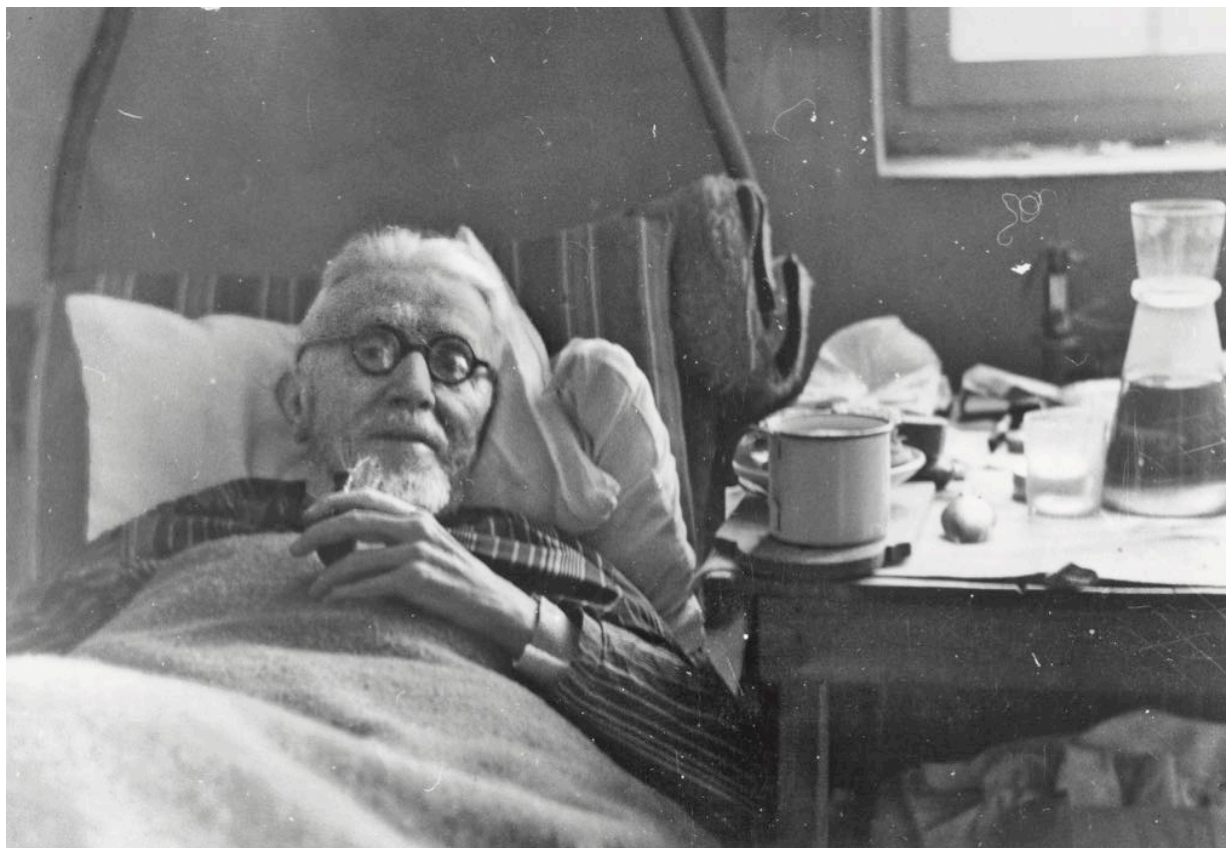
Primary sources on the Zlarino camp are available in ITS, "Le camp de concentration dans l'Ile de Zlarin," copied from ISI and available in digital form at USHMM in 1.2.7.23, Persecution Action in Serbia; and ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108, fasc. 16.

Giovanna D'Amico
Trans. Jakub Smutný

NOTES

1. "Le camp de concentration dans l'Ile de Zlarin," ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205672.
2. Ibid.
3. Battista Benedetti testimony, May 5, 2005, as quoted in Kersevan, *Lager italiani*, p. 168.
4. "Le camp de concentration dans l'Ile de Zlarin," ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205673.
5. Ibid., Doc. No. 82205674.
6. Lettera del governatore della Dalmazia, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108, fasc. 16, s.f. 1, ins. 28/2, "Invio al lavoro di internati sloveni e dalmati."
7. Richiesta del Commissariato per le migrazioni del 25 maggio 1943 al ministero dell'Interno, ACS, Mi, Dgps, Dagr, Cat. "Massime" M4, B. 108, fasc. 16, s.f. 1, ins. 28/2, "Invio al lavoro di internati sloveni e dalmati."
8. "Le camp de concentration dans l'Ile de Zlarin," ITS, 1.2.7.23, Doc. No. 82205674.

NORWAY



An elderly Jew lies in his bed in the Berg internment camp, 1942-1943.
USHMM WS #48648, COURTESY OF THE NORGES HJEMMEFRONTMUSEUM.

NORWAY

Nazi Germany invaded Norway on April 9, 1940, deposing Norway's democracy and imposing Nazi laws and courts. Under the German authorities, Vidkun Quisling's National Unity (*Nasjonal Samling*, NS) was the only legal political party, even though before the war, the NS was unable to garner sufficient votes in either the 1933 or 1936 elections to win a single seat in the Norwegian Parliament (*Storting*). This lack of popularity, combined with Norway's status as a puppet state and occupied country, compromised Nasjonal Samling's ability to attract support from Norwegians. In 1940 and 1941, Quisling spent most of his time trying to secure Norway's independence. This objective required considerable but ultimately unsuccessful diplomacy on his part with the Reichskommissariat and Berlin. He wanted to remove the rule of the "commissars," particularly the Reichskommissariat Norway under SA-Obergruppenführer Josef Terboven, and to establish himself as the leader of an independent Norwegian government. Yet at the same time, Quisling increasingly recognized German domination, believing that German protection was in Norway's best interest and that the German presence protected Norway against further involvement in war. Erroneously, he thought that the German authorities would eventually restore and protect Norway's neutrality. By January 1941, Quisling was resigned to the fact that the Reich did not have any such intention. Instead, the Norwegian regime began to provide volunteers to fight on Nazi Germany's side, with the eventual aim of introducing conscription.¹ Quisling remained powerless despite Terboven's professed claim that he wanted the NS to rule Norway. Two factors prevented such a development: the course of the war and internal Norwegian developments. By the summer and fall of 1941, the situation



Vidkun Quisling visits the DNL (Den Norske Legion), which is posted at Fallingbøstel. On the right is the chief of SS-Führungshauptamt, Hans Jüttner.

USHMM WS #42852, COURTESY OF MARTIN MANSSON.

on the Eastern Front was of critical importance for the Germans, and Berlin did not allow Terboven to leave Norway. In August 1942, Quisling attempted to negotiate a peace treaty between Norway and Germany, but Adolf Hitler rejected this proposal because he wanted to establish the "New Europe" by decree.² The real power rested with the Reichskommissariat.

By mid-1942, Reichskommissar Terboven's goal was to be the only leader in Norway, and he thus chose not to cooperate further with Quisling and his regime. Despite Hitler's clear instructions, Terboven refused to make the slightest change in Quisling's favor.³ Terboven did not have any confidence in Quisling as a Nazi leader, but because of Hitler's wish to keep him as a leader of the NS, he retained Quisling as a puppet.⁴ In September 1942, the head of the Reich Chancellery, Dr. Hans Lammers, demanded that Quisling address all political questions regarding Norway to Terboven, not Hitler. According to Lammers' directive, Terboven was the only representative responsible for the Reich in Norway.⁵ With this order, Quisling lost almost all influence over political affairs



Josef Terboven, 1940.

USHMM WS #03009, COURTESY OF THE NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR OORLOGSDOCUMENTATIE.

regarding Norway's role under the German regime. Two additional elements undermined Quisling's position vis-à-vis the German authorities and the Norwegian people. First, his regime never managed to recruit many voluntary fighters (*frontkjemper*) for the Reich, thus reducing his political capital with the German authorities. Second, instead of promoting Norwegians' respect for the Nasjonal Samling, the formation of the paramilitary, Hirden ("Quisling's political soldiers"), only strengthened and consolidated popular Norwegian resistance.⁶

Under Terboven, the propaganda branch of the Reichskommissariat, Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda (*Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*), established a monopoly over Norwegian media and culture and used them to advance Berlin's and Terboven's agendas: justify the necessity of the occupation; undermine loyalty to the Norwegian government-in-exile; prepare Norway for incorporation into the Greater German Reich; and ensure that Quisling's party appeared as a guarantor of a better future on the German side. Furthermore, propaganda had a role in ensuring maintenance of the "New Order" and spurring on Norwegian efforts on behalf of the German war effort.⁷

THE CAMPS OF THE QUISLING REGIME

The Norwegian State Police (*Statspolitiet*, Stapo) closely collaborated with the German authorities in the mass arrests that filled the German- and Norwegian-run camp systems in Norway. Collaboration with the SS and German police included making arrests and conducting interrogations in preparation for transfers to German custody. The Stapo functioned as a Norwegian Gestapo that assisted the German authorities in combating Norwegian resistance and persecuting Jews in Norway. In the Norwegian historical context, it was a new type of organization, but it also represented the continuation of an authoritarian police culture, originating in the 1930s, that emulated the Reich.⁸

The Norwegian authorities took the initiative in the establishment and administration of two detention sites, Bredtveit prison in Oslo and the Berg internment camp near Tønsberg. Bredtveit operated from the autumn of 1941 until the end of the war. It held some Jews, but mostly regime opponents. To a lesser extent than Berg, it served as a transit camp during the deportation of Norway's Jews. Bredtveit operated with the close cooperation of the German authorities, with frequent exchanges of prisoners between the German- and Norwegian-run sites.

In contrast with Bredtveit, the Berg internment camp proved to be controversial in the Quisling regime's relations with the German authorities. Quisling was enthusiastic about the plans for the opening of the Berg internment camp. His justice minister, Sverre Riisnæs, proposed that the camp confine prisoners from all over Norway, but the plan for a larger camp never materialized. In a speech in 1942, Quisling stated that the Berg camp was established to imprison those who opposed "the new era."⁹ The emphasis on the targeting of regime opponents ultimately gave rise to the prisoners' nickname for Berg: Quisling's "chicken coop" (*høsegård*).¹⁰ The German au-

thorities did not want this camp established, however.¹¹ In a letter from March 1, 1942, the Higher SS and Police Leader (*Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer*, HSSPF) of Norway, SS-Brigadeführer Wilhelm Rediess, made clear his opposition to the plans to create the Berg camp to the chief of the Norwegian Police, Jonas Lie. Rediess considered the Norwegian collaborators to be intruding on his territory. But the Quisling regime was persistent, and the German authorities finally relented after several months: Lie was able to approve the building plans for the camp on June 12, 1942.¹² In a further expression of his fundamental disapproval of the project, Rediess admonished the Quisling regime to avoid applying to Berg the appellation "concentration camp" (*Konzentrationslager*). The camp commandant at Berg, Eivind Wallestad, refused to call the site a prison and claimed that it was "a new system." According to Wallestad, Berg was to be organized "after a military system and in accordance with the new era."¹³ After the war, however, the term "concentration camp" was used in Norwegian secondary sources to describe Berg.¹⁴ In connection with the "Final Solution" in Norway, Berg served as a transit camp for Jews before deportation to Nazi Germany.

The negative German attitude toward Norwegian-administered camps and the power exercised by the German authorities over their collaborators helped account for why the Quisling regime did not establish more camps. The real power regarding camps and prisons for civilians remained with the HSSPF Norway, and Rediess opposed the creation of a rival Norwegian camp administration.

Of the original Norwegian Jewish population of 1,900, approximately 1,100 safely escaped to the United Kingdom or Sweden. In the autumn and the winter of 1942, 772 Norwegian Jews were deported to Auschwitz. Only 34 of these prisoners survived. Norwegian perpetrators were involved in every phase of the process prior to deportation, and the NS was responsible for several anti-Jewish ordinances. The Jews were the only group of arrested Norwegians who, before the deportations, were subjected to complete economic liquidation. The arrest of Jews in Norway in the autumn of 1942 was carried out by the Norwegian police, the Hirden, and German authorities in Norway. Although the Holocaust has not been forgotten in Norway, the same cannot be said about Norwegian complicity in the deportation of Jews. Among the few Holocaust survivors who returned to Norway was Kai Feinberg, who was persecuted by the Norwegian authorities at Bredtveit and Berg before being deported with his family to Auschwitz. He was the only survivor from his family.¹⁵

Although the Quisling regime oversaw only two camps, it collaborated in the vast array of camps in occupied Norway run by the High Command of the German Armed Forces (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*, OKW), and the commander of the Security Police and the Security Service (*Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes*, BdS). Under the German authorities, some of the Hirden members worked as camp guards in northern Norway. Because of their political training and ideology, they tormented the Yugoslav prisoners of war (POWs) in northern Norway under their charge. The

next section gives a précis of the German-run camps in Norway, which will be covered in detail in future volumes of this encyclopedia.

GERMAN-RUN CAMPS IN NORWAY

The campaigns in the Balkans and the Soviet Union enabled the German authorities to deploy many new forced laborers for the Wehrmacht's extensive building plans in Norway. Between 1941 and 1945, 100,000 Soviet POWs were sent to Norway. These prisoners were mainly used in the building of railroads, Main Road 50, airport runways, and fortresses along the coastline. The commander in chief in Norway, Generaloberst Nikolaus von Falkenhorst, demanded 145,000 POWs to carry out Hitler's plan of building a railroad to Kirkenes in Finnmark (northern Norway). The project was still unfinished when the war ended.

Although the Wehrmacht and Organisation Todt (OT), a paramilitary organization that carried out war-related building projects, cooperated with each other, they also competed over the allocation of Soviet POWs and building contracts. War and economic considerations were decisive in determining the mission and manpower allocated by the central POW administration in Berlin. Terboven's unsuccessful attempt to obtain forced laborers showed how "polycracy" worked in practice. In questions regarding POWs, it was not formal political power that was essential when decisions were taken, but rather informal contacts and real war-economic considerations.

The Nazi SS divided Norway into six "operational detachments" (*Einsatzkommandos*) based in Oslo, Kristiansand, Stavanger, Bergen, Trondheim, and Tromsø. All prisons and camps that belonged to the BdS in Norway were run by a commander of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) and SD in their respective districts; the Sipo and SD branches were ultimately answerable to HSSPF Riedess. During most of the war, the BdS Norway and its Oslo office were one and the same. This situation probably made administration easier than was the case for the Falstad SS penal camp (*SS-Strafgefangenenlager*), which was administered by the Sipo authorities in Trondheim (Falstad is 44 kilometers or 27 miles northeast of Trondheim). The largest of the BdS-run camps was the Grini prison camp, which housed almost 20,000 prisoners in the years between 1941 and 1945. In 1944, approximately 650 prisoners were sent from Grini to Bardufoss to build an airport under the auspices of the Luftwaffe. Other BdS-run sites were Ulven and Espeland near Bergen, Falstad at Levanger, and Sydspissen and Krøkebørsletta in Tromsø. Mainly Norwegian prisoners were sent to these camps, but foreign POWs were also sent to Grini, Falstad, Sydspissen, and Tromsdalen.¹⁶ To a greater extent than Grini, Falstad was a transit camp. At several times large prisoner transports were sent from Falstad to Grini, but there were no known cases of prisoners being sent in the opposite direction. A significant part of the active resistance in northern Norway was based on the Soviet side in the Murmansk region. As late as 1944, the Germans started the construction of a new concentra-

tion camp in Mysen in Østfold, but did not finish it before the war ended.

Conditions in the BdS-run camps in Norway were remarkably similar to those in the Nazi concentration camp system in terms of camp life, isolation, lack of food, and labor. At the same time, there were also differences within the BdS system. One example is that Falstad was probably the only BdS camp in Norway with an established execution site.

The prisoners sent to BdS camps had either opposed the occupation in various ways, participated in the national resistance movement, or were Jews being deported to Nazi Germany. The prisoners included communists, teachers, police officers, partisans, students, foreign POWs, and officers. The majority of prisoners at Falstad and Grini were political prisoners. The proportion of criminals and "asocial" elements was always low in both camps. Most of the Norwegian political prisoners never received any formal trial and were locked up without charge. Most male Norwegians dispatched to Nazi Germany were sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp and the female Norwegians to the Ravensbrück concentration camp.

POSTWAR JUSTICE

In contrast with the relatively small number of German war criminal convictions in Norway (95), the Norwegian treason trials were much greater in scope, resulting in 48,000 convictions of Norwegian citizens.¹⁷ These trials presented special complications because they were emotionally and morally charged.

The Norwegian High Court sentenced Vidkun Quisling to death on September 10, 1945. He was convicted because of crimes against the military penal code. At trial, he was accused of conspiring with Nazi Germany as early as 1939—providing support for the German occupation, staging a coup d'état against Norway's duly constituted government, and collaborating with the enemy. Regarding the German attack on Norway on June 9, 1940, the court claimed that Quisling tried to encourage Norwegian troops to commit mutiny and treachery.¹⁸ Quisling was executed by firing squad on October 24, 1945.

The Norwegian High Court convicted the camp commandant at Berg, Eivind Wallestad, on November 21, 1947, for illegal detention of inmates, brutal threats against prisoners, and mistreatment. He was sentenced to forced labor for life, but was released from the Bjørkelangen forced labor camp in September 1953.¹⁹

SOURCES Useful secondary sources relating to the Quisling and German camp systems in occupied Norway are Dirk Riedel, "Norwegen," in Wolfgang Benz and Barbara Distel, eds., *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, 9 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2009), 9:430–445; Kristian Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap 1940–1945* (Oslo: Norges hjemmefrontmuseum, 1995); Johannes Andenæs, *Det vanskelige oppgjøret: rettsoppgjøret etter okkupasjonen*, 3rd ed. (Oslo: Tano Aschehoug, 1998); and Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødenes*

historie i Norge: gjennom 300 år, Vol. II: 1940–1985 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1986); an older but still useful account that shows the relationship between the Quisling regime and German-run detention sites in Norway is Børre R. Giertsen, ed., *Norsk fangeleksikon: Grinifangene* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlag, 1946). General studies on the German occupation include Robert Bohn, *Reichskommissariat Norwegen: "Nationsozialistische Neuordnung" und Kriegswirtschaft* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000); Robert Bohn, "Det tyske Reichskommissariatet i Norge 1940–1945," in Stein Ugelvik Larsen, ed., *I krigens kjølvann: Nye sider ved norsk krigshistorie og etterkrigstid* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1999), pp. 119–133; Fritz Petrick, ed., *Die Okkupationspolitik des deutschen Faschismus in Dänemark und Norwegen (1940–1945)* (Berlin: Hühig, 1992); and Dirk Riedel, "Die SS-Inspektion z.b.V. in Norwegen: Nationalsozialistische Täter in den Gefangenenlagern für jugoslawische Partisanen," in Timm C. Richter, ed., *Krieg und Verbrechen: Situation und Intention. Fallbeispiele* (Munich: Meidenbauer, 2006), pp. 111–122. Two standard biographies of Vidkun Quisling are Oddvar Høidal, *Quisling: En studie i landssvik* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1988) and Hans Fredrik Dahl, *Vidkun Quisling*, 2 vols. (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1991). A standard account of the history of Jews in Norway is Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødene i Norge: Historien om en minoritet* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1992). On the deportation of Jews, see Kristian Ottosen, *Islik en natt: Historien om deportasjonen av jøder fra Norge* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1994); Berit Nøkleby, *Gestapo: Tysk politi i Norge 1940–45* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2003); and Eirik Veum, *Nådeløse nordmenn: Statspolitiet 1941–1945* (Oslo: Kagge, 2012). On Norwegian war crimes trials, see Berit Nøkleby, *Krigsforbrytelser: Brudd på krigens lov 1940–45* (Oslo: Pax Forlag, 2004). On the Norwegian national memory, see Per Ole Johansen, "Fortrengning av et nasjonalt traume," in Jørn-Kr Jørgensen, ed., *Årsskrift 2012* (Oslo: Norsk Politihistorisk Selskap, 2012), pp. 140–178.

Primary sources relating to camps in Norway can be found in RA. Some of this documentation related to Berg, Bredtveit, and Grini is copied to USHMMA as RG-47.001M. A compila-

tion of testimonies from one of the two Norwegian-run camps is Carl Haave and Sverre J. Herstad, ed., *Quislings hønsegård: Berg interneringsleir* (Oslo: I kommisjon A. Cammermeyer, 1948). A published testimony is Kai Feinberg and Arnt Stefanson, *Prisoner No. 79108 returns*, trans. Margrit Rosenberg Stenge (Montreal: M. R. Stenge, 2000). Some of the documentation on Feinberg's persecution is in ITS, available in digital form at USHMMA.

Marianne Neerland Soleim

NOTES

1. Dahl, *Vidkun Quisling*, 2: 197–199.
2. Nøkleby, *Gestapo*, pp. 169–175.
3. Høidal, *Quisling*, p. 334.
4. Nøkleby, *Gestapo*, p. 160.
5. RA, LSA, Oslo politikammer, Landssviksak D29 Vidkun Quisling, stykke 1 (RA/S-3138), 1923–1945.
6. Høidal, *Quisling*, p. 389.
7. Bohn, "Det tyske Reichskommissariatet i Norge 1940–1945," p. 124.
8. Johansen, "Fortrengning av et nasjonalt traume," pp. 140–178.
9. RA, Rikspolisjefen, Fc, Svenskearkivet, eske 279, Berg interneringsleir, n.d.
10. Haave and Herstad, *Quislings hønsegård*.
11. Veum, *Nådeløse nordmenn*, p. 849.
12. See www.aktive-fredsreiser.no/biblioteket/1940-45/kz-leirene/berg_arbeidsleir.htm.
13. Veum, *Nådeløse nordmenn*, p. 850.
14. Haave and Herstad, *Quislings hønsegård*.
15. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Kai Feinberg (DOB December 23, 1921), Doc. No. 20527196; Feinberg and Stefanson, *Prisoner No. 79108 returns*.
16. Ottosen, *Nordmenn i fangenskap*, p. 38.
17. Nøkleby, *Krigsforbrytelser*.
18. Dahl, *Vidkun Quisling*, 2: 633.
19. Veum, *Nådeløse nordmenn*, p. 911.



BERG

The Norwegian state police (*Statspolitiet*, Stapo) established the Berg internment camp (*Interneringsleir*) in 1942 in the city of Tønsberg some 72 kilometers (45 miles) southwest of Oslo. First used to detain Norwegians who refused to cooperate with the Germans, its administration fell under the *Nasjonal Samling's* (National Assembly, NS) paramilitary organization, the Hirden, though the camp administration reported to the Stapo. Berg was the only Norwegian prison camp that exclusively had Norwegian guards, mostly Hirden members. Berg's commander was Police Inspector Eivind Wallestad, whom the prisoners described as distant and often brutal when angry. He did not pay much attention to the camp's daily life, so the staff often acted on their own initiative regarding prisoner treatment. Berg's second-in-command, Leif Lindseth, was harsh. The prisoners in the camp called him "the evil spirit of the camp."¹ He was a ruthless Norwegian Nazi who held Jewish prisoners in obvious contempt. Typically, there were 250 to 300 prisoners in the Berg camp at any time, but during 1945, its last year of operation, it housed more than 500 prisoners. A prisoner intake registry that covered the period from October 26, 1942, to May 6, 1945, listed 1,264 names.²

Although originally intended for political prisoners, the Berg internment camp also became a transit camp in connection with the deportation of Norwegian Jews. The Stapo rounded up all Jewish men in the country aged 20 to 50 years old on October 24, 1942; most were dispatched to Berg before deportation to concentration camps and killing centers in Germany or Poland. Although most of the Jews were sent to Nazi camps, a small number married to "Aryans" remained at Berg for the rest of the war.

When the Jews arrived at Berg in October 1942, the authorities had not yet completed the three accommodation barracks. The camp lacked an oven, bunks, bedding, tables, chairs, kitchen equipment, and water. The prisoners had to use groundwater for essential washing. Most importantly the camp did not have toilets, which resulted in terribly unhygienic conditions. Two former prisoners published a compilation of testimonies about Berg in 1948. Regarding the camp commander's responsibility for these conditions, they wrote: "A more criminally indifferent and cynical contempt for other humans' destiny can barely be possible, even in the Norwegian Nazis' uncanny registry of sin this must be the worst case."³ The duty officer never attempted to hide his contempt for Jewish prisoners and made many threats against them. Anyone who attempted escape would be shot, and in retaliation ten of his fellow prisoners would also be shot along with his family.

The Jewish prisoners dug ditches for water pipes to the camp. The work was hard, and the prisoners were unused to doing manual labor. They labored under the constant threat of being shot if they did not work hard enough. One day one of the prisoners refused to work, and the guard was ready to shoot him; however, one of the older prisoners got in front of him and the guard did not shoot. After this incident the guards



Norwegian Jews at roll call in the Berg concentration camp, 1943. USHMM WS #88994, COURTESY OF THE NORGES HJEMMEFRONTMUSEUM.

imposed punishment drills in the muddy water, and the prisoners lost one day's ration.

Through the Norwegian Red Cross, Dr. Anton Jervell attempted to ameliorate camp conditions. On October 31, 1942, he sent beds and blankets to the camp and tried as hard as he could to establish some temporary authority over the camp's sickroom. He also tried to improve hygiene. Hunger was a great problem for many prisoners, and from the end of October 1942 the Norwegian Red Cross was allowed to send packages with sandwiches to the camp. Later a Jewish charity organization in Oslo received permission to provide food relief.

On the evening on November 25, 1942, the prisoners were called out of the barracks. According to lists from the Stapo, 227 Jewish prisoners were transported from the camp that evening. The prisoners were sent down a hill to the railway line where the Stapo took custody of them. They did not know where they were being sent. The train went to Oslo, through the city and down to the harbor. People in Oslo turned and looked at the train filled with prisoners. At the harbor the male prisoners met other Jews—men, women, and children—arrested on the same day. The following day, family members among the prisoners were allowed to meet together. Harrowing scenes resulted when wives once again saw husbands and sons, skinny and dirty after internment at Berg. Frightened children clung to their parents. No one knew anything about the destiny that awaited them. The prisoners boarded the SS *Donau*, hoping that it would proceed northward, but instead it turned south.

About 80 Jewish prisoners remained at the Berg internment camp in 1942, along with non-Jewish prisoners transferred from the Grini prison camp in 1943 and 1944. The remaining

Jewish prisoners received the same harsh treatment as characterized the first period in the camp's history. The prisoners performed useless work such as repeatedly moving peat from place to place. The guards beat and kicked them while they performed this hard and meaningless work. A report from the German occupation authority in Norway (*Reichskommissariat Norwegen*) admitted that mistreatment occurred at Berg. Several non-Jewish prisoners were questioned, but the camp commander refused to let the Jewish prisoners be questioned for fear that camp discipline would be undermined. Camp conditions did not improve as a result of this report.

Some days before the liberation of Norway, rumors spread that all the Jews at Berg would be shot. The camp commander told the Jewish prisoners that he was obliged to follow Quisling's order, and everybody feared for the worst. But some lower level camp officers rescued the Jews, provided bus transport for them, and announced that they were free and would be sent to Sweden. The Jews still feared for their lives, and only after the bus crossed the Swedish border did they feel safe. After a week in quarantine the prisoners were sent to the Norwegian refugee center in Sweden at Kjesäter. At last, 30 months of terror and mistreatment had come to an end.

After the war the commandant and guards at Berg were convicted in the Norwegian war trials in 1945. Several Norwegian guards received long prison sentences for harsh behavior toward Jewish prisoners. Eivind Wallestad at Berg received a life sentence, and a duty officer who had been especially vicious also got life imprisonment. Several other guards received 10- or 20-year sentences. The commander and the guards sentenced to 10 years or longer received judgments from the Norwegian Supreme Court. The remainder of the Berg staff was sentenced to six years or less during war trials in 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Berg internment camp are Johannes Andenaes, *Det vanskelige oppgjøret: rettsoppgjøret etter okkupasjonen*, 3rd ed. (Oslo: Tano Aschehoug, 1998); Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødernes historie i Norge: gjennom 300 år, 2:1940–1985* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1986); and Kristian Ottesen, *I slik en natt: Historien om deportasjonen av jøder fra Norge*, 2nd ed. (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1994). A documentary compilation of newspaper articles, testimonies, and photographs, unfortunately lacking source citations, is Svein Bugge, *Skyggene fra Quislings hønsegård: Den norske konsentrasjonsleiren på Berg i Vestfold* (Tømsberg: Faerder Forlag, 2001). Some information on Berg can also be found in Børre R. Giertsen, ed., *Norsk fangelekesikon: Grinifangene* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens, Forlog, 1946).

Primary sources on Berg begin with RA, Rikspolisjefen, serial Svenskearkivet, file 279. Copied from RA to USHMM are a 50-page file on the Berg internment camp (file RA-S-1329) under RG-47.001M, reel 68, consisting of a list of internees effective February 23, 1945; transfers of prisoners to Bredtveit and Oslo prisons (including one page signed by the second-in-command Leif Lindseth); and a handwritten prisoner registry. Published testimonies include Ernst Aberle, *Vi ma ikke glemme* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1980) and the anthology by Carl Haave and Sverre J. Herstad, eds., *Quislings hønsegård: Berg*

interneringsleir (Oslo: I kommisjon A. Cammermeyer, 1948). Photographs of Berg, including of the camp chief, Wallestad, can be found at VFM.

Marianne Neerland Soleim

NOTES

1. As quoted in Haave and Herstad, *Quislings hønsegård*, p. 17.
2. USHMM, RG-47.001M, reel 68, file RA-S-1329, Berg Interneringsleir 26.10.42-06.05.45 (2).
3. Haave and Herstad, *Quislings hønsegård*, p. 15.

BREDTVEIT

In 1940, Bredtveit prison (*fengsel*) in Oslo was under reconstruction for use as a special school. However, in the autumn of 1941 the Norwegian Nazi authorities (*Nasjonal Samling*, NS) took over the building and used it as a political prison. Several prison barracks were built in front of the main building, which gave the place the impression of a prison camp. The barracks were mainly common rooms where prisoners could move about relatively freely, but there were also barracks containing isolation cells. Norwegian State police (*Statspolitiet*, Stapo) administered the prison, and the staff was Norwegian. Some guards were NS paramilitary troops, the Hirden.

According to the prison registry there were approximately 3,500 prisoners kept at Bredtveit between 1941 and 1945. In February 1942, many teachers were arrested after they had protested against the German regime in the "teacher protest" (*Læreraksjonen*). The protest continued, and in May several teachers in Oslo were also arrested and imprisoned at Bredtveit. All the teachers were released from prison in August 1942. In May 1942, a group of 100 prisoners to be used as hostages and protective custody prisoners were sent to Bredtveit prison. People were also arrested for taking part in illegal activity. One 19-year-old prisoner was put in an isolation cell for nearly two months, and he was interrogated day and night. After the war,



The Bredtveit prison, early 1940s.
USHMM WS #89049, COURTESY OF OSKAR MENDELSON.

he said the worst part of the imprisonment was that he never knew how long he would be in prison.¹

The staff registered each prisoner with a prison card that listed personal information, the reason for arrest, the date of arrest or release, the date of transit, special conditions during internment, and the location of the prison cell.² Some prisoners came from other prison camps in Norway. Bredtveit received Jewish and political prisoners from the SS penal prisoners camp (*Strafgefangenenlager*) Falstad in Trøndelag. Seven hundred and sixty-nine prisoners came to Bredtveit from the German-run Grini prison camp. The prisoners were mostly transferred after they were interrogated. The Jewish prisoners were sent to Bredtveit to await deportation to occupied Poland or the Reich.

Among the prisoners at Bredtveit was Bishop Eivind Berggrav, who was sent there after his arrest in April 1942. He was the leader of the clerical protest against the German regime in Norway. He encouraged the Norwegian people to undertake active resistance against what he considered to be an unfair state. Later he was detained in his cottage in Asker for the remainder of the occupation.

Norwegians tried to help the prisoners at Bredtveit by sending them clothes and medical supplies. Many prisoners were old, and several suffered from health problems. Poor food rations were often a reason for their poor condition. The food situation improved at Bredtveit after a while, as a result of efforts by individuals and organizations.

Approximately 300 Jewish prisoners were sent to Bredtveit in late 1942. Because of delays in transport the Jews arrested in Kristiansund, Trondheim, Narvik, and other small towns did not reach Oslo until December 2, 1942—after the first group of Jews had been deported from Norway—and were therefore detained at Bredtveit. These Jews were not kept in the main building, but in one of the barracks. The treatment of the Jewish prisoners at Bredtveit was sometimes inhumane, but they were mostly treated better than in the other camps and prisons in Norway.

Among the Jewish prisoners were approximately 20 schoolchildren. Three Jewish prisoners organized a school for them. Only the younger men among the Jewish prisoners had to work in the prison, and for the other prisoners the boredom was especially onerous. The time in prison was also very hard for the wives of men who had already been deported, but they always had hope of reuniting with their family members. Letters from the Jewish prisoners at Bredtveit sent to Sweden also revealed fear for what destiny awaited them. A Jewish woman had apparently gathered information from abroad about what was happening in the camps in occupied Poland, but no one could believe these cruel stories.

Four Jewish prisoners managed to escape from Bredtveit in January 1943. Kurt Levy had earlier escaped from a hos-

pital and contacted some people willing to help him free his father and brother at Bredtveit. Two brothers from the Klein family joined them in escaping after several unsuccessful attempts to flee the barracks. The Stapo received the message about the escape the same night and alerted the border and the German police forces. The search failed to turn up the escapees, and the four prisoners hid in different places in Oslo. After some time each managed to cross the border into Sweden.

For some Jewish prisoners Bredtveit prison served as a transit camp prior to deportation. After a few months' stay the Jews were dispatched to Nazi concentration and extermination camps. The German Secret State Police (*Geheime Staatspolizei*, Gestapo) demanded that the Stapo register all Jews at Berg and Bredtveit for the next transport. After the November 1942 deportation on the SS *Donau*, it was decided to deport the remaining Jews detained at Bredtveit. Together with Jews from the Grini prison camp, 158 Jews from Bredtveit were deported on February 25, 1943, aboard the SS *Gotenland*. The night before, the watch at Bredtveit was especially diligent. None of the prisoners got any information on what awaited them. Among the Bredtveit deportees were two Jewish children who had been arrested in Lillestrøm when the Norwegian refugee aid organization, *Nansenhjelpen*, had tried to help them escape to Sweden in the autumn of 1939. They stayed at Bredtveit for two weeks before being deported aboard the *Gothenland*.

Immediately after the war, Bredtveit was used as a women's pretrial detention center for defendants awaiting trial for collaboration during the "legal purge" in Norway.

SOURCES Bredtveit prison is discussed in the following secondary accounts: Oskar Mendelsohn, *Jødenes historie i Norge: gjennom 300 år, 2: 1940–1985* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1986) and Børre R. Giertsen, ed., *Norsk fangeleksikon: Grinifangene* (Oslo: J. W. Cappelens Forlag, 1946).

Primary sources on Bredtveit are to be found at RA, S-4F-16201 (Bredtveit fengsel 1940–1945). In addition, some Bredtveit documentation from RA is available in microform at USHMMA as RG-47.001M, reel 68, file RA-S-1329, Varetekstprotokoll Bredtveit Fengsel, 23.09.41-17.03.43 (5).

Marianne Neerland Soleim

NOTES

1. Interview with former prisoner Ole Morten Smith Housken, n.d., www.hvitebusser.no/bakgrunn/tidsvitner/265-ole-morten-smith-housken.

2. Some of the cards can be found in USHMMA, RG-47.001M, reel 68, file RA-S-1329, Varetekstprotokoll Bredtveit Fengsel, 23.09.41-17.03.43 (5).

ROMANIA



Romanian Jews await deportation to Transnistria in Iampol, 1941.

USHMM WS #02721, COURTESY OF FONDAZIONE CENTRO DI DOCUMENTAZIONE EBRAICA CONTEMPORANEA.

ROMANIA

At the time of Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1939, the Jewish population of Romania had reached 750,000, exceeded only by the number of Jews in Poland and the Soviet Union. The incorporation of new and disputed territories after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire at the end of World War I contributed more than any other factor to the country's growth in overall population and size. International treaties concluding the war, primarily the Treaties of Trianon and Neuilly, ensured the annexation of new territories to Romania.

The larger country, known as Greater Romania (*România Mare*), included not only the Kingdom of Romania (the Regat) but also Bukovina and Bessarabia in the east and Transylvania in the west; a smaller territory south of the Danube River, known as the Cadrilater or southern Dobruja, had been annexed earlier, after Bulgaria's defeat in the Balkan War of 1913.

Romania's borders remained unchanged in the interwar years from 1918 to 1940. However, over the summer of 1940, Romania incurred significant losses of territory. In June 1940, the Soviet Union made unexpected territorial claims on Romania, backed by a secret stipulation of the Nazi-Soviet Non-aggression Pact, also called the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, signed on August 23, 1939. In accordance with this pact, the Soviet Union occupied northern Bukovina, the Hertza region, and Bessarabia on June 28, 1940. These lands were incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Two months later, on August 30, 1940, the Second Vienna Award brokered by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy reassigned northern Transylvania to Hungary. King Carol II of Romania and his royal council signed the accord the next day. Finally, in the Treaty of Craiova, Romania signed away the Cadrilater to Bulgaria on September 7, 1940.

These territorial losses, which came as a blow to Romania's national pride, fueled strong xenophobic and antisemitic sentiments among its political class, intellectuals, and the masses. Antisemitic agitation that had been growing steadily from the early 1930s in Romania and had permeated all layers of society reached unprecedented levels. The army units retreating from the ceded territories in June 1940 mistreated Jewish civilians in their path, under the pretext of the Jews being Soviet sympathizers.

Ethnic minorities, but Jews especially, became the target of intense persecution from, among others, members of the Iron Guard (*Garda de Fier*), led at that time by Horia Sima. Sima had inherited the leadership of the Iron Guard party from his predecessor, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, the founder of a number of ultranationalist movements, such as the Legion of the Archangel Michael (*Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail*) that later morphed into the Iron Guard. Codreanu, then Sima, proclaimed an extreme form of nationalism that combined Christian Orthodoxy with overt xenophobic and racist elements that

incited violence not only against nonethnic Romanians, such as Jews, but even ethnic Romanians who did not share the narrow ideals set by the Legion's captain (*Căpitan*). The legionnaires claimed that those supporting capitalist or, conversely, communist ideas were "dangerous elements," corrupting the Romanian spirit and sapping its vigor.

One of the most significant governmental measures, foreshadowing more extreme measures aimed at undermining Jewish life in Romania, was the revision of citizenship for Jews implemented by the government of Octavian Goga and Alexandru C. Cuza in January 1938. The revision in the citizenship law stripped 200,000 Jews of their legal status. Subsequent practices of legally robbing the country's Jews followed, chief among them being the state's expropriation of Jewish-owned private enterprises (shops, factories, mills, hotels, and so on), and other assets (such as land, money, boats, estates, and buildings). This process of expropriation came to be known as "romanianization" (*Românizare*). As early as late 1940 and the beginning of 1941, elected and appointed representatives at the local and district level, including mayors, prefects, and police chiefs, aggressively boycotted Jewish businesses, hoping to drive them out of business and then acquiring them for the benefit of the state or simply for personal gain. Physical violence and threats were also commonly used to make the Jewish owners agree to sell their businesses at dramatically reduced prices. The perpetrators were often members of the Iron Guard, which, in coalition with General Ion Antonescu, governed the nation from September 6, 1940, to January 23, 1941, and instituted the National Legionary State.¹

The rebellion instigated by Iron Guard leaders in January 1941 to gain full control of the government failed, resulting in Sima's defeat and expulsion from the ruling coalition and ushering in Antonescu's dictatorship that lasted until August 1944. However, it did succeed in inflicting significant losses on the Jewish community throughout Romania, but especially in Bucharest. Hundreds of Jews—leaders in various professions as well as representatives of the general population—were dragged out of their homes and robbed. Some were then brutally murdered on the streets of Bucharest; 120 bodies were recovered after the legionary rebellion on January 24, 1941. Synagogues, Jewish institutions, and Jewish stores were robbed and burned or badly damaged. This Kristallnacht-like event in Bucharest was followed by smaller incidents of violence in the months to follow. Such open violence happened even as Antonescu destroyed the Iron Guard movement and imprisoned many of its members in Romania—although some were actually sent to penal camps in Transnistria, as described in a few of the following entries.

Romania maintained neutrality in the war until late 1940, when Antonescu formally allied the country to the Axis Powers in November 1940 by signing the Tripartite Pact. This



Ion Antonescu (1882–1946), ruler of Romania from 1940 to 1944. USHMM WS #80531, COURTESY OF NARA.

alliance was not only military and economic but also ideological, as reflected in the country's turn against "Judeo-Bolshevism" and its so-called allies. The prospect of war against the "enemy from the East" elevated antisemitism in Romania to even higher levels, making the defeat and expulsion of the Jews from Romania a national cause. Romania's territorial aspirations came to be dressed in a moral cloth, the war becoming "holy," the enemy "immoral" and "godless."

Soon after the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the city of Iași witnessed the murder of thousands of Jews between June 29 and 30 at the hands of both Romanian and German policemen and soldiers, motivated by the lies that Jews had signaled Soviet aircraft where to drop bombs and had shot at the soldiers stationed in the city. Some 4,400 survivors of the pogrom were crammed into two freight trains and sent to concentration camps in the southern part of Romania. With car vents and doors shut tight, the trains made their way slowly in the high summer temperatures; two-thirds of the passengers perished from suffocation, exhaustion, and thirst before reaching their destination.

While the Iași pogrom was taking place, Antonescu's Order No. 4147, issued on June 21, 1941, triggered the evacua-

tion of thousands of Jews from villages to cities throughout the entire Regat. Harsher still was the fate of the Jews living between the Siret and Prut Rivers near the Soviet border. An excerpt from Antonescu's order follows:

All Jews, age 18–60, living in villages between the Siret and Prut Rivers, will be evacuated to the Târgu Jiu camp and to the villages around this town. The first trains are to leave beginning today, June 21, 1941.

The rest of the Jewish families living between the Siret and the Prut Rivers (i.e., those not falling within the age group mentioned above), as well as the Jewish families from other villages in Moldavia (i.e., those not falling within the Siret-Prut corridor), will be evacuated to urban centers in the județ where they live. The evacuation of the families from the other villages in Moldova (i.e., those not within the Siret-Prut corridor) will take place within 48 hours from the time this order is received.

All the Jewish families living in villages in the rest of the country will be evacuated to urban centers in the district where they live within 4 days of receiving this order. Name lists will be created for all the evacuated Jews in order to keep track of their movements, and these lists will be given to the police. The evacuated families are forbidden to enter the villages and rural towns from which they left. The homes of the evacuees, along with all other property, will be handed over to the local administrative authorities (i.e., mayors).

Those who during the evacuation will be caught destroying property, or acquiring it, will be brought before military tribunals and handed death sentences.²

Antonescu's measure massively disrupted the life of approximately 39,000 of the Regat's Jews. Overnight these Jews became impoverished evacuees in their own country. The fate of the Jewish deportees from the Siret-Prut corridor, which included *județe* (districts) such as Baia, Botoșani, Covurlui, Dorohoi, Fălciu, Iași, Rădăuți, Tecuci, and Vaslui, was also catastrophic. These evacuees-turned-deportees were transported in freight trains to detention camps in the southern Regat, in places such as Calafat, Călărași, Caracal, Craiova, Lugoj, Târgu Jiu, and Turnu-Severin. To these unfortunate Jews were added others from județes that were not located within the Siret-Prut corridor, but were considered strategic from a military point of view. In this category were included the Jews of Constanța, who were imprisoned in the Cobadin camp and then moved to the Mereni, Osmancea, and Ciobănița camps; the Jews from the Prahova district (Ploiești, Câmpina, and Sinaia), who were imprisoned in the Teiș camp; and the Jews of the Râmnicu-Sărat județ, who were placed in a camp in the județ's capital.³ Although the majority of those detained in camps were Jewish men of various ages (most were 18 to 60,

although some were as young as 14), some Jewish women were also interned. The total number of Jews detained in concentration camps by August 8, 1941, reached 12,744.⁴ Detention lasted almost four months, until late November or December 1941, in harsh and primitive conditions. The following entries on these camps in the Regat provide an overview of what the detainees endured. Their release from captivity only meant their being drafted, along with other Jews of the Regat, into forced labor camps.

FORCED LABOR CAMPS AND BRIGADES FOR JEWS IN THE REGAT, 1941–1944

One of the Antonescu regime's first measures against the Jews in Romania was the removal of all Jewish men from the military in December 1940.⁵ It was motivated by the perception that the Jews were disloyal and so unreliable. To compensate for their exclusion from military service, Jews between ages 18 and 50 were required to pay a military tax and undertake compulsory "community work" (*muncă de folos obștească*), later renamed "forced labor" (*muncă obligatorie*). The obligation to work lasted for as long as non-Jewish citizens were mobilized in the army for war or roughly from the summer of 1941 to the summer of 1944. The amount of tax required varied according to age, as did the length of time required to work each year. For example, young adults (ages 18 to 21) paid the highest amount of tax, 7,000 lei per year. Those between ages 21 and 24 paid 6,000 lei annually, whereas those between ages 24 and 41 paid 4,000 lei. For adults between ages 41 and 50, the tax was 1,000 lei. Similarly, younger groups were required to work the longest: for those between ages 18 and 21, the mandatory term was set at 60 days annually; ages 21 and 24, 180 days per year; ages 24 and 26, 120 days per year; ages 26 and 41, 90 days per year; and finally, ages 41 and 50, 60 days per year. The legislation also stipulated that, in time of war, the periods of mandatory labor could be extended or even become permanent, and indeed many Jews were held well beyond their initial mandatory terms.

Those who could not afford to pay the military tax were required to work an additional 60 days annually. The very ill or disabled who could not physically work were not exempted from paying the tax. Although generally only Jewish men were required to undertake forced labor, Jewish women between ages 18 and 40 were sometimes drafted as well (usually for lighter physical duties). The Romanian administration intended for Jewish professionals with academic titles, such as doctors, to be requisitioned as forced laborers according to their profession and paid a higher allowance than nonspecialist workers. Able-bodied Jews who did not pay the tax or fulfill their mandatory work term were sent before a military court and could expect detention in prison/penal camps or deportation to Transnistria. Several groups of Jews were exempted from mandatory labor—foreign citizens, specialists requisitioned for factories connected to the arms industry or other state authorities, skilled workers in enterprises undergoing romanianization who could not be replaced with non-

Jewish citizens because of their unique expertise, and those Jews indispensable to financial institutions.

Compulsory work was performed primarily for the benefit of the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerul Apărării Naționale*) and its related industries, but also for other ministries, such as Transportation, Agriculture, and Forestry. Governmental bodies—city halls, prefectures, and various technical services and chambers within those institutions—and state-owned factories took advantage of the opportunity to obtain cheap laborers to undertake various building or restoration projects. Private businesses and large estate owners also requested and were provided with Jews for work. Not only did the Romanian state benefit from the Jews' compulsory labor, but so did a series of enterprises (airports) and cultural agencies run by the German Army in Romania.

The institutions assigned to monitor and legislate Jewish labor were the Interior Ministry (*Ministerul Afacerilor Interne*, MAI) and the Army General Staff, 2nd Echelon (*Marele Stat Major, Eșalonul 2*, MSM). An additional body existed temporarily in the Labor Ministry to coordinate the implementation of Jewish forced labor, namely the General Inspectorate of Labor Camps and Brigades (*Inspectoratul General al Taberelor și Coloanelor de Muncă*). It was the responsibility of this inspectorate, in line with decrees issued by MSM and MAI, to set up labor camps, organize their leadership, and control them, as well as to assign Jews to labor sites and establish the camps' working schedule. The General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, through its district- (*județ*-) level legions, in conjunction with army recruitment centers (*Cercuri de Recrutare*), was the enforcing arm of the project. From 1942 onward, MSM assumed full responsibility for monitoring and enforcing Jewish forced labor.

Jewish forced laborers worked in their own civilian clothes, though they usually wore a 10-centimeter (nearly 4-inch) wide yellow band on their left arm to distinguish them from other types of workers. The name of the army center that recruited them for work was inscribed on the yellow band. Jewish professionals requisitioned to work in the army (as doctors, veterinarians, and engineers, for example) were not required to wear the armband. Instead, they wore military uniforms, with corresponding insignia for medical and engineer personnel. The Star of David (from one to three stars, of various colors, to distinguish between ranks) was pinned to the epaulets of all Jewish officers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs).⁶

Some Jews were ordered to work in or near the cities or towns of their residence. Forming "internal brigades" (*detașamente interioare*), these Jews returned home after a day's work and were cared for by their families. Because of the provisional nature and location of their work, the sites where the internal brigades worked are not considered "camps." Other Jews, however, were sent to work far away from their homes, sometimes for 6 to 12 months at a time; they were assembled in "external brigades" (*detașamente exterioare*). External brigades required housing for the duration of their stay, and because work sites were frequently established in rural, mountainous, or swampy regions, housing the workers proved chal-

lenging for the Romanian administration. Rudimentary shelters, such as barracks, shacks, barns, warehouses, or even railcars, were used to accommodate workers. Some workers were placed in mountain cabins or were allowed to rent a room in the village nearest to the work site; others were put up in auxiliary buildings belonging to the institution for which they worked.

Hundreds of work camps for Jews existed throughout Romania between 1941 and 1944; examples are described in this volume to give the reader some sense of what they were like. A “work camp” (*tabără de muncă* or *lagăr de muncă*) could be made out of a few barracks or warehouses in close proximity to each other, or could be a number of dispersed village houses or villas that the Jews rented, or could be a combination of both. As a general practice, work camps were set up in isolated places, in the outskirts of towns and villages, but many times the lack of housing forced the authorities to establish camps inside villages by repurposing old and abandoned buildings or sheds. Not every work camp was surrounded by barbed wire, nor was a military guard always present on site. Civilian supervisors, such as chief engineers, team leaders, or foremen, as well as mayors or other local authorities, took on commanding roles over the detained workers when military supervision was insufficient, lacking completely, or, indeed, not needed due to the small number of workers making up a brigade. Forced labor camps were occasionally referred to simply as “detachments” (*detașamente*), with or without a number or affiliation. Yet the camps were often dehumanizing sites, where mandatory labor met rudimentary quarters and created a situation in which workers had few rights and were cheap to hire and maintain.

On September 12, 1941, the General Inspector of the Gendarmes in Romania, General de divizie Constantin Z. Vasiliu, outraged by rumors of widespread corruption among camp authorities and seeking an accurate census of the camps, requested a complete list of all work camps from all district-level legions. The terms “work brigades” and “internment camps” were freely interchanged in his order.⁷ In response, in October 1941, MSM claimed to have 84,042 Jews aged 18 to 50 available for forced labor. Of them 47,345 were being used as forced laborers at that time, and an additional 11,933 (mostly intellectuals) were available for deployment as needed. The balance of almost 25,000 Jews were on reserve.

A survey of approximately 100 such labor camps for Jews in the fall of 1941 indicates many commonalities in living and working conditions, but also differences.⁸ Most camps were repressive. Workers endured restricted areas of movement, limited social contact with the general population, overcrowding in precarious and unhygienic living quarters, exposure to the elements, poor nutrition, and insufficient (or no) medical attention. Bribing lower ranking officials on site sometimes secured small favors not allowed under law, such as permission to travel home for a short period of time. Work lasted six days a week, and on average, the work schedule was for 8–10 hours a day. For those in forced labor camps, work was not regularly suspended during religious celebrations.⁹ Some camps were

guarded by gendarmes, whereas others were only lightly supervised by someone with authority over the labor project. Members of the local gendarmes post nearest to the camp routinely watched the roads for potential fugitives.

The authorities hiring Jewish workers were required by law to feed and pay them. The allocation that was to be spent on food was 35 lei per day, supplemented by 5 lei for cigarettes and 5 lei for soap. A Jewish worker’s pay was comparable to an army soldier’s pay. Jewish specialists in the army were paid according to the ranks held, prorated to the number of days worked.¹⁰ Camp meals were basic. A light breakfast (a slice of bread and a cup of tea) was followed by a light lunch (bean or potato soup, usually meatless, and a slice of bread); dinner was a repeat of lunch or breakfast. Workers ate in the camp or at the work site, depending on the distance from the site to the camp, as well as at military canteens separated from non-Jewish laborers. When employers were unable to feed their workers, money for food was theoretically, at least, paid to the camp or brigade leader to procure food for the entire group. Alternatively, the hiring institution reimbursed the workers for their food expenses within the limit of the food allocation. Rarely, the authorities permitted the wives of the men taken to work in exterior brigades to accompany their husbands; these women procured food for the camp and/or cooked for the men. Instances when the Jewish communities nearest to the work camp rescued the workers from extreme malnutrition by providing supplementary meals were, however, not rare.

The treatment of Jewish forced laborers varied from camp to camp. Where a humane spirit on the authorities’ part prevailed, they ensured that the Jews were not overworked, starved, or beaten and that they had adequate clothing and tools. When circumstances permitted, wealthier workers tried to avoid undertaking their labor duties by paying others to do their share or ensuring they were assigned easier tasks. Obtaining a false medical certificate attesting to ill health was occasionally possible, typically procured by a substantial bribe, but was always risky. Since medical certificates could exempt one from mandatory work, these documents as well as their possessors were regularly checked by army doctors. Those documents found to be false landed the culprit before a court-martial and from there to a prison or penal camp in Romania or Transnistria; runaways who were apprehended met a similar fate.¹¹

A series of changes were introduced in the general mandatory work regime for Jews beginning in the spring of 1942. These “improvements” enabled the Romanian state to use Jewish labor more profitably. As a new feature, MSM assigned forced labor detachments of Jews to the Army Corps of Engineers and the Rear Echelon Command, which were undertaking infrastructure projects of national importance, such as the maintenance or expansion of roads, highways, bridges, and river embankments. The roads (*Drumuri*) and works (*Lucru*) battalions were large military units consisting of regular army soldiers and civilian groups. To improve the level of organization, efficiency and control, the battalions were usually divided into smaller groups—companies (*companii*) and platoons

(*plutoane*) commanded by lower ranking officers or NCOs—that were dispersed along a construction area that could stretch over a few kilometers. These commandants were periodically ordered to enforce existing or new regulations to maintain order and discipline. When assigned to such battalions, the Jews were quartered separately, apart from the regular soldiers and recruited civilians. Jewish workers were routinely given the hardest, most physically demanding tasks. In the case of road or bridge building or erecting fortifications, their work involved breaking and carrying large stones, and loading and unloading other heavy materials. To illustrate the treatment of Jews in these battalions, a description of two work and two road battalions follows.

The 1016 Works Battalion was commanded by Locotenent-colonel Oaie C. Cojocaru, who was succeeded by Locotenent-colonel Ștefan Lupu. Under the control of the II Territorial Army Corps, the battalion command was stationed at Baldovinești, 7 kilometers (4 miles) northwest of the city of Brăila (Brăila județ). In addition to non-Jewish civilian workers, some 567 Jews were working in the battalion and were divided into two groups, the 1st Company and 2nd Company. The Jews were mobilized for forced labor in the 1016 Works Battalion by Instruction Center No. 5, after being recruited by the Constanța Recruitment Center (*Cercul Teritorial Constanța*). Housed in barracks in a cantonment in Baldovinești, the forced laborers were guarded at night by armed soldiers. The work sites were a few kilometers away from the camp. The main work consisted of digging trenches and building cement fortifications. Working conditions were tough, particularly in the cold winter months of 1943, and became even harsher in the spring of 1944 as the Red Army edged toward Bucharest.

The work schedule was 9–10 hours a day, six days a week. When insufficient progress was made in a day or a week, work continued on Sundays as well as during holidays. Regulations mandating leave periods—15 days for every 6 months of continual work—were ignored. Meals were served outdoors, in the working area. Food consisted of a few slices of bread and a vegetable (usually bean) soup. The supervision of Jews intensified in May 1944, for fear of sabotage. All mail was censored. Sluggish work met with corporal punishment. Anyone fleeing (or attempting to flee) the work site was sentenced by military tribunals to deportation to Transnistria, along with their immediate family members; from December 1943 onward, as repatriations from Transnistria were taking place, the sentence was replaced by jail time, as was the case for Carol Abramovici of the 2nd Company, who received five years' imprisonment in Ploiești civil penitentiary for repeated absences from the work site. Far stricter measures were issued by Antonescu in May 1944 for anyone not undertaking forced labor (apart from a few exempted categories). According to Order No. 33, issued on May 7, 1944, such people were to be shot.¹²

To aid in the building of a strategic defense corridor in the eastern part of Romania (known as the Focșani-Nămoloasa-Brăila Zone) against the approaching Red Army, a second battalion was brought to the Brăila județ in early 1944. The 1017

Works Battalion was quartered in Oancea, a small town 20 kilometers (12 miles) northwest of Brăila and 14 kilometers (9 miles) west of Baldovinești. Some 731 Jewish men were conscripted for this battalion by the Covurlui Territorial Circle (*Cercul Teritorial Covurlui*) and were set to work building fortifications in the same conditions as faced by those in the 1016 Works Battalion.

In 1942, the 7th and 8th Roads Battalions were assigned to the northeastern part of Romania and Bessarabia. The commandant of the 7th Roads Battalion was Locotenent-colonel A. Laurian. This battalion was stationed in Ștefănești in the Botoșani județ, whereas the 8th Roads Battalion was quartered in Florești, a Bessarabian town in the Soroca județ (today: Republic of Moldova). The Iași Recruitment Center enlisted hundreds of Jews from Moldavia in forced labor detachments attached to the two battalions. The Jews in both battalions were housed separately, in huts and barracks, preventing them from coming easily into contact with the local population. The battalions worked to build new roads and repave existing ones. The Jewish contingents broke stones and carried them in wheelbarrows to the construction sites. High-ranking officers in the MSM and in the IV Territorial Command inspected both battalions in August 1942. They noted the poor conditions in which the Jews labored (in insufficient or ragged clothes), the disciplinary measures taken against “infractors” (from corporal punishment to deportations to Transnistria), and the suspension of maintenance allocations. Although expressing concern about the Jewish laborers' prospects in the coming winter months, the inspectors proposed that family packages for Jews containing food or money not be permitted, “for it displeases the troops.”¹³ Some of the Jews who were deported to Transnistria in September or October 1942 for their misconduct (repeated absences) during forced labor returned to Romania in December 1943, only to be enlisted again in exterior detachments on their arrival—as was the case for five Jews assigned to the 8th Roads Battalion in February 1944.

With the Red Army's recapture of Bessarabia in April 1944, both battalions were moved deeper inside Romania. Detachment of Jews No. 147, from the 7th Roads Battalion, went to Târgușor in the Constanța județ, whereas Detachment of Jews No. 148, from the 8th Roads Battalion, moved to Tibana in the Vaslui județ. They worked there, in similar primitive conditions, until August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in the war. At that time there were 169 Jews in Detachment No. 147 and 812 Jews in Detachment No. 146.

On August 30, 1944, MSM proposed that all forced labor detachments brigades (local and exterior units) for Jews be dissolved. The measure was formally announced, effective September 11, 1944 (Order No. 523.345).¹⁴

PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS IN ROMANIA

The detention of prisoners of war (POWs) in Romania constitutes a little-known chapter of the war. Within the first two years of the war (1941 to 1943), the Romanian Army captured

and held an estimated 80,000 Soviet prisoners and, in 1943 and 1944, an additional 1,200 Western Allied prisoners (mostly American and British). A number of the Soviet prisoners were interned in camps in Transnistria, but the majority were gradually moved to camps in Romania (mostly but not exclusively in the Regat). The number of camps for Soviet prisoners fluctuated, depending on the country's labor needs that sometimes required the consolidation or division of camps into subcamps. Fourteen entries on camps and subcamps where Soviet prisoners were held in Romania and Transnistria are included here. The tragic conditions of their internment, as well as their treatment until they were freed in September and October 1944, are well depicted. The Western Allied prisoners were held in two camps, at Timișul de Jos and Bucharest; their overall living conditions and treatment were significantly better than what the Soviet POWs experienced in their camps. Many factors contributed to the better treatment of the Western Allied prisoners, not least of which being the time of their capture—the tide of war had already changed against Romania—and their countries' adherence to the 1929 Geneva Convention. Approximately 500 Italian troops (called Italian Military Internees, IMIs) were disarmed and interned in a camp at Oiești after Italy's Armistice in September 1943. They, too, enjoyed decent treatment, as former allies in war.¹⁵

CAMPS FOR RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN ROMANIA

The Antonescu regime's persecution of religious minorities, in the name of religious homogenization and political loyalty, has only recently emerged in historical scholarship.¹⁶ The outlawing of religious minorities in Bessarabia and Bukovina came shortly after the (re)annexation of these territories by Romania in July 1941. By December 1941, the religious minorities in these two provinces, as well as in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, ceased to exist *de jure*. A year later, the prohibition against religious minorities in the Regat also went into effect, putting formerly recognized religious minorities, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Baptists, and Seventh-Day Adventists, outside the law. Among the religious groups directly affected by Antonescu's restrictive religious policy were the so-called neo-Protestant religious minorities (Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists, Reformed Adventists, Brethren, and Pentecostals); however, the policy also affected Orthodox Christian minorities, such as the Inochentists, Molokans, and the Old Calendar Believers.

Only a small number of the members of the persecuted denominations abandoned their personal faith and joined the religions that the Antonescu regime recognized. Instead, most believers in these denominations went underground, meeting in secret and persevering under great repression. The gendarmerie and police, in conjunction with local Orthodox clergy and the people who supported the authorities, pursued the "heretical" members to the full extent of the law. Members of the minority churches were routinely beaten and threatened with deportation to Transnistria. Church buildings were shut, ser-

vices discontinued, and church archives and religious materials confiscated. A close monitoring of members, but especially of church leaders, followed. Many of those "insubordinates"—who held services without a permit, possessed and distributed religious literature, refused to pledge allegiance, and/or took up arms—were brought up before military courts and given lengthy prison terms; some were also held in detention camps, such as the Târgu Vertujeni and Onești Noi camps in Bessarabia. In a special case, about 2,000 Inochentists, as well as a handful of Baptists and some members of other denominations, were ordered by Antonescu to be deported to camps in Transnistria in August 1942.¹⁷

CAMPS AND GHETTOS IN TRANSNISTRIA

Approximately 150 identified ghettos and camps were erected in the territory known as Transnistria, a part of Ukraine of approximately 42,000 square kilometers (more than 16,200 square miles) located between the Dniester River in the west and the Bug River in the east, and between the Black Sea to the south and the town of Șmerinca in the north. It can be divided into northern, central, and southern regions. Before the war, the population was overwhelmingly Jewish in some Transnistrian towns, such as Crasnoie, Șargorod, Crivoi Ozero, Olgopol, and Berșad; other towns (Copaigorod and Oceacov) had smaller Jewish communities. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Jewish population in the area approached 331,000.

Between August 19, 1941, and May 1944 under Romanian administration, Transnistria was divided into 13 județe. The districts, from north to south, were Moghilev, Tulcin, Juguștru (also known as Iampol, after its capital), Balta, Râbnița, Golta, Ananiev, Dubăsari, Berezovca, Oceacov, Tiraspol, Odessa, and Ovidopol. Each district was governed by a prefect—an army or gendarmerie officer. Each subdistrict (*raion*) was headed by a praetor (*pretor*), who enjoyed much broader powers than the prefect. Under the governor (*guvernator*) of Transnistria, Professor Gheorghe Alexianu, the praetor's office, the city hall, and the prefecture formed the basis of the Transnistrian government.

The first wave of mass killings against Jewish civilians in Transnistria occurred in August and September 1941. It was spearheaded by units of the Einsatzgruppe D, a German police force attached to the advancing Eleventh Army of the Wehrmacht, which often attracted locals (Ukrainians, *Volksdeutsche*) into committing the killing. The Jewish survivors hidden among the Ukrainians returned to their wrecked and ransacked homes. Approximately 205,000 Jews survived the initial assault: 35,000 in the northern and central regions of Transnistria (Moghilev, Tulcin, Juguștru, Balta, and Râbnița), and more than 70,000 in other districts of southern Transnistria. Another 100,000 Jews found shelter in Odessa, which withstood the attackers until the middle of October 1941.

Immediately on their entry into the capitals of the districts, the first units of the Romanian Army, followed by the units of the gendarmerie and then the prefects, initiated vigorous

efforts to identify the local Ukrainian Jews for the purpose of incarcerating them in ghettos and camps. The incarceration of the local Jews in the northern and central districts of Transnistria was completed in October 1941, with deployment of the Romanian authorities up to the banks of the Bug. Yet the pursuit of Jews continued until the Romanian occupation ended.

The fate of the Ukrainian Jews differed in each of the three regions (their fate in the northern and central regions is described in the section on ghettos). Between October and December 1941, the more than 70,000 Jewish survivors from southern Transnistria were concentrated in Romanian camps situated near the Bug River and then liquidated. After Odessa's capture by the Romanian Army in October 1941, some of the city's Jews were killed in large-scale reprisals, such as the one following the explosion of the Romanian Army headquarters in Odessa. The rest of the Jewish population was deported from Odessa to the same camps near the Bug River, some on foot during November 1941, others by trains from January to March 1942.

According to the Tighina Agreement, signed on August 30, 1941, by representatives of the Romanian Army and the Wehrmacht for the purpose of delineating both countries' areas of influence, the evacuation of Romanian and local Jews beyond the Bug River was to be postponed until the end of the war. Instead the Jews were to be concentrated in labor camps and put to work until the cessation of hostilities when it would be possible to move them eastward to German-occupied Ukraine. Transnistria was chosen to serve as a temporary dumping ground for the Romanian Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who survived the murder campaign and who were later to be deported across the Bug River into Reich Commissariat Ukraine (*Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, RKU)—the area of Ukraine under German civil administration.

From late July until December 1941, approximately 180,000 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina and from the Dorohoi district in the Regat were deported from place to place in convoys throughout Transnistria, in accordance with the general plan to evacuate them across the Bug. Deportations resumed at the beginning of the summer of 1942 for some 6,000 Jews mainly from Cernăuți (Czernowitz) and a handful from Chișinău (Kishinev). The ultimate objective was to transfer all the deportees and the local Jews who were still alive after the first wave of massacres to improvised, as yet nonexistent, camps in the vicinity of the Bug River. At the appropriate time, according to the plan, all the Jews found in Transnistria were to be expelled across the Bug, to cleanse this territory of Jews as well. The deportees from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Dorohoi were sent mainly to the northern part of Transnistria—the Moghilev, Balta, and Tulcin județe—but smaller numbers reached the central (Golta and Ananiev) and southern (Berzovca) județe.

The movement of convoys of Jews toward the Bug took place in total disarray during October and November 1941. Thousands of Jews were left along the deportation routes in towns and villages that had never been intended to serve as

ghettos or camps. The ghettos and camps sprang up after the Romanian Army and administration proved unable to transport tens of thousands of Jews to the Bug and house them there. The system of ghettos and camps set up by the Romanian occupation regime was a temporary measure and was never intended to last as long as it did, until March and April 1944 when the Soviets recaptured Transnistria.

Ghettos emerged around the repossession by the deportees of abandoned houses along streets that once constituted a village's or town's Jewish district. The houses, often destroyed by war and pillage, became vacant after the local Ukrainian Jews had fled the area or been deported or killed. However, many ghettos did not originate ex nihilo, but contained a mixed population of Ukrainian Jews from that locality who agreed to take Jews deported from Romania into their homes. In Transnistria, the demarcation of a ghetto area from the rest of the village or town was not rigid. Some ghettos were fenced, and others were not; the ghetto of Moghilev, for example, was fenced in the summer of 1942, a year after its creation. Most ghettos were guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries (local men recruited into the police force), but few were heavily guarded. Strict ordinances forbidding Jews to leave the ghetto on penalty of death, as well as the fear of encountering patrols outside the ghetto, kept most Jews in place.

After the murder of many of their family members, the Jews incarcerated in the improvised ghettos and camps were in poor mental and physical condition. During the deportation marches, the gendarmes shot any laggards; many Jews, especially older people, were simply too weak to keep the pace and were shot by the gendarmes bringing up the rear. Those children orphaned along the way were adopted by other families, or they clung to their dying parents and were gunned down together with them. Before setting out, every convoy was robbed first by the gendarmes. They raped girls and young women, with officers selecting overnight accommodations suitable for orgies. Ukrainian volunteers and local Romanians (Moldovans) who later formed the Ukrainian police accompanied the convoys and displayed even greater cruelty. Throughout Transnistria, but chiefly in the Moghilev județ, Ukrainian gangs attacked the convoys, either killing deportees outright or taking their clothing—and other belongings—and leaving the naked to freeze to death.

Ordinance No. 23, issued in November 1941 by Antonescu through the governor of Transnistria, Alexianu, determined the status of the Jews, their obligations, and living conditions in the ghettos. It remained valid until the Romanian retreat from Transnistria in the spring of 1944.¹⁸ Through the implementation of this ordinance, the Transnistrian government absolved itself of all responsibility for the Jews—including their subsistence and the provision of lodging, medical care, and food. Any Jew outside the ghetto was considered a spy and was to be executed. The gendarmes were authorized to "settle" both local Jews and deportees in preselected, abandoned houses. The decree forbade Jews to leave the villages, defined the ghettos as colonies, and empowered praetors to appoint Jewish "colony chiefs" and informers responsible for ensuring

compliance with orders. The Romanian Army throughout Transnistria was instructed, based on Ordinance No. 23, to prevent Jews from leaving the ghettos and camps. The Romanian gendarmerie was made responsible for the guarding of the ghettos and camps with the help of local Ukrainians employed as police assistants or auxiliaries, who wore no uniforms, only colored armbands.

Ukrainian police guarded ghettos, killing centers, and labor camps throughout Transnistria. In the ghettos, they also assisted in various actions undertaken by the Romanian authorities, including the seizure of workers, surprise inspections, and arrests. Forced labor was imposed on all the Jews and consisted of working on farms, repairing bridges and roads, cutting down trees, hauling stones, and restoring and operating factories. Jewish artisans and other professionals were placed at the disposal of the municipalities or any other Romanian authority. The payment for Jewish labor was a meager "food coupon" in the value of 1 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, German-issued scrip that passed for Transnistria's currency) for those engaged in unskilled labor, and 2 RKKS for skilled laborers. In reality, however, both groups were rarely paid. Enslaved to the Romanian state, the Jews had many masters, including the gendarmerie and the various arms of the government. Prefects, praetors, and anyone else who exploited Jewish labor—Romanian managers and agronomists employed by the regime, as well as garrison commanders—had control over the Jews. This plethora of authorities permitted the enactment of arbitrary anti-Jewish measures and benefited the notoriously corrupt parties involved.

GHETTOS

Most of the ghettos in Romania were established in the Moghilev, Balta, Tulcin, and Jugustru județes in the northern region of Transnistria, where large numbers of deportees from Romania were sent. In some cases entire communities from southern Bukovina, together with their leaders, were deported as a group. Moghilev housed some 15,000 to 20,000 deported and local Jews and served as a transit point for another 50,000. In this district's towns and villages, more than 50 ghettos and camps were established in Jewish neighborhoods and in collective and state farms (*kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*), in houses either totally or partially destroyed, with no windows or doors. The number of deportees far exceeded the supply of available houses; even ruined apartments were quickly occupied. The winter of 1941 was extremely harsh with temperatures dropping to 35° C below zero (-31° F). Many died of cold or starved to death.

Berșad in the Balta județ became the largest ghetto between the Dniester and the Bug, with roughly 20,000 Jewish deportees in addition to a local Jewish population of 4,000 to 5,000. Most ghettos in the Balta județ, however, were a cluster of stables and pigsties on a former collective farm packed with several thousand Jews. Most of these exiles died unknown, without any grave or marker. Not all the ghettos in this district have been identified.

The second-largest ghetto in Romania was in Șargorod. During October and November 1941, some 7,000 deportees joined the 1,800 local Jews already living there; by December, 9,000 were packed into the ghetto, most from Bukovina.

In places where the local Jews survived, they received the deportees with care and provided them shelter in homes or in synagogues. Jewish Councils were set up in some ghettos as a result of local initiatives with the consent of the Romanian authorities. In some of the towns that housed ghettos, such as Șargorod, Djurin, and Balta, the Jewish Councils set up by the deportees included community leaders from Romania and representatives of the local Ukrainian Jews. In other places, the Romanian prefects, praetors, or gendarmerie commanders appointed local Jewish Councils and forced them to collaborate with the authorities. In many ghettos, the Councils established communal kitchens, hospitals, orphanages, and bakeries. A Jewish police force was formed in some ghettos, but it served mainly to support the Romanian authorities in their efforts to draft men and women for forced labor. The ghettos were completely at the mercy of the Romanians and local Ukrainians. The situation was especially grave in the area adjoining the Bug River, as from time to time the Romanian gendarmerie handed Jews not meant for labor over to the Germans on the other side of the river in the RKU. There, the Germans murdered them on the spot or during a large-scale killing sweep in late 1943.

The conditions imposed by the Romanian authorities in the camps in Bessarabia and Bukovina—the withholding of food and water (for washing and drinking), the terrible overcrowding and consequent lack of hygiene, the lodging in stables exposed to the elements, the physical and psychological abuse, and the endless marches from place to place—sapped the inmates' strength, making them easy prey for illnesses of all kinds. Yet the living conditions worsened for those Jews who were deported to Transnistria. Hunger, lack of sanitary measures and medicine, filth, and lice created the perfect breeding ground for epidemics. The cold of November and December 1941, the lack of heating, the absence of public bathhouses, the overall scarcity of soap and kerosene, and the fact that everyone lived in such squalor caused a great many deportees to become infested with lice. The victims had to combat the epidemic themselves, without vaccinations, medicine, or means of disinfection.

Typhus broke out in October 1941. The Romanian authorities did not take steps to contain or treat the first typhus cases, and by early December, the typhus epidemic could no longer be viewed solely as a Jewish problem. In all the towns and villages where Jews were lodged, dysentery, typhus, and typhoid fever raged. In late January 1942, typhus ravaged the ghettos and camps of northern Transnistria, excepting Djurin, Murafa, and Șmerinca, where conditions were somewhat less abysmal.

Between October 1941, when the disease was first diagnosed, and March 1942, the authorities regarded typhus (and various related diseases), coupled with starvation and isolation, as the best means to eliminate the Jews—if the maladies could

be contained within the ghettos. Indeed, tens of thousands of Jews succumbed to typhus, cold, and starvation during the winter of 1941 and the following spring. Many simply dropped dead in the streets. Jewish physicians deported with their communities tried to combat the epidemic without medicine; unfortunately, many of them contracted the disease and succumbed. Jewish Councils set up hospitals, but could only quarantine the sick.

When the Romanians could not confine the epidemic to the Jews in Transnistria, they finally permitted them to receive medical assistance from their brethren in Romania. On March 22, 1942, the first delivery of medicine sent by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) from Bucharest reached Moghilev. On April 17, after several weeks' delay, the Romanian authorities finally approved the distribution of the first shipment of medicine from fellow Jews in Bucharest. This aid dramatically reduced the number of subsequent victims.

In the ghettos and camps along the Bug in the Moghilev, Tulcin, and Balta județe, the epidemic was especially vicious. The horrific squalor in which the Jews languished precluded the emergence of any internal organization to battle the plague. The epidemic ran its natural course until it subsided. In the three large ghettos alone, 34,500 Jews died of typhus: some 27,000 throughout the Balta județ and in Berșad, 4,000 in Șargorod, and 3,500 in Moghilev. In all, some 60,000 to 65,000 Jews in Romania succumbed to typhus, starvation, and cold. When typhus broke out again in the winter of 1942, the health care apparatus set up by the deportees quickly eradicated it; only a small number of deportees died (see the next section, "Self-Help Efforts in the Ghettos"). However, the bodies of the dead accumulated in the cemeteries until the spring, when graves could be dug for them.

SELF-HELP EFFORTS IN THE GHETTOS

The deportees to northern Transnistria slowly began to realize during the horrible winter of 1941 that the typhus epidemic and its causes were the Romanian regime's way of liquidating the Jews (in contrast to the more direct methods adopted in southern Transnistria). That winter, the Romanian authorities displayed little interest in the Jews, as long as they died quietly and the epidemic did not threaten Romanian troops, gendarmes, or officials. The only way to forestall, if not prevent, the extermination of the deportees was to create a self-help apparatus and seek assistance from the Jews in Romania.

As the situation worsened, the heads of the ghettos used the scant means at their disposal—the small sums delivered by couriers from Romania and local donations—and partially succeeded, under indescribable conditions, in combating the spread of the epidemic. However, these measures were implemented only where a recognized leadership had coalesced, usually in the ghettos closest to Moghilev. In those ghettos adjacent to the Bug and in the villages where tens of thousands of Jews were packed into cowsheds and pigsties, the epidemic raged. The strong and the fortunate survived, while the majority perished.

Initially, the Jewish leadership in Transnistria concentrated on establishing hospitals that were, in the absence of proper medication, not so much treatment facilities as quarantine facilities for the dying. Later, these leaders tried to obtain a few essentials of personal hygiene, such as clean drinking water, soap, and kerosene; to set up public baths; to repair and operate delousing ovens; and, finally, to launch disinfection drives throughout the ghettos. The Jewish Councils battled typhus virtually with their bare hands, even before relief came from Romania. The Romanian regime initially blocked or delayed assistance; it was only due to the eventual arrival of large shipments of money, medicine, and other items—and the onset of summer—that the epidemic was ultimately contained. This aid strengthened the self-help effort to continue the struggle against typhus and other diseases.

After the epidemic abated, the first concern of the Jewish Councils in the ghettos was to establish orphanages for the abandoned children. Life in those improvised institutions was very harsh, but at least the children had a roof over their heads and one meal a day. Mortality among the orphans was high in 1941 and 1942 and decreased later with the arrival of the aid from Romania. Two thousand survived and were repatriated to Romania in February and March 1944.¹⁹

After the Jewish leadership in Romania became aware of the true situation in the ghettos and camps in Transnistria, it tried to obtain permission from the Romanian authorities to send help to the deportees. On December 17, 1941, Antonescu approved the request made by the Federation of the Jewish Communities (*Federatia Comunităților Evreiești din România*) to provide assistance to the deportees, but the federation was dissolved and replaced by CER appointed by the Antonescu regime. An Autonomous Assistance Committee (*Comisia de Ajutorare*) was established for the purpose of collecting funds from undeported Jews in the Regat as well as from abroad. It dispatched financial aid, clothing, and medicine to the ghettos in each district and to the main camps. Other aid was provided by the Zionist Organization (*Organizația Sionistă*) to the Zionists in the ghettos and by communities of remaining members of the deported communities in Romania.

In early January 1943, the Autonomous Assistance Committee received permission from the governor of Transnistria, Alexianu, to send a delegation to visit three ghettos in Transnistria—Moghilev, Șmerinca, and Balta—and to meet representatives from the surrounding ghettos and camps. The prefects and the commanders of the gendarmerie warned the ghetto heads not to complain about their situation or to reveal the true amount of casualties, threatening to prevent their further receipt of aid if they did so. However, the ghetto leadership succeeded in submitting written or oral reports concerning the real situation to the Autonomous Assistance Committee delegation. The committee's report after its two-week tour in Transnistria was sent not only to the Romanian authorities but also to Jewish organizations abroad. In response the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), the Rescue Committee of the Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency, the World Jewish Congress (WJC), and the French Children's

Aid Society (*Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants*, OSE) sent financial aid in 1943 and 1944, which enabled the Autonomous Assistance Committee to continue its activities. Life in the ghettos improved considerably during 1943 and the beginning of 1944, due to the assistance sent from Romania and a change in the regime's policy toward the Jews, although the latter only partly affected the local authorities in Transnistria. In December 1943 representatives of the Autonomous Assistance Committee again visited Transnistria with the authorities' approval, but this time its goal was to organize the return of the natives of the Regat. Another 6,430 survivors from the Dorohoi județ who were among more than 10,000 deported in 1941 were gathered from various ghettos, most of them from the Moghilev județ, and repatriated at the end of December 1943.

CAMPS

A network of various kinds of camps was erected in Transnistria to implement the plan to purge the area of Jews. Within this network can be distinguished transit, extermination, forced labor, punishment, and political camps. Most transit camps (*lagăre de tranziție*) were established at the beginning of Romanian rule, with the aim of directing the convoys toward the Bug River. Such camps existed in Mostovoi, Moghilev, Molocnia, and Slobodca. A temporary camp was established in October 1941 in Mostovoi for the convoys from the Odessa district that left by foot; in February 1942, a camp in the Domanevca subdistrict of Golta received convoys that had left Odessa by train, whose members marched there after having been yanked off the trains at Berezovca. The Mostovoi transit camp existed as long as Jews from southern Transnistria passed through the area. Approximately 4,000 were taken northward to Domanevca and Bogdanovca, but most were scattered among the German and Ukrainian villages in Berezovca. The mass murder of these Jews continued from late January to July 1942. In August 1942, the camp in Mostovoi held part of the group of Jews deported from Romania for allegedly evading forced labor; these Jews were murdered in this camp.

Forced labor camps (*lagăre de muncă*) were established mainly in southern Transnistria. Temporary working camps were established in the Berezovca județ in towns, such as Rastadt, Podoleanca, Dvoreanca, Kriniski, Cudznea, Maitova, Cotonea, Ripeaki, Gradovca, and Novaya Uman, before the Jews were liquidated by local German death squads.

Liquidation camps (*lagăre de exterminare*) were established in the Golta județ, close to the Bug River, in Acmețetca, Bogdanovca, and Domanevca, as well as in Pecioara in the Moghilev județ. Tens of thousands of Jews perished in these camps; they were either shot or died from hunger, disease, and cold. In Pecioara the inmates starved to death; cases of cannibalism were reported there.

The status of many camps in Transnistria changed during the war. In the districts of Moghilev and Tulcin in the north, many ghettos—Capusterna, Chianovca, and Stanislavcic, among others—became labor camps after the children and most of the women perished. A punishment camp was erected

in the autumn of 1941 at Slivina in the Oceacov județ for Jewish lawbreakers from Romania and for Ukrainian Jews. The camp in Vapniarca, in which approximately 2,000 Ukrainian and Romanian Jews had been incarcerated in the local military barracks since October 1941, became in September 1942 a camp for Jewish political prisoners (communists and communist sympathizers), as well as outlawed religious minorities, after the former inmates were shot or had died of typhus.

As a consequence of their haste to liquidate Ukrainian Jewry, in the spring of 1942 the German civil administration in the RKU found that there were no slave laborers in the camps east of the Bug to deploy to construct Highway IV (*Durchgangsstrasse-IV*, DG-IV), a strategic highway that stretched from Lvov in Poland to Stalino, north of the Azov Sea and east of Rostov (gateway to the Caucasus Mountains and Stalingrad). This highway also passed through Bratslav (in Transnistria) and Nemirov, Gaysin, Ivangorod, and Kirovograd (east of the Bug). At the request of the Germans, the Romanian administration in Transnistria provided deportees from Romania and Ukrainian Jews as laborers. The labor camps in these towns became death camps for the thousands who were sent there. Another project was the building of a new bridge over the Bug, linking southern Transnistria with the RKU. The Romanian segment of the bridge connected Trihati to the town of Oceacov, and construction was entrusted to German firms from the Reich. Work began in the spring of 1943 and concluded that December. Four thousand Jews, mostly deportees from Romania, were turned over to Nazi SS squads of local Germans and held in three camps on the Romanian side of the Bug (Trihati, Varvarovca, and Colosovca) and two on the German side (Kurievka and Matievka). In total, the Romanians supplied more than 15,000 Jews for German construction projects. Some perished from illness, cold, accidents, exhaustion, or in escape attempts; survivors were eventually returned to the ghettos or camps that sent them or to repatriation centers.

REPATRIATION

General discussions between Dr. W. Filderman, the de facto leader of the Jewish communities in Romania, and various high officials in the Antonescu regime about the repatriation of select groups of Jews deported from Romania started as early as the spring of 1942. The negotiations intensified a year later, in the spring of 1943.²⁰ At that time government officials were only minimally concerned about the fate of the deportees in Transnistria. It was the Red Army's quick advance toward Transnistria, which made even more apparent that Nazi Germany and Romania were losing the war, that forced the Antonescu regime to reconsider its stance against the Jews. At least in theory, the regime accepted that some measures should be taken to protect the life of the most vulnerable (orphaned children) and redress the deportation of those Jews deported erroneously by bringing them home. Taking advantage of the unfavorable military situation, the Jewish leaders in Bucharest

pressed the regime to act and presented various plans for the return of the deportees.²¹

Beginning in October and continuing through November 1943, a plan was finally conceived and approved to implement a gradual and selective repatriation of the Jews from Transnistria according to various categories. The following groups of deportees were included in the first wave of repatriations, which took place from October to December 1943: Jews originally from the Regat and southern Transylvania; state retirees, veterans of the Romanian War of Independence (i.e., the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878) and World War I, war widows, and war orphans; Jews originally from the Dorohoi județ; Jewish orphans up to the age of 12 who had lost both parents; Jews deported for alleged involvement in outlawed political parties; Jews deported for changing their religion; and Jews who had requested repatriation to the Soviet Union.²² The rest of the Jews were to return in a subsequent phase as a second wave.

However, Antonescu temporarily reversed his intentions to repatriate the rest of the Jews in the second wave from Transnistria. In February 1944, the best solution in the marshal's view was not their repatriation, but the immigration of the remaining deportees to Palestine. Suggesting that these deportees be gathered in the southern part of Transnistria, where they could be sheltered from the war, he charged the Jewish community in Romania and its international supporters to organize and fund the shipment of Jews elsewhere. The plan was never implemented.²³ Instead, on March 14, 1944, when the Red Army crossed the Bug River, the general repatriation of all deported Jews was restarted. The second wave of repatriations, then, was not an initiative of the Romanian government, but was brought about by the Red Army's capture of Transnistria and the subsequent release of the Jews from captivity.

In the second part of December 1943, the first groups of deportees reentered the country. For example, a large group of 5,944 Jewish deportees originally from Dorohoi (including 650 orphans and lost children) were transported back to that city, amid vocal opposition from its mayor, from December 20 to 25; some Jewish political detainees from Vapniarca prison camp also came at that time, whereas others arrived in subsequent transports. At the beginning of March 1944, orphaned children up to the age of 15, some 2,000 in all, arrived in the country; subsequent groups of children (those up to age 18 and/or with one parent), amounting to an additional 2,950 children, were permitted to return and presumably arrived later.²⁴ Delegates from the Autonomous Assistance Committee entered Transnistria with the Romanian authorities' approval and worked tirelessly to prepare for the return of the deportees. They focused their efforts on providing transportation to the repatriation centers and clothing, cleaning, and feeding the deportees in advance of their boarding the trains for Romania.²⁵

The first wave of repatriation, which ended in early March 1944, brought back to the Regat no more than 10,000 Jews of the nearly 51,000 Jews from Romania who were counted

in September 1943 as being held in Transnistria (this figure did not include the Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria).²⁶ The 51,000 Jews were the survivors from the 190,000 to 200,000 Jews deported to Transnistria from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and the Dorohoi județ and (in much smaller numbers) from the Regat in the fall of 1941 and 1942. This means that nearly 150,000 Jews from Romania perished on their way to or in Transnistria within two years. Based on documentary sources, scholars estimate that an additional 180,000 Ukrainian Jews from a total of 200,000 who remained under German and then Romanian occupation in Transnistria also died from August 1941 to September 1943. This puts the total number of victims of the Romanian Holocaust at almost 330,000 Jewish victims. If we add to this number the Roma victims (about 12,000), the result is the frightening figure of 342,000 civilian deaths. The Antonescu regime was primarily responsible for the majority of these crimes.²⁷

THE DEPORTATION OF THE ROMA TO TRANSNISTRIA

The deportation of the Roma (*țigani*) from Romania to Transnistria constituted a chapter in the narrowly defined nationalist program implemented by Antonescu's fascist regime between 1941 and 1944. The rationale for the deportation of specific groups of Roma from Romania followed Antonescu's decision to segregate "antisocial" elements from the general population, and according to the regime the Roma embodied that stereotype. The itinerant Roma were perceived to be "unassimilated" and "unassimilable" into the Romanian nation, and consequently, their foreignness brought them under the purview of ethnic homogenization policies carried out by the Antonescu regime.²⁸

Of a population of 208,700 Roma, only a small group was considered a "problem." Those selected for deportation were migrant Roma, as well as the settled Roma who ran into difficulties with the law—labeled by the authorities as "delinquent" or "dangerous" Roma—or those who had been unemployed for a long time. Plans that proposed the building of colonies for the "anti-social" Roma in the Regat were abandoned in favor of a new plan that saw the recently acquired territory of Transnistria as the site for their deportation.

On May 25, 1942, Antonescu ordered a census of the Roma and charged the Interior Ministry with the preparation of lists of Roma falling within the categories marked for deportation; he had decided just three days earlier, on May 22, to order their deportation. In a short period of time, some 40,909 Roma were listed: 9,471 traveler Roma and 31,438 settled Roma. The deportation was announced as "relocation" to Transnistria, and it was rumored that the Roma were to be given houses, land, and agricultural equipment to start a new life there. Lured by this prospect, some Roma welcomed the measure and were enthusiastic about leaving the country.

The traveler Roma were the first group to be deported. The police and gendarmerie began rounding them up at the beginning of June 1942, sending them from post to post to the dis-

strict capitals. Escorted by gendarmes, they went in their carts or walked alongside them all the way to Transnistria. The operation lasted until August 15, 1942. Some 11,441 Roma (2,352 men, 2,375 women, and 6,714 children) were deported in this way. The second deported group was that of the “dangerous” and “undesirable” Roma. A selection was made within this larger group of settled Roma: only 12,497 were put forward for deportation at first, and a subsequent mass transport was planned for the remaining 18,941 Roma on the police lists (that later deportation was eventually canceled, and those slated for it remained in the country). Nine trains transported the selected group of settled Roma from all around the country to Transnistria. Small numbers were added to this group within a few months, putting the total number of Roma deported from Romania to Transnistria at a little over 25,000.

The deportation itself occasioned great suffering and involved many unjust acts. Police chiefs, gendarmes sent to pick up the Roma, and even police escorts abused their power, using it to extort or acquire valuables from the deported. Many Roma were taken from the streets and were given no chance to go home and pack. There were also cases of mistaken identities, when ethnic Romanians or Hungarians were taken instead of Roma or when Roma deemed “respectable” by the regime, such as World War I veterans and businessmen, were picked up instead of “delinquent” Roma who could not be found. Especially tragic was the fate of the Roma soldiers whose families were being deported while they were fighting at the front; other soldiers were discharged from the army and sent along with the others being deported. All of this was in flagrant disregard of the prescriptions regarding deportation. In response to numerous petitions addressed by the soldiers themselves or by their families to various state institutions, including the presidency of the Council of Ministers, the country’s highest forum, a few deportees were permitted to return to Romania.

Once in Transnistria, the Roma soon discovered that they were essentially being “dumped” there. They were placed in four districts in the eastern part of Transnistria near the Bug River: Balta, Golta, Berezovca, and Oceacov. Within these județe, the Roma were scattered among various raions. The Romanian civil administration in Transnistria was totally unprepared to handle the new deportees and likely did not want them there. The Roma received nothing that was promised them. In fact, the opposite was true. The authorities in charge of receiving them—for example, Colonel Modest Isopescu, Golta’s prefect—confiscated the carts and horses from the traveler Roma and left many others empty-handed.

In terms of housing, some Roma were forced to live in primitive huts in open fields or forests, typically near Ukrainian villages. The huts were built partly or totally underground. Others ended up in dilapidated barracks (former military barracks or *kolkhozes*), whereas still others were placed in the houses from which Ukrainian inhabitants had been removed and relocated, perhaps forcefully. Although the authors of the entries in this encyclopedia—following the Romanian authorities’ terminology—refer to these settlements

as camps (*lagăre*), the areas where the Roma lived were not, strictly speaking, camps. They were spaces reserved for Roma inside or at the outskirts of villages. While watched by the nearby gendarme posts, the Roma in general had permission to move about within the village or area where they stayed in order to find work and earn a living.

Decision No. 3149, issued by Alexianu on December 18, 1942, regulated the situation of the Roma in Transnistria. According to this decree, the Roma were to be placed in villages in groups of 150 to 350, under the leadership of one of them, and were to work for pay as ordered by the village authorities. Skilled laborers were to be placed in existing and planned workshops (*ateliere*), whereas the unskilled were to be used in agriculture; forestry; manufacturing; the collection of animal skins, hair, and feathers from farms; and the gathering of recyclable paper, iron, and cotton rags. All men and women between the ages of 16 to 60 were obliged to work in workshops or work teams, and those who exceeded the work quota were to be rewarded with premiums of 30 percent of the value of their produce. Group leaders were responsible for everyone’s attendance at work or in the village; Roma who left the area without authorization or those who refused to work were to be interned in a disciplinary camp.²⁹

Because these directives were implemented chaotically and selectively, if at all, the Roma had little chance of survival. Forced to barter their last personal items, including their clothes, for food, they succumbed at alarming rates in the bitterly cold winter of 1942. No doctor ventured to visit the disease-infested colonies, except on a rare occasion and only to assess the public health risk posed by the colonies and not to cure the sick. The raion authorities, on their part, provided extremely little food (a few slices of bread, a handful of potatoes or cornmeal per person) on a random schedule. Plagued by disease (especially typhus) and hunger, some Roma communities lost 50 percent of their members by the spring of 1943. Hunger drove some to eating the flesh of their dead relatives or any dead animals they could find. Some turned to stealing and robbery to survive, terrorizing the locals and the authorities alike. Others desperately tried to flee to more prosperous areas or return to Romania, but without much success, as border patrols caught them and sent them back after a beating; the less fortunate were shot by German soldiers and their auxiliaries.

Living conditions improved slightly from the summer of 1943 onward. The Romanian authorities, too, began to show more compassion to the Roma out of fear for their own skin. Some Roma found a niche in the local economy and took steps to make themselves useful by making combs, carving utensils in wood, or telling fortunes.

When the general repatriation of all people deported from Romania occurred in the middle of March 1944 on the eve of the Red Army’s recapture of Transnistria, the Roma, again, were left on their own to find means and methods of return. Rushed from behind by the retreating German and Romanian armies, the Roma walked briskly for tens of kilometers to reach safe shelter before marching again. The repatriation itself

produced many victims, as Roma succumbed to exhaustion, frostbite, or hunger or were simply shot by soldiers and died as casualties of war.

The exact number of Roma survivors is not known, but calculations based on the Romanian gendarmerie reports in Transnistria estimate that, of the 25,000 deported, fewer than 14,000 returned. This means that at least 11,000 (but more likely 12,000) perished.³⁰ A number of entries in this volume describe the fate of the Roma in Transnistria, offering a window into the hellish experience that life there was for the deported Roma.

POSTWAR TRIALS

On August 23, 1944, a coup d'état against Antonescu took place with the direct involvement of King Michael of Romania and leaders of the pro-Allied opposition, especially the Romanian Communist Party (*Partidul Comunist Român*, PCR). The immediate consequence of the coup was Romania's realignment with the Allies against Nazi Germany and its allied regimes, followed by the abrogation of antisemitic legislation that was still in effect at that time. The apprehension and trials of the Romanian war criminals began soon thereafter, in 1945, and ended in 1952.

The legal basis for the trials was Law 50 "for pursuing and punishing criminals and profiteers of war," published in the *Official Gazette* of January 21, 1945. The law was drafted by Lucretiu Pătrășcanu, the communist minister of justice, and signed by King Michael. The Bucharest People's Court handed down death sentences for Marshal Antonescu, Mihai Antonescu (vice president of the Council of Ministers), General de divizie Constantin Z. Vasiliu (Romania's former Interior Minister), and Alexianu that resulted in their execution on June 1, 1946. Twenty-nine others also received the same sentence of capital punishment, but their sentences were commuted to life in prison by the king (who was petitioned to do so by Pătrășcanu).³¹

One cannot overemphasize the importance of the depositions of the accused, their witnesses, and prosecutors for understanding the scope and depth of the Jewish and Roma Holocaust, as well as the persecution of religious minorities, during the war years. As hundreds of officers, high-ranking officials, and NCOs, as well as ordinary people, made their case before the court—not to mention other hundreds of witnesses—the unimaginable carnage and human suffering caused by the Antonescu regime surfaced.³² The sentences passed down by the court ranged from life to lengthy prison sentences at hard labor, the confiscation of personal property, and demotion. Among those receiving such sentences were many of Transnistria's prefects and praetors, gendarmerie commandants, camp and ghetto overseers, escorts, as well as many others who had a hand in the robbing, exploitation, and murder of Jews and Roma. A handful of the accused committed suicide in prison while awaiting trial, another handful were able to hide from the authorities and were condemned in absentia, and some others were acquitted. In the dock stood also

a few Jewish deportees who, for whatever reasons, were accused of helping the perpetrators achieve their goals. By 1962, however, those who were still alive were released from prison, throwing into question the communist regime's commitment to justice.³³

The accused disclosed criminal facts and atrocities that would not have been otherwise known and pointed to their collaborators in the heinous crimes who could have escaped prosecution. Even so, many ordinary citizens who committed "smaller" crimes such as beating, stealing, or raping Jews evaded punishment because there remained no one to accuse them. The acts of kindness on the part of ordinary citizens or officials were also recognized during the trials. Such acts showed that not all bought into the government's rhetoric and succumbed to peer pressure. Their courageous deeds brought them the honor of receiving the noble title of Righteous Among the Nations, bestowed on them later by Yad Vashem.

SOURCES The following books provide information regarding the persecution of the Jews in Romania and Romanian-controlled Transnistria: Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah; Entsiklopedyah shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milbemet ba-'olam ha-sheniyah*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vols. 5–7 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2005–2011); Shmuel Spector and Geofrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001); I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); and Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos during the Holocaust*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009); for census information regarding the number of Jews in Transnistria in 1939, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, 12 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania*, trans. Yaffah Murciano (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Doroboi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Moses Rosen, ed., *Martiriul evreilor din România, 1940–1941: Documente și mărturii* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 1991); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Roma-*

nia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Ottmar Trașcă, ed., “Chestiunea Evreiască” în documente militare române, 1941–1944, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010); Lyra Benjamin, ed., *The Jews in Romania Between 1940–1944*, vol. 1: *Anti-Jewish Legislation* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 1993); and Dennis Deletant, *Hitler’s Forgotten Ally: Ion Antonescu and His Regime, Romania 1940–1944* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). For a collection of documents regarding the forced labor of Jews and Roma in Romania and Transnistria, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iassy: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013) and Viorel Achim, *Munca Forțată în Transnistria: “Organizarea Muncii” Evreilor și Romilor, Decembrie 1942–Martie 1944* (Târgoviște: Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2015). For a description of the treatment of Jews and Soviet and Western Allied POWs in Romania and Transnistria, see Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944: Prizonierii de război anglo-americani și sovietici, deportații evrei din Transnistria și emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); and Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945): Dicționar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999); for a collection of documents relating to the deportation of Romanian Roma to Transnistria and their fate therein, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004). Information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Față de Culetele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Documentation regarding the persecution of the Jews in Romania and Transnistria can be found at USHMMA in the following collections: RG-25.002M (ANR); RG-25.003M (AMAN); RG-25.004M (SRI); RG-25.006M (AME); RG-25.010M (IGJ); RG-25.011M (AMAN); PCMCM (RG-25.013M); RG-22.002M (GARF); RG-31.004M (DAOO); RG-31.006M (DACKO); RG-31.011M (DAVINO); RG-54.001M (ANRM); RG-68.130M (OOYV); and RG-25.051M and RG-68.028M (both WJC-R). For the indictment against Antonescu and other defendants, see *Actul de Acuzare, Rechizitoriile și replica acuzării la procesul primului lot de criminali de război* (Bucharest: Editura Apărării Patriotice, 1945).

Jean Ancel and Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For a comprehensive discussion of the legionary theft of Jewish wealth, see Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 1: 77–180.
2. The full text of Antonescu’s Order 4147 is available in Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României*, vol. 2, part 2: 276–277.
3. For a summary of these camps, see the entry on Osmanca.
4. Confidential report on the situation of the camps provided by the Interior Ministry to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Central Information Service, August 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 18–19.

5. Decree No. 3.984, December 4, 1940, concerning the Jews’ military status, published in *MonOf*, part I, No. 287, December 5, 1940, pp. 6703–6704; subsequently augmented by Decree No. 2.030 regarding the decree law concerning the Jews’ military status, also published in *MonOf*, part I, No. 164, July 14, 1941, pp. 4039–4047. For this and other relevant documents, see Bărbulescu and Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România*.

6. Ministerial Decision No. 23.325, January 27, 1941, Arts. 2 and 3, concerning the requisition and use of Jewish doctors, pharmacists, and engineers, *MonOf*, part I, No. 37, February 13, 1941, p. 733.

7. Secret communication, “Ordin de Informațiuni Nr. 124,” September 12, 1941, cosigned by Colonel C. Tobescu, chief of the Gendarmes Service within the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18884, p. 532.

8. This is a partial summary of USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 64, file 18844.

9. Decision of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers (Order No. 41974, September 13, 1941), transmitted by the General Staff to the Gendarmerie, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 64, file 18844, p. 445.

10. Ministerial Decision No. 23.325, January 27, 1941, art. 1, *MonOf*, part I, No. 37, February 13, 1941, p. 733; and Decree No. 2.030, chapter 4, art. 23, *MonOf*, part I, No. 164, July 14, 1941, p. 1041.

11. Law No. 59, February 2, 1943, stipulated the consequences for insubordination to the call to mandatory labor as prison (from two months to one year, in times of peace) or death sentence and confiscation of property (in times of war), republished in Benjamin, *The Jews in Romania between 1940–1944*, p. 97.

12. Copy of Antonescu’s order, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 54, file 7270, p. 280.

13. Report of General de Divizie Hugo Schwab, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 330, file 1516, pp. 71–75.

14. For the entire content, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 88, file 464, p. 537.

15. A voluminous file at AMR, Ministerul de Război Cabinet, Dosar 262 (declassified in 2005) contains important reports, statistical data, guidelines, and other information generated by the Ministry of Defence and other Romanian authorities on Romanian POW camps for the period 1941–1942, including reports on the terrible conditions in many camps and on the exploitation of Soviet POWs for forced labor by state and private agencies. For Oiești, see the entry on Corbeni.

16. Achim, *Politica Regimului Antonescu față de Culetele Neoprotestante*.

17. USHMMA, RG-25.084M (CNSAS), file P13250, vol. 89, p. 418.

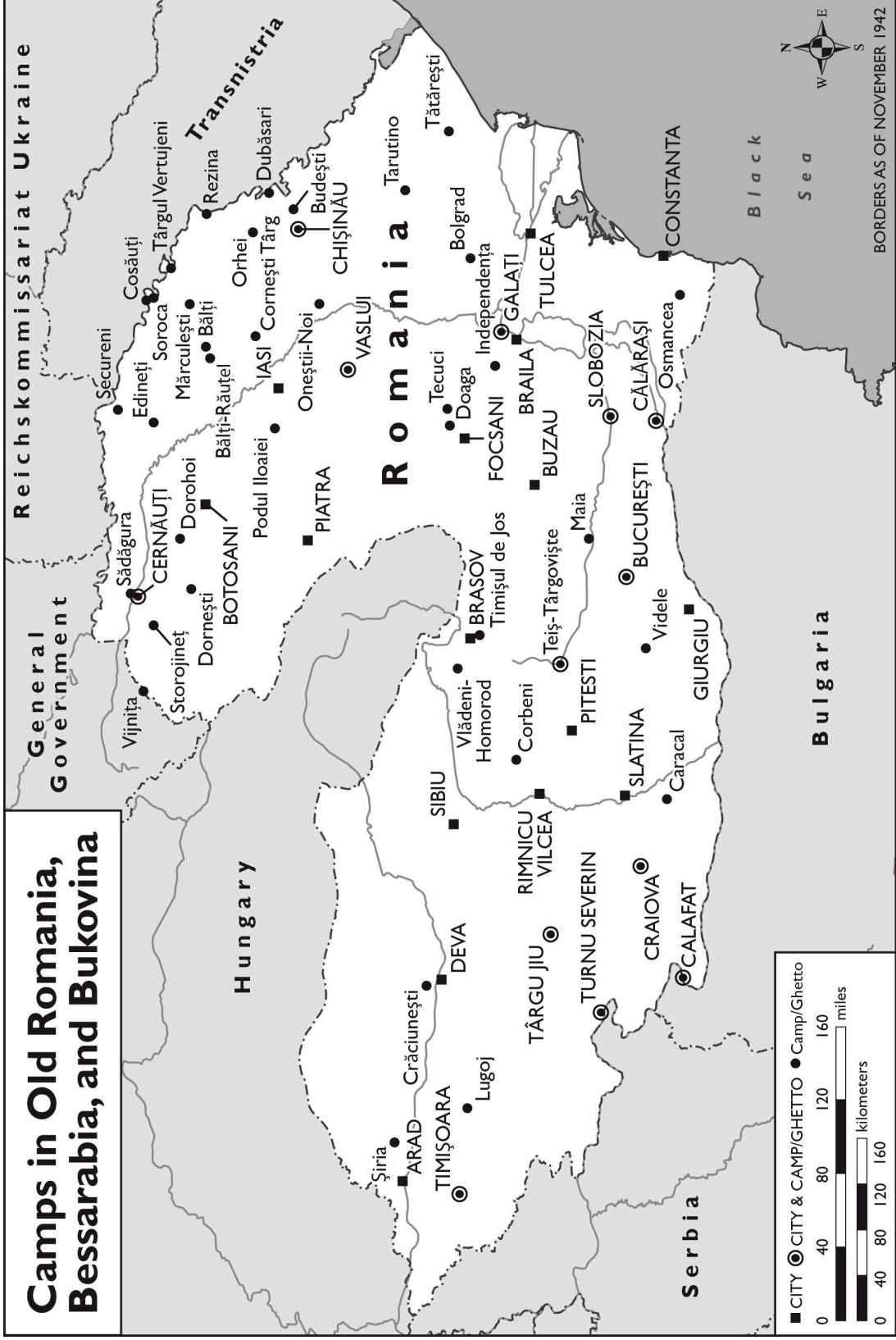
18. The full text of Ordinance No. 23 can be found reprinted in Ancel, *Documents concerning the Fate of the Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, 5: 176–177.

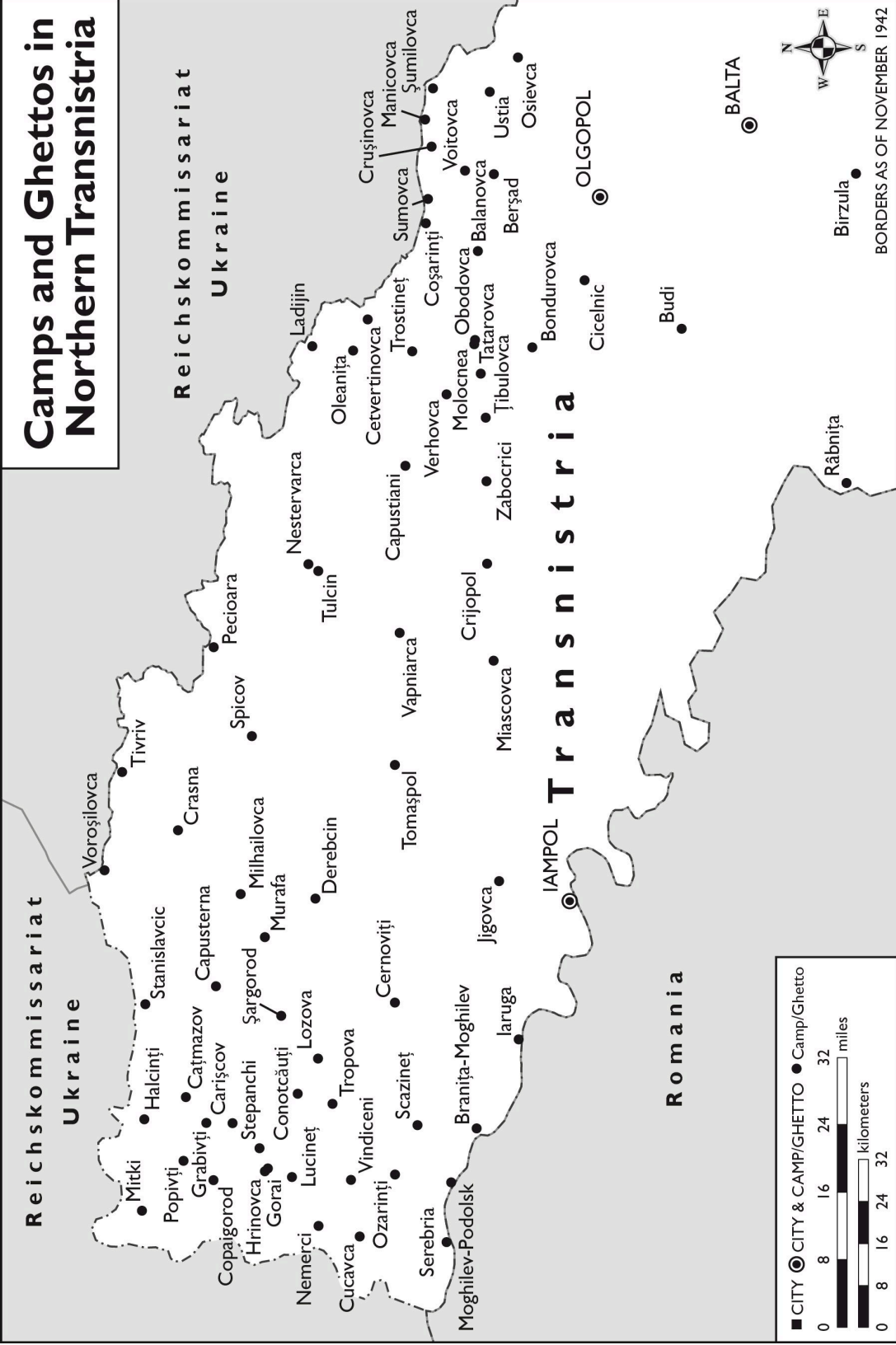
19. *Ibid.*, 5: 575–586.

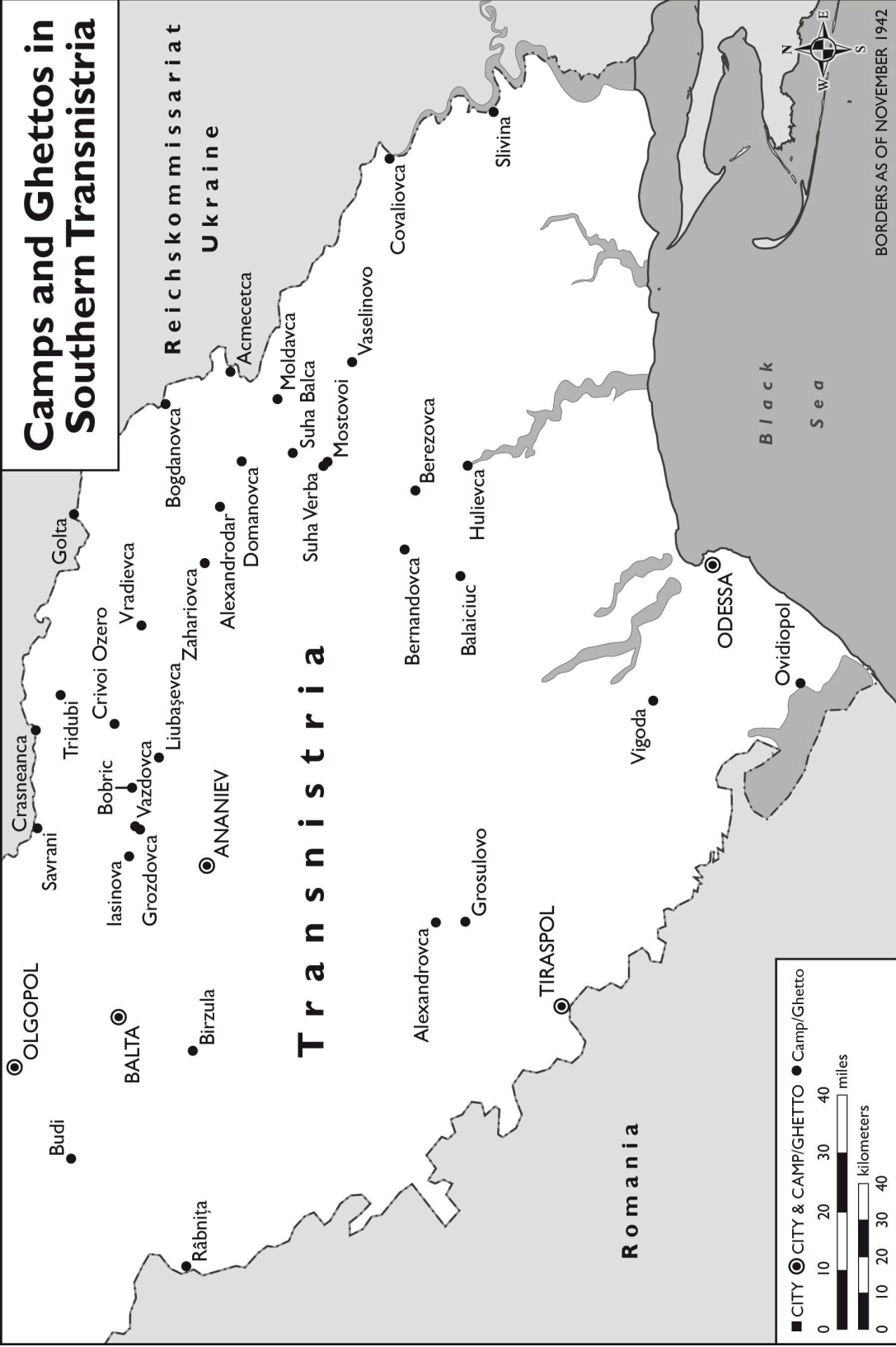
20. For a detailed discussion of these negotiations, see Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, pp. 249–254.

21. See, for example, Filderman’s memorandum to the government, October 12, 1943, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 460–463 (Doc. 247). Other such memoranda followed.

22. Decision of the Order Council of the Interior Ministry, November 16, 1943, reprinted in *ibid.*, 3b: 467–468 (Doc. 249).
23. *Ibid.*, 3: 475 (Doc. 255) and 476 (Doc. 256).
24. For name lists put forward by ghettos that had orphanages, see Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 544–574; see also Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 476 (Doc. 257).
25. Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 523–536.
26. For this count, see Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 455–458.
27. Variation regarding the number of victims exists: see Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 289; Ancel, *Contribuții*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 384; see also Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, 3 vols. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985), 2: 759, 3: 1220.
28. Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor*, 1: xiii.
29. For a copy of this order, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 62, p. 6; the order can also be found transcribed in Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor*, 2: 54–56.
30. *Ibid.*, 1: xx.
31. Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 287.
32. See, for instance, *Actul de Acuzare*.
33. Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, pp. 287–288.







ACMECETCA

Acmecetca, a village in the Domanovca raion, Golta județ (today: Akmechets'ki Stavky, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located in close proximity to the Bug River. Acmecetca is 52 kilometers (32 miles) southeast of Golta (today: Pervomais'k) and 136 kilometers (84 miles) north-northeast of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Acmecetca in August 1941. After a brief period of German control, responsibility for administering the village and its surroundings was turned over to the Romanian authorities in September 1941. Under this administration, the village's name was romanianized from Akmechetka to Acmecetca (also spelled Ahmecetca, Acmicetca, or Akmecetca). The Golta prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu; his deputy was Aristide Pădure. Maior Romulus Ambrus commanded the Golta gendarmerie. The Domanovca praetor was Vasile Mănescu, who was succeeded by Teodor Iliescu and Gheorghe Bobei. The commandant of the Acmecetca gendarme post (and camp) was Sergeant-major Vasile Iorgulescu.

A camp for Jews was established in an Acmecetca pig farm (*sovkhos*) in late 1941 or early 1942, which was on a hill near the left bank of the Bug. The camp, which occupied only a part of the pig farm, was encircled by three rows of barbed wire, and deep trenches that were dug around the perimeter. Armed Ukrainian auxiliary policemen, also using dogs, guarded the camp under the supervision of a handful of Romanian gendarmes. Inside the camp there were four large pigsties and one long warehouse, all in poor condition. Wooden boards divided the sties into smaller compartments. The sties had a few small windows, which in the winter were boarded up to prevent cold air coming in, and no electricity. Inside them it was dark and filthy.

The camp regime was extremely harsh. The camp had no other apparent purpose than the extermination of the internees who had become "useless" in the eyes of the Romanian and German administrations. It was usually referred to by the Jewish deportees as a "death camp" and was greatly feared.¹ The 4,000 Jews sent to the Acmecetca camp before June 1942 were from both Romania (mostly Bessarabia) and Transnistria. Some of these Jews were survivors of the massacres in the Bogdanovca and Domanovca camps perpetrated in December 1941 and from January to February 1942. A group was from the ghettos in Golta and Berezovca that were being depopulated in the spring of 1942 to make room for new convoys.² Another small group was from the Chișinău (Kishinev) ghetto. After being deported to the Vradievca camp (Golta județ) at the end of May 1942, these Jews from Chișinău arrived in the Dumanovca camp in June (after a short stay in pigsties in the Bogdanovca camp). Even before entering the Domanovca camp, those considered "unfit" to work were separated from the group and sent to Acmecetca. Jews who allegedly violated ghetto or camp restrictions (for example, leaving without permission), those who refused to hand over valuables, or Jewish women who resisted rape were punished

by being sent to Acmecetca. Such transfers occurred as late as October 1943.³

The provision of food and medical assistance was not permitted in the camp for a while after each transfer. Barter was mediated by the guards, who bought produce from the peasants and exchanged it to the Jews for articles of clothing or whatever valuables the deportees still had on them. Driven by hunger, most of the Jews were naked in a matter of weeks, covering their hips with rags or paper. When the Jews had nothing left to exchange, the guards no longer brought food to trade. At that point a spoonful of cornmeal or flour or a potato was distributed per person. Only contaminated water was available, either from swamps within the camp or from abandoned wells outside the camp. Every day a small group of children or young adults walked under guard a few kilometers to an abandoned well to bring water in bottles or cans. The usual food in the camp was a type of pancake produced from mixing flour with water and grass and cooked on a pan over fire.⁴

Starvation and disease resulting from a lack of hygiene claimed the lives of most deportees. People died every day in the camp. Before dying, many spent weeks lying on the pigsty floor (there were no beds) without the ability to move or defecate. Many developed mental problems. Typhus was rampant in the camp, as were dysentery, malaria, furunculosis, and skin infections (scabies). The few Jewish doctors who were among the internees could do nothing to save themselves or others; most of them died along with their patients.⁵ Given these conditions, it was not unusual to witness the completely naked prisoners eating grass from the fields. Prefect Isopescu, who preferred this camp over all other camps in the Golta județ, inspected it a few times, each time amusing himself with the fate of the prisoners; he took pictures of the deportees "grazing" in the grass on their hands and knees.

Occasionally, Jews from the nearby Domanovca camp (17 kilometers or 11 miles west of Acmecetca) donated some of their little food and transported it to the Acmecetca camp. Bribes were given to the Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries to allow the wagon to travel the distance and enter the camp. When such deliveries occurred, the Jews in Acmecetca fought with each other desperately over a piece of bread. On a rare occasion, local Jews escaped from Acmecetca and sought refuge in nearby camps (Domanovca and Bogdanovca), but were usually refused permission to stay and were returned.

It is unclear what, if any, sort of self-government existed inside the camp. What is known is that a little help began trickling in from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) in the second part of 1943.⁶ However, corruption among the Jewish leaders in the Golta ghetto (in particular, Avram Creștinu and Alfred Follender), not to mention the casual theft of aid by civil and military authorities, thwarted aid distribution.⁷ The total number of Jews alive in the camp in the summer of 1943 did not exceed 100 or 150; of them, 46 had been deported from Romania (44 from

Bessarabia and 2 from Bukovina).⁸ In late September 1943, the total number of Jews in the camp decreased to 25 and then increased to 40 shortly thereafter.⁹

Ukrainian (and possibly even Romanian) Jews remained in the camp after the repatriation of Romanian Jews from Transnistria in late February and early March 1944. Their fate is unclear. According to one Jewish survivor, a band of Kalmyk soldiers of Andrey Vlasov's army passed through Acmecețca and murdered the men in the camp and raped the women.¹⁰ This likely happened after the Romanian administrative staff was evacuated from Golta, handing control over the still captive Jews to the retreating German armies.

The Red Army liberated Acmecețca in late March or early April 1944. In May 1945, the People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried Isopescu and Pădure, along with the praetors of the Domanovca raion, for robbing and murdering the Jews in the Acmecețca camp and the Roma in the Domanovca raion.¹¹

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Acmecețca camp can be found in the following publications: "Acmecețca," in *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossphen, 2009); "Acmecețca," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, with a foreword by Elie Wiesel and a preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Sonia Palty, *Evrei, treceti Nistrul! Îsemnări din deportare* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească). For a collection of documents regarding the deportation of Romanian Roma to Transnistria and the treatment of Roma in the Golta județ, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the Acmecețca camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds 95 testimonies from Jewish survivors who were held in the Acmecețca camp for various periods of time. A testimony is also available at www.yadvashem.org.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #33358, Galina Berezoa testimony, August 19, 1997.

2. See name lists of Jews transferred to Acmecețca from other camps in Golta: USHMM, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 56–57, 61–64, and 65.

3. See name lists from October 7, 1943: USHMM, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, p. 65; for

name lists from April 1943, see in the same collection, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, pp. 33–34.

4. VHA #03420, Nora Weisman testimony, June 30, 1995.

5. See the table of doctors in the Golta județ, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso); the table shows that of the 12 doctors in the camp, only 2 were still "available," an euphemism for being alive.

6. The table of remittances for Transnistria for the period from February to December 1942 showed no distribution to Acmecețca; reproduced in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 306–313 (esp. p. 313).

7. See reports about corrupt Jewish leaders in Golta obstructing the distribution of aid, in *ibid.*, 5: 534.

8. Census table is reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

9. Census figure in USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1561, pp. 198–199.

10. Iosif Vergilis testimony, YVA, www.yadvashem.org/untoldstories/database/murderSite.asp?site_id=339; this interview appears in the Russian original at VHA #27688, April 6, 1997.

11. USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 5; indictments appear in the same collection and reel, vol. 1, pp. 4–40, and vol. 2, pp. 115–120.

ALEXANDRODAR

Alexandrodar (pre-1941: Aleksandrodar; today: Oleksandrodar, Ukraine) is a village in the vicinity of the small village of Beicușul Mare, Oceacov raion, in the southern part of Oceacov județ, in southeast Transnistria. This Transnistrian district bordered the Black Sea shores to the south and neighbored Odessa County to the west. Alexandrodar is located 210 kilometers (130 miles) southeast of Chișinău and some 12 kilometers (7.4 miles) from the Bug River.

The invading German and Romanian armies occupied the area surrounding Alexandrodar in August 1941. After a brief period of German control, responsibility for administering the village and its surroundings was turned over to the Romanian authorities in September 1941. Under Romanian administration, the village was renamed Alexandrodar (or Alexandrudar, in some documents) and the județ was renamed Oceacov. Locotenent-colonel Vasile Gorsky became prefect of Oceacov in 1942, following the short tenure of Dr. Ion Ionescu-Obârșia who was appointed in late 1941. Florian Ioan was căpitan of the Gendarmes Legion (*Legiunea de Țandarmi*) in Oceacov.

Just outside the village there existed a large complex of unused naval barracks, left over from the Soviet period. In late December 1941, Professor Gheorghe Alexianu, governor of Transnistria, proposed to Marshal Ion Antonescu that Odessa's Jews be deported to the Oceacov județ and, in particular, to Alexandrodar to be housed in the empty barracks there. Despite the barracks' limited housing capacity (around 3,000 people), Alexianu proposed that 40,000 Jewish prisoners be sent there, causing Prefect Ionescu-Obârșia to panic at the thought of accommodating and feeding such a large group.¹ According to this proposal, the Jews would work in the fields

and use their own money to maintain themselves. Their stay in Alexandrodar was to be temporary before they were to be deported across the Bug.

Work to transform these barracks into a labor camp was underway in January 1942 when Alexianu reported to the prime minister's office in Romania that those intended for this camp were only "communists" from Odessa and Romania (i.e., Jews) and not other dissidents.² Work at the camp continued into February 1942, but it remains unclear if Jews were ever sent there.

By May 1942, the Romanian government decided to deport Roma (Gypsies) from Romania to Transnistria, primarily the Oceacov județ. At the end of August 1942, some 15,000 Roma arrived by train in Trihati. From there, they were taken under guard by the Gendarmes Legion and resettled in their appointed sites, including Alexandrodar's barracks. Although Antonescu's orders specified that the deportees were to be nomadic or delinquent Roma, who would be used as farmers and skilled laborers in the județ's collective farms, most of those deported were not nomadic Roma: in fact, the vast majority were law-abiding citizens of Romania. Moreover, some of the deportees' sons and fathers were serving in the Romanian Army at that time; others of the deportees were veterans themselves, even wounded veterans, or the widows of veterans from World War I. These facts contradicted Antonescu's orders about Roma deportees, as well as earlier orders regarding the right of Roma veterans and decorated soldiers to remain in the country. In response to numerous petitions addressed by the soldiers themselves or by their families to various state institutions and attesting documentation, Prefect Gorsky ordered that military commissions be formed to adjudicate each case.

The situation of the Roma in Transnistria was deplorable. According to the prefect's own admission, they were in an "unimaginable state of misery," and their situation was likely to deteriorate.³

A few thousand Roma were placed in the Alexandrodar barracks at the end of September 1942. In the absence of promised supplies of wood and given the harsh, cold weather by late October, Roma burned the wood in the barracks (roofs, floors, fences) and cut down bushes, trees, and even power poles surrounding the place to use for fires for cooking and heating. They lacked medical attention and supplies, so typhus broke out, killing not only Roma but also Romanian military staff who came into contact with them. Some rudimentary delousing stations were eventually set up, including one at Trihati's train station, to stem the spread of typhus. Still, between 3,000 and 4,000 Roma died of typhus-related illnesses in the Oceacov județ in the winter of 1942.

Food was scarce as well. The daily ration of 300–400 grams (10.6–14.1 ounces) of bread (200 grams for children and the elderly) or flour to make bread, which the government prescribed, was their main food. It was occasionally supplemented by some potatoes and very rarely by a few salted sardines. The poor diet quickly turned the Roma into "skeletons" and "walking shadows," as an intelligence report described them on

December 5, 1942.⁴ Having been picked up directly from the streets of their hometowns and quickly loaded onto trains, many Roma had no time to prepare for their relocation to Transnistria. Those nomadic Roma arriving by horse-drawn carts had their carts and animals confiscated on arrival. After two months in Transnistria, many Roma had to barter their remaining belongings for food and remained in rags, half-naked, and covered with lice.

At Prefect Gorsky's request, Alexandrodar's Roma were moved from the barracks in late November and early December 1942 to five nearby villages, which had been partially emptied of their Ukrainian inhabitants: the villages were Bogdanovca, Vladimirovca, Kozirca, Katelina, and Certovca, all near the Bug River. The move was intended to prevent further humanitarian and economic disasters that might jeopardize Romanian and German soldiers stationed in the vicinity, and it ultimately brought some relief to the Roma. Each group of Roma leaving the barracks was deloused before being transported to quarters in the assigned village. They also experienced less exposure to the elements while living in homes. Nevertheless, the mortality rate remained high throughout the winter months due to the persistence of earlier problems: a lack of wood to heat their houses, the absence of food (other than small bread allocations), and no medical attention.⁵ The Red Army recaptured the area in April 1944.

SOURCES For studies treating the fate of Jews and Gypsies deported to Oceacov during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), and Viorel Achim ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); for a recounting of the plight of the Roma of Alexandrodar, see International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, *Final Report* (Iași: Polirom, 2005); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, with a foreword by Elie Wiesel and a preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources regarding the persecution of Jews and Gypsies of Alexandrodar can be found at USHMM. For correspondence between Professor Alexianu, governor of Transnistria, and Oceacov's prefects, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1486, p. 46; in the same collection see fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1486, p. 135. For testimonies of Roma survivors from Oceacov, see Radu Ioanid, Michelle Kelso, and Luminița Mihai Cioaba, eds., *Tragedia Romilor Deportați în Transnistria, 1942–1945* (Iași: Polirom, 2009).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See Dr. Ion Ionescu-Obârșia's reply, January 26, 1942, USHMM, RG-31.004M/3/2241/1/1486, p. 135.

2. Notes Head (DENH): See Governor Alexianu's letter, January 17, 1942, addressed to the Prime Minister's Office in Bucharest, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1486, p. 46 (USHMM, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1486).

3. "Memoriu," USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 34, SRI, file 400010, vol. 59, p. 113; reprinted in Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 496.

4. See SSI report, "Dare de Seamă din 5 Decembrie 1942. Asupra serviciului executat în județul Oceacov de la data de 19 Noembrie la 4 Decembrie 1942," reproduced in *ibid.*, 2: 24–29.

5. *Ibid.*, and "Memoriu," USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 34, SRI, file 400010, vol. 59, p. 120; reprinted in Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 499.

ALEXANDROVCA

Alexandrovca (today: Oleksandrivka, Ukraine), a village in the Ovidiopol județ, is in the southern part of Transnistria. The Ovidiopol județ was sandwiched between the Dniester River estuary to the west and the Odessa județ to the east; the Black Sea was its southern border, and the Tiraspol județ constituted its northern border. It is about 18 kilometers (approximately 11 miles) northwest of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the town and its surrounding area during the summer of 1941. After a short period of occupation by German troops, the Romanian civil administration of Transnistria took over the area and romanianized the spelling of the town's name from Alexandrovka to Alexandrovca. Căpitan Dedulescu commanded the gendarmes for the Ovidiopol județ; Ștefan Stegaru, Petre Bartoș, and Eugen A. Sirca were successive praetors for the Ovidiopol raion.

In the autumn of 1942, General de brigadă Constantin Căpleanu, the chief inspector of Jewish labor battalions in Bucharest, deported 312 "delinquent" Jews to Alexandrovca. They were deported together with their families for tardiness or absence from morning roll calls while doing forced labor in Bucharest.

The group of Jews from Bucharest arrived first at Sevcenco farm on October 8, 1942, where they spent six weeks before being sent to Alexandrovca.¹ According to marginalia in the handwritten note on this deportation, only those who worked at the farm were to receive food. The small Sevcenco farm was located between the small towns of Vigoda and Petrovski in the northeastern part of the Ovidiopol județ. It was designated as a "model ghetto": an experiment in epidemic prevention and control that the chief military doctor for Ovidiopol, Dr. Teofil Bucșă, set up according to his own widely distributed instructions.² Accompanied by Căpitan Dedulescu, Bucșă visited the farm and reported that, under his guidance, the ghetto had 44 recently plastered rooms, boarded-up windows that left open a little space to admit light, and outside toilets and that he had ordered the deportees to drink only boiled water. He set up a Jewish police force to enforce discipline in the ghetto. In addition, all deportees were deloused, and two empty rooms, one for men and one for women, were set aside to isolate the sick.³

The experience of those deported there was not as promised. Although epidemics were controlled, the Jews were placed in a large, dilapidated house, surrounded by barbed wire. They rebuilt part of it and lived in crowded conditions with up to 40 individuals per room. The food they received each day con-

sisted of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and a bowl of beet soup. This diet caused many cases of dysentery and stomach ulcers. People worked 12 to 16 hours a day on the farm, crushing sunflower seeds. Approximately 50 people died of starvation and cold during their six-week ordeal at Sevcenco.

On November 26, 1942, the deportees were finally transferred to Alexandrovca. There they worked as forced laborers in Governor Alexianu's winery. At this farm, named "Tudor Vladimirescu" after the Wallachian hero who led the 1821 uprising against Phanariote rule of Romania, they tended the vines and prepared the grape plants for the coming winter.

After spending a little over two months working on Alexianu's farm, the deportees were dispatched in late January 1943 to Bogdanovca, in the Golta județ, where they lived in pigsties in miserable conditions, suffering from lice, typhus, and a starvation diet. Local workers took their place at Alexianu's farm.

Despite payment regulations, as reiterated by the governor himself, it is not clear whether this group of deportees received anything more than a little food each day in exchange for their labor. However, a few of those detained did receive financial assistance from private funds sent by their family and friends.⁴ The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*) facilitated the transfer of these funds to those for whom they were intended. The town was liberated by the Red Army in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the persecution of Alexandrovca's Jews can be found in the following sources: Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 1 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947). The exact location of Alexandrovca is difficult to determine because several locales share the same name. For the most probable locations, see "Alexandrovka II" and "Alexandrovka III," in Gary Mokotoff et al., eds., *Where Once We Walked—Revised Edition: A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002), p. 5.

Relevant archival sources are located at USHMMA, in records microcopied from DOAA and DAMO. For name lists of Jews from Bucharest deported to Sevcenco farm, who were subsequently deported to Alexandrovca, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, pp. 132–133, 149; for an internal communiqué confirming the arrival of 267 Jews deported from Bucharest to Sevcenco farm, see in the same collection, delo 352, p. 124; for Bucșă's instructions on contagious disease prevention, see in the same collection reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 599, pp. 61–62; for money transfers to Alexandrovca's Jews, see RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 519, pp. 59–60; and RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 11, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1366, pp. 93, 175, 278.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See confirmation of arrival of 267 Jews deported from Bucharest to Sevcenco-Berezin farm, Transnistria, in "Legiuirea Județului Ovidiopol către Prefectura Județului Ovidiopol,"

October 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, p. 124 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2357/1/352, p. 124). A table listing the names of skilled workers according to profession was subsequently produced, listing only 43 workers: USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2357/1/352, p. 131. For conflicting lists of the number of Jews at Sevcenco farm, compare "Tabel nominal de evreii aduși în conacul Fermei Sevcenco-Berezin în ziua de 6 Oct. 1942," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1/352, pp. 132–133, which lists 212 Jews, and "Tabel nominal de evreii internați în lagărul Ferma Sevcenco-Berezin (seria a II-a)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1/352, p. 149, which lists 72.

2. See "Guvernământul Transnistriei Direcția Sănătății. Instrucțiunii pentru prevenirea și combaterea bolilor infecto-contagioase, în special al tifusului exantematic," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/599, pp. 61–62. This report was circulated throughout Transnistria's counties, beginning on October 21, 1941; see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/599, p. 63.

3. Dr. Teofil Bucșă's report was issued from the government's Direction of Health Service, October 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/599, p. 63.

4. See "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Alexandrovca (Jud. Ovidiopol)," RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 519, p. 59 (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/519, p. 59); and "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară evacuați în Transnistria și aflați la Comuna Alexandrovca lângă Odesa Jud. Ovidiopol," RG-31.008M/2178/1/519, p. 60. See also "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Alexandrovca (Jud. Ovidiopol)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/11/2255/1/1366, p. 93; and USHMMA, RG-31.004M/11/2255/1/1366, p. 278. See also "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Comuna Alexandrovca, lângă Odesa, Jud. Ovidiopol," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/11/2255/1/1366, p. 175.

ANANIEV

Ananiev, the seat of the Ananiev raion and județ, in the central part of the Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Anan'iv, Ukraine), is located on the Tylihul River, a tributary of the Bug. Ananiev is 149 kilometers (93 miles) northwest of Odessa and 112 kilometers (70 miles) northeast of Chișinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,779 Jews in the Ananiev județ, representing more than 30 percent of the town's population, and another 144 Jews in the Ananiev raion, representing 0.5 percent of its total population. By the time German and Romanian forces occupied Ananiev in July 1941, a large number of Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Red Army, although more than half had stayed in place.

In July 1941 the Einsatzgruppe D's commandant, SS-Gruppenführer Otto Ohlendorf, set up his headquarters in Ananiev. The town's Jewish residents were immediately required to wear a distinctive mark (a yellow star pinned to

their clothing) and were prohibited from shopping or selling goods in the town's market. Sonderkommando 10b, assisted by troops from the Romanian and German armies, murdered 300 Jews in Ananiev on August 28, 1941. The town was transferred to Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941, and its name romanianized from Ananyev to Ananiev. Colonel C. Bolintineanu became the prefect of the Ananiev județ. The commandant of the Ananiev Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent-colonel Laurențiu Stino.

When the Romanian civil administration assumed power in early September 1941, it established a ghetto in the town's Jewish quarter; the ghetto encompassed a few streets within which the remaining Ukrainian Jewish residents and other Jews deported from Romania (Bessarabia) were relocated. Among the approximately 450 ghetto residents were many women and children. In October 1941, more than half of the residents were deported farther east toward the Bug River, to Mostovoi in the Berezovca județ. A month later, in November 1941, the remaining Jews (some 145 people) were taken to Gvozdiocva in the Golta județ (today: probably Hvoz-davka Persha, on the Kodyma River, west of Crivoi-Ozero, Ukraine).¹ Both of these groups of Jews were shot soon after their arrival in these locations. Word of their shooting emerged from a letter dated December 12, 1941, from Ananiev's prefect to Golta's prefect, requesting that the latter bury the remaining bodies of 50 to 60 Jewish deportees if the village of Gvozdiocva fell within his territorial jurisdiction.² Shortly after these deportations, the Ananiev ghetto appears to have been closed; certainly by April 1942, there was no longer a ghetto in Ananiev or, for that matter, in the entire județ.³ Indeed, in accounting for the movement of local Ukrainian Jews from the Ananiev județ, the Transnistrian Inspectorate of the Gendarmes noted in September 1942 that these Jews had "disappeared." The euphemism "disappear" indicated their liquidation.⁴

Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) populated the Ananiev județ.⁵ Their economic and cultural interests in Transnistria were represented by the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi) based in Landau, in the Berezovca județ. Using local manpower, VoMi set up a *Volksdeutsche* militia, Sonderkommando Russland (SkR), and one of its commando units was stationed in Ananiev. The unit was known as Bereichkommando 26 (BK 26) and was led by SS-Untersturmführer Palm.⁶ BK 26 was regularly deployed to confiscate the area's resources such as livestock and tools for the economic interests of all *Volksdeutsche* in the Ananiev județ.

Jews from the ghettos in Moghilev-Podolsk (Moghilev județ) and Balta (Balta județ) were relocated to the state-owned collective farms (*kolkhozes*) in the Ananiev județ in the spring of 1943 to do forced labor. In June 1943, 521 Jews were working on those farms.⁷ They lived in poor and unsanitary conditions in camps that were usually made up of dilapidated stables or barracks on the farms' premises. Although the camps were only lightly guarded by gendarmes from the post closest to the respective farms, the Jewish laborers lived in constant

fear of Romanian, Ukrainian, and *Volksdeutsche* policemen. Separated from their families and/or former ghetto networks, the workers remained without any material support. Some of them were elderly or children, others were sick, and most lacked agricultural training. In August 1943, Prefect Bolintineanu noted the existence of typhus among them and complained repeatedly to government officials in Odessa about their physical appearance—they were dressed in rags and lacked shoes—and their weakness in the face of the demanding fieldwork required of them. He requested that the Jewish workers be replaced by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).⁸ Soviet POWs were not sent to replace them, so the Jewish laborers continued to farm the land. However, the sick, elderly, and the young Jews were returned to the ghettos from which they came; 14 of the Jewish workers became accountants for general stores in the Ananiev județ. Thus, in September 1943, there were only 31 Jews in the entire Ananiev județ, as follows: 2 Jews in the town of Ananiev, 3 in Petroverovca village, 1 in Saraevo village, 2 in Cernova village, 2 in Hoțului village, 1 in Troița village, 17 on the Arva farm, 1 on the Filip farm, and 2 on the Regina Maria farm.⁹ Two months later, on November 15, 1943, their number had decreased to 13 Jews for the entire județ (one from Bukovina, five from Bessarabia, and seven from Dorohoi).¹⁰

Repatriation of Jews originally from the Regat and the Dorohoi județ took place between December 1943 and January 1944. A few Jews returned to Romania at that time from Ananiev; the remaining Jews (from Bessarabia and Bukovina) were not repatriated until March 1944, along with the Romanian administration. The Red Army recaptured Ananiev in April 1944.

SOURCES Further information about the fate of Jews imprisoned in Ananiev can be found in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2007); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 26, 59; “Ananiev,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel bayisbuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-‘ad le-ahar Sho’at Milhemet ha-‘alam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 398; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts I

and II) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Ananiev’s ghetto and camps can be found at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), AME (RG-25.006), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and SRI (25.004M). Monthly information reports of the Ananiev Gendarmes Legion can also be found at USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reels 15 and 31. A transcript of Ukrainian Jewish survivor Rakhil’ Lemberg’s testimony is available at USHMM, RG-31.027*44M (2003). A copy of an oral history interview with Ukrainian Jewish survivor Lazar A., as well as a transcript, is available at USHMM, RG-50.405*0003 (August 15, 1990). VHA holds 47 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish) from Jews imprisoned in Ananiev’s ghetto and camps.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Romanian statistical reports regarding the deportation of Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria claim that only 227 Jews were deported from the Ananiev județ; see “Situație numerică de evreii evacuați din Transnistria,” USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 135.

2. USHMM, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66, p. 504.

3. See the statistical report concerning the Jews in Transnistria, April 1, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 141 (see also pp. 139–140).

4. Report from the Transnistria Gendarmes Inspectorate for the Government of Transnistria, September 9, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.006 (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 161.

5. For a list of the *Volksdeutsche* villages in the Ananiev județ, see USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 2, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1087, p. 153.

6. See the list of leaders of VoMi’s SkR garrisons in Transnistria, USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 311, file 801, p. 321.

7. For their names, ages, skills, and places of work (name of state farm), see USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 5, pp. 303–317.

8. Letter from Prefect Bolintineanu to the Odessa Labor Service, July 27, 1943, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 14, fond 2264s, opis 1, delo 10, p. 418 (see also prior correspondence, pp. 424, 426, 428, 430, 431, 437).

9. According to statistical figures collected by the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes on September 1, 1943, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 455.

10. Cf. statistical figures of Jews deported to Transnistria from the Bessarabia, Bukovina, Dorohoi județe, and the Regat, USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 589.

BALAIICIUC

Balaiciuc, a village in the Berezovca raion in the Berezovca județ, is located some 212 kilometers (132 miles) west of Chișinău and 124 kilometers (77 miles) north of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 800 Jews lived in the Berezovca raion (a breakdown by village and township was not available).

German and Romanian forces occupied Balaiciuc in August 1941, and after a month of German rule, responsibility for administering the village and its surroundings was turned over to the Romanian authorities. The new leaders romanianized the village's name from Balaichiuk to Balaiciuc. The prefect of the Berezovca județ was Colonel Leonida Popp; the commander of the Gendarmes Legion (*Legiunea de Jandarmi*) was Maior Ion Popescu, and the județ's chief physician was Dr. Aurel Juga. These leaders dictated the village's affairs in respect to civilian concerns, including Jewish matters.

Starting in October 1941, large convoys of deported Jews from Odessa began streaming north in the Berezovca județ. Many localities in the vicinity of Balaiciuc, especially the raions of Berezovca and Mostovoi, received thousands of Odessan Jews, where they were concentrated before their extermination. These convoys arrived in a region of ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) villages, which were allowed to organize their own SS police units that operated in concert with or independently of Einsatzgruppe D, which had been active in the area since July and August 1941. Unhindered by Romanian gendarmes, the *Volksdeutsche* units liquidated thousands of Odessan and Romanian Jews held in Berezovca's villages and townships. Their modus operandi was to collect a given number of Jews from a specific location, take them to the outskirts of that location, rob them of everything, and then shoot them, after which their corpses were doused with gasoline, burned, and occasionally buried. The plunder (or some of it) was then distributed to ethnic German villagers.

In this same manner, on March 10, 1942, a group of 15 German policemen from the villages of Mostovoi and Zavadovca shot 875 Jews at Balaiciuc. Additional killings of Jews at Balaiciuc occurred in the same year—for example, another 1,300 Jews on March 14 and 30 Jews on March 24 were shot—so that by the end of the year the total number of deaths exceeded 2,000. (Court depositions against Romanian officers who held various top positions in Berezovca also attest to their murder of Jews as well as of 12 to 14 local Ukrainians at Balaiciuc. The latter were shot to avenge the killing of a Romanian officer stationed in Balaiciuc.) At the end of 1942, only two Jews were reported as working in Balaiciuc, one as a miller and the other as a nurse.²

Hardly any information exists on life in the Balaiciuc ghetto, except for the names and professions of those still interned there in late November 1942.³ Jews from Odessa as well as from Romania lived in the ghetto. Work assignments for Jews were usually coordinated by the ghetto's Jewish labor committee in conjunction with the județ's Jewish labor committee. Berezovca's Jewish labor committee, which oversaw the

situation in Balaiciuc, was led by Dr. Bruno Gross (president), Dr. Iancu Lazarovici (secretary), and Marcu Gireman (Jewish Council member).⁴ Gross gained a bad reputation as president of both the Jewish labor committee and the Berezovca ghetto for alleged corruption and complicity in acts of extermination. The amassing of Jewish doctors for forced labor in the Berezovca județ in the summer of 1942 also facilitated the treatment of Romanian army personnel, diseased prisoners of war, local residents, and Roma (Gypsy) deportees. For example, Dr. Karol Barad, chief physician for the entire Bronska-Balca subdistrict, examined and vaccinated 48 gendarmes stationed in Balaiciuc in January 1943.

The March 1943 count of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, requested by the delegation of the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER) that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed seven people in Balaiciuc. It is not clear whether this figure included local Ukrainian Jews.⁵ A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, found no remaining Jews in the ghetto.⁶ The Red Army liberated the town in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Jews held at Balaiciuc during the Holocaust can be found in the following sources: "Balaichiuck," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), p. 74; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); for Soviet census data, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; for additional information about the massacre of Jews at Balaiciuc, see www.romanianjewish.org/en/cap5.html.

Archival sources regarding the fate of Jews held at Balaiciuc are in DAOO and SRI, which are available in microform at USHMM as RG-31.004M and RG-25.004M, respectively. For name lists of Jewish captives, indicating profession and place of origin, see in this collection reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 590, p. 22, and delo 591, p. 81; and reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 24, p. 81. For a statement reporting the massacre of 2,000 Jews at Balaiciuc, see in the same collection reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1514, pp. 3–4.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See Berezovca Gendarmerie report of the murder of Odessa's Jews, deported to villages in Berezovca, at the hands of German Selbstschutz units, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1514, pp. 3–4; another copy of the report is available at USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), roll 20, file 40011, vol. 8, p. 230, and the document is reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, p. 690. On the court depositions, see “Dosar nr. 1929/1949, Curtea București Secția II Penală, Decizia penală nr. 2951,” USHMMA, RG-25.004M/27/38891/1, pp. 197 (and verso), 281 (and verso).

2. See “Tabel nominal de evreii răspândiți pe raza acestui județ în afară de colonia din comuna Mostovoi, întocmit conf. Ord. Nr. 10627/942 al Prefect. Jud. Berezovca,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/24, p. 81.

3. See “Tabel nominal de evreii aflați la Balaiciuc,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/590, p. 22, and USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/591, p. 81.

4. See “Tabel de membrii Comitetului de muncă evreesc județean,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/590, p. 141; on allegations against Grosu, see “Dosar nr. 1929/1949, Curtea București Secția II Penală, Decizia penală nr. 2951,” USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 27, file 38891, vol. 1, pp. 198, 287.

5. See “Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

6. See “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

BALANOVCA

Balanovca (pre-1941: Balanovka județ, today: Balanivka, Ukraine), in the Berșad raion, the Balta județ of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) north of Balta. According to the January 1939 Soviet census, Balanovca had a Jewish population of 35. German forces occupied the village on July 29, 1941. From September 1941 to March 1944, after the Romanian authorities assumed control, they romanianized the name of the town from Balanovka to Balanovca. The village was one of the designated transitional sites in the Balta județ for the concentration of Jews from the convoys that entered Transnistria through the Iampol crossing point, pending their eventual deportation over the Bug River to the German-controlled area of Ukraine.

In October 1941, a ghetto was established in the village for Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who had been deported by the Romanian authorities to Transnistria. Approximately 3,500 Jews were placed in the ghetto, crowded into roofless cowsheds and left to the elements. Some 3,200 died—primarily of cold, malnutrition, poor hygiene, and typhus in the winter of 1941, and in the winter of 1942—as corpses gathered in piles on the frozen ground.¹ The Balanovca ghetto did not have the means to disinfect the thousands of deportees passing through the camp. The one existing disinfection oven, which was in-

stalled late in 1942, was incapable of coping with the great need, thereby endangering the lives of the 2,674 inhabitants of the village and the camp personnel.² The deplorable conditions attracted the attention of Romanian Red Cross members who, in 1942, pleaded with Marshal Ion Antonescu to ameliorate the inhumane conditions of this and other camps in the Balta județ, but to no avail. According to the official statistics (Letter No. 453, dated March 22, 1943) produced at the request of the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER), the Balanovca ghetto housed an estimated total of 410 Jews, including the local Jewish population (other sources indicate a total number of 499 Jews: 188 men, 230 women, and 81 children).³ A census conducted a few months later, on September 1, 1943, which did not include local Jews, recorded 316 Jews in the ghetto (270 from Bessarabia and 46 from Bukovina).⁴

The internees likely undertook hard labor during their captivity in the ghetto, and there is no evidence that they were ever paid for their work by the Romanian authorities. Whatever money reached the Balanovca ghetto was sent by the relatives of those detained via CER. As was customary throughout the Balta județ, the Jews in the Balanovca ghetto were under the supervision of a Jewish Council that oversaw, among other things, work duties. In the autumn of 1943, Balanovca survivors were under the supervision of Abraham Schmidt, the Jewish “colony chief” (*șef de colonie*).⁵ The Red Army liberated the town in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Secondary sources providing geographic and historical information on the fate of the Jewish community of Balanovca during the Holocaust include “Balanovka,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 400–401; for the 1939 census on the Jewish population, see “Balanovka,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2000), 4: 75. For information about the convoys’ chaotic movements from Bessarabia into Transnistria and across the Bug that resulted in extreme overcrowding of prisoners in underprepared and under-equipped camps and ghettos, causing large number of deaths in Balanovca, see Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003), pp. 56–86. A chronological description of deportations of Jews and Roma in the vicinity of Balanovca, based on documents from the German archives, is found in Ottmar Trasca and Dennis Deletant, eds., *Al III-lea Reich și Holocaustul din România: 1940–1944; Documente din Arhivele Germane* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2007). Statistical information about the Balanovca camp can be found in Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*,

vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947).

Primary sources on this ghetto can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1242); DAVINO; YVA; and USHMMA, RG-31.004M, copied from DAOO. In the last collection, there are lists of typhus-infected villagers in reel 17, fond 2358. The disinfection installations across the Berșad raion may be found on reel 17, fond 2358, frame 7; work organization in the Berșad raion, according to heads of committees and colonies, may be found on reel 6, fond 2242, frame 415.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-54-1242, p. 100.
2. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, 716, n.p.
3. "Către Comisiunea de Ajutorare, București, 22 Martie, 1943" and "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," both reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 342–344, 346; for a larger figure, see USHMMA RG-31.004M, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, n.p.
4. "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.
5. See USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1561, n.p.

BALCHI

Balchi (today: Balky, Ukraine), in the Moghilev județ in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 67 kilometers (42 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. German forces occupied the Ukrainian village of Balki on July 19, 1941. When the Romanians assumed authority over the village in September 1941, they romanianized the name to Balchi.

Romanian authorities created the ghetto in February 1942, when "Romanian" Jews were moved there from the town of Bar, located along the northwestern border of Transnistria. These Jews were originally from Bessarabia and Bukovina and had been deported by the Romanian authorities to Transnistria in the fall of 1941 and relocated in Bar. Former military barracks, in which about 1,000 Jews were crowded, served as the Bar ghetto.¹ Many of those Jews died of hunger and cold in the frigid winter of 1941, when temperatures reached –40° C (–40° F).² Lack of medication and the abysmal sanitary conditions led to a widespread typhus epidemic among the deportees, resulting in many deaths. The frozen ground prevented the burial of bodies, many of which were left lying in the open fields until the spring.

The Germans murdered some of the deportees in Balchi, because the village was close to the Bug, the river separating Romanian territory from the German-controlled territory of Ukraine.³ The deportees in Balchi included Romanian Jews decorated for serving in the Romanian Army during World

War I; others were wounded in the Great War, and some were widows and children of fallen Jewish soldiers.⁴ Among the decorated Jews were Haim Weisman (recognized for providing commercial assistance to the regime), Marcu Botnaru (recipient of the Jubilee Medal "Carol I" and the Commemorative Cross), and Leib Roisman (recipient of the Commemorative Cross Silver Medal). Among the wounded Jewish veterans were Toivi Klein and Idel Suster. The widows of World War I veterans included Pesa Menașes, Melka Drucman, and Baba Trathman.

Robbed repeatedly of their money and possessions on the way to Balchi, and having to pay for any act of kindness, most internees relied exclusively on financial help sent from family or friends in Bessarabia and Bukovina via the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER).⁵ Many did not receive the money soon enough to prevent them from starving to death. Forced labor was performed mainly outside the ghetto, with some Jews being temporarily deployed to nearby locations for various tasks. One such work site was the train station in Bar in German-controlled Ukraine, where detachments of 20 to 50 or more Jews from Balchi were frequently deployed to load wood onto freight trains. Some heavy labor was minimally remunerated, as was required by law (either through food coupons or money), but payment was sporadic or delayed, so most workers were probably never paid in full.⁶ "Light" work (housecleaning, street sweeping, road improvement, and the like) was not compensated at all. Jews in Balchi cultivated the land attached to the village with their own seeds and were permitted to keep some of what they harvested for themselves. Religious life in the ghetto continued, in spite of the harsh conditions. On September 17, 1942, the Jewish chief of the Balchi colony wrote to the Balchi raion military judge (*praetor*) regarding the approaching Yom Kippur holiday, requesting that the Jews in Balchi be allowed to observe the occasion and not be forced to work on September 21. The petition was approved with the condition that no freight trains needed to be loaded that day.⁷

The Moghilev prefecture, under whose jurisdiction the Balchi raion fell, listed 618 Jews in the Balchi ghetto in August 1942. The Relief Commission (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare*) of CER, whose representatives were permitted to visit various ghettos in Transnistria in January 1943, listed 849 Jews in Balchi in March 1943.⁸ (According to these documents, the delegation from the Relief Commission did not visit Balchi, but it provided aid for all the camps or ghettos in the Moghilev district, based on an estimate of deportees.) On September 1, 1943, there were still 680 Jews in the ghetto (388 from Bessarabia and 292 from Bukovina).⁹ The Red Army liberated Balchi in late March of 1944.

SOURCES General descriptions of the Jewish community of Balchi during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Balki (Balchi)," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Romanyab: Entsiklopedyab shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yebudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 402; and "Balki," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia

Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2000), 4: 77. The *Final Report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania* (Iași: Polirom, 2005), 2: 404, provides statistical evidence. For evidence of living conditions, see Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască*, vol. 2, parts 1 and 2, 1933–1944 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente. Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources regarding the extermination of the Jews of Balchi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1273) and DAVINO. At USHMM, the following holdings may be consulted: RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1564 and reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, p. 15; and RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 34. Published testimonies may be found in *Vestnik* 3 (Chernivtsi, 1994).

Ovidiu Creangă and Aleksander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Testimonies of Nusen Kuzminskiy and Semion Khalfin, in *Vestnik* 3 (Chernivtsi, 1994), pp. 10–11.

2. GARF, 7021-54-1273, p. 138, lists 800 Jews, but the figure may be too high.

3. See Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României*, vol. 2, part 1, p. 375; and vol. 2, part 2, p. 377.

4. See “Tabel Nominal de evreii decorați pentru merite special sau fapte de arme în războaiele României”; “Tabel nominal de evreii, invalizi de războiu aflați în ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni”; and “Tabel nominal de evreicele, care sunt văduve de războiu, aflate în ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni,” USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, 15, n.p.

5. See “Tabel de remiterile facute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Balki (jud. Moghilev),” USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1564, n.p.

6. USHMM, RG-31.011M, reel 34.

7. Ibid.

8. “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346.

9. “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

BALTA

Balta, the administrative center of the Balta județ, in central Transnistria, is located some 51 kilometers (32 miles) north-east of Râbnia. According to Soviet census data for 1939, 4,711 Jews were living in Balta, or 26 percent of the town's total. By the time German forces occupied Balta on August 5, 1941, a large number of Jews had managed to evacuate east-

ward, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Red Army, so that only about 2,000 Jews remained in Balta. Only three days after the town's occupation, on August 8, 1941, a Jewish pogrom took place in which about 140 Jewish refugees from Bessarabia and 60 local Jews were murdered.¹

After a month of German rule, responsibility for administering the village and its surroundings was turned over to the Romanian civil authorities in September 1941. The prefect, or governor, of the Balta județ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and the commander of the Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent-colonel Ștefan Gavet.

On September 3, 1941, Nica ordered all local Jews—“kikes” (*jidani*), as he termed them in the ordinance—to move into the ghetto (an area restricted to four streets on the town's outskirts) within three days. He appointed Jewish elder Pribluda Shloimu Abramovici as head (the Romanian term is mayor or *primar*) of the ghetto. Pinkas Rubinștein subsequently replaced Abramovici. Elected Jewish Council members administered the ghetto. They included Leon Cudisch (steering member), Abram Marcovski (finance director), Paul Cornștein (work chief), and Moise Stolear (workshops coordinator).² An independent bakery, pharmacy, and hospital staffed solely by Jews were established between 1942 and 1943 with the help of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER), which had the effect of reducing the number of deaths from typhus and starvation that began in the winter of 1941.³ A market was also set up where inhabitants could buy and sell produce between 9:00 A.M. and noon. The head of the ghetto was permitted to organize a Jewish police force to protect the lives and belongings of the residents. Although the ghetto was not strictly guarded, entry and exit between 11:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. were allowed only with a permit issued by the ghetto commandant (a gendarmerie officer).

All Jews between the ages of 14 and 60 were required to present themselves daily at 7:00 A.M. at the ghetto center to receive work assignments either in workshops (for workers skilled in tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, and tinsmithing) or for road maintenance and loading materials (for the unskilled). Skilled laborers were paid two German scrip marks (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS, German-issued scrip that passed for Transnistria's currency) per day, whereas unskilled workers received only 1 RKKS.⁴ All Jews were issued identity cards signed by the ghetto head and countersigned by the commandant, as well as a number sewn on their clothing next to the Star of David, to facilitate monitoring of their movements and activities. Jews could not leave the ghetto and go into town without wearing this number. All Jews were entered into a register for census purposes; those failing to register were denied bread, even if they paid for it. Any act of insubordination, revolt, or “terrorism,” as the Romanian authorities construed it, by a Jew led to his or her punishment by death, as well as death for 20 other Jews.⁵

In October 1941, 2,824 Jews were registered in the ghetto (both local Jews and approximately 1,000 refugees from Bessarabia, including some descendants of decorated soldiers of

World War I).⁶ In December 1941, about half of the Jews (some 1,500 people) were moved from the ghetto to a rural locality. Of that number, about 500 later returned to Balta, whereas some 1,000 were transported to camps in the Obodovca and Trostineț raions. At the same time, several hundred Jews were sent to the village of Perelety (8 kilometers [almost 5 miles] east of town) to build an airbase. The work continued until August 1942, during which time 70 people died there.

In January 1943, the Balta ghetto, as well as ghettos in other localities throughout Transnistria, was visited—with the permission of the Romanian government—by a delegation from the Relief Committee of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews. Witnessing firsthand the deportees' dire needs, the delegation sent financial and material help in the following months. It counted 2,723 Jews in the ghetto, including 1,906 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina, and 817 Ukrainian Jews.⁷ There were some 220 orphaned Jewish children in the Balta ghetto's two orphanages, under the direction of Eugen Sidar.⁸ Children received shoes and clothing, thanks to the efforts of CER. In February 1944, with the help of this organization and of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Jewish orphans up to 15 years of age were returned to Romania.

After half of the "Romanian" Jews were sent in the spring of 1943 to work in the Nicolaev raion as forced laborers at the disposal of the Nazi construction authority, Organisation Todt, there remained 866 "Romanian" Jews in the ghetto (418 from Bessarabia and 448 from Bukovina) on September 1, 1943.⁹ In late 1943, after the work in the Nicolaev raion was finished, the surviving Jews returned to the ghetto.

The reign of terror against the Jews in Balta intensified toward the end of 1943. On November 18, 1943, 83 Jews were shot, and in March 1944, during the withdrawal of German and Romanian troops, 270 more Jews were shot and about 60 were burned to death.¹⁰ The town was liberated on March 29, 1944.

SOURCES For information on the fate of the Jewish community of Balta during 1941 to 1944, the following secondary sources are available: "Balta," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 77–78; "Balta," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); and I. Koshin and P. Kozlenko, *Pomnit' i rasskazat': V dvubk chastiakh* (Odessa: Print, 2009). Census information collected during the Soviet administration in January 1939 is found in Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26. Other information about the Balta ghetto, with nuanced analysis, may be found in Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp,

ed., *Cartea Neagră. Fapte și Document; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources for this camp begin with GARF (7021-69-84), DAOO 2358-1-2, and YVA. For records of financial and material assistance, see USHMMA, RG-25.016M (ANR—Centrala Evreilor, 1941–1944), 1941–1944, reel 10, file 139. For selected information on life in the Balta ghetto, see USHMMA, RG-25.002M, ANR, reel 16, file 205/43, pp. 433–473. For names of members of the ghetto administration, descendants of decorated Jewish veterans in the Balta ghetto, and population statistics for the Balta județ see, respectively, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1561; reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, 8, pp. 54–55; and reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, p. 711.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, fond 69, delo 84, pp. 239, 240 (verso).
2. See "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organizare a Municipiilor Evreilor din Jud. Balta și a comitetelor evreiești din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1561, n.p. (RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1561/n.p.).
3. USHMMA, RG-25.016M (ANR—Centrala Evreilor, 1941–1944), reel 10, file 139, pp. 13–15 (USHMMA, RG-25.016M/10/139).
4. See "Notă," dated May 20, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.002M, ANR, reel 16, file 205/43, pp. 433–444 (USHMMA, RG-25.002M/16/205/43).
5. DAOO, 2358-1-2, p. 4. The order is republished in: Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 53, but see also p. 52.
6. GARF, fond 69, delo 84, p. 250; for deportees who were descendants of decorated Jewish soldiers, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1, 8/54–55.
7. A slightly larger number, 3,200 Jews, is found in "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, which probably takes into account local Jews as well. A lower number of 2,584 appears in a handwritten note from 1942; see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/17/2358/1, 711/n.p. By May 1943, the number of internees was 2,752, according to "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați în lagărele din Județul Balta, la 5 Mai 1943," USHMMA, RG-25.002M/16/205/43, p. 446.
8. USHMMA, RG-25.016M/10/139, pp. 344–352; however, Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 221, finds 75 orphaned children in the Balta ghetto. Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 557–560, lists 64 orphan children who lost both parents and gives their names.
9. See "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.
10. GARF, fond 69, delo 84, pp. 251, 258 (verso), 271, 272.

BALTA/120 LABOR BATTALION

Assigned by the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) to work for the Rear Area East Command (*Comandamentul Etapelor de Est*), the Balta 120 Labor Battalion (*Batalion de Lucru 120—Balta*, BL 120) was created in April 1943 and dispatched a month later to Balta in Romanian-controlled Transnistria.¹ The unit was also known as the Balta 120 Detachment. The main supply center for the operational divisions of the Romanian Army on the Eastern Front, the Rear Area East Command was led by Colonel Nicolae Pătrășcoiu.

Balta was the seat of the Balta județ, which bordered the Bug River in the eastern part of Transnistria. Balta is 51 kilometers (32 miles) north of Râbnîța.

Army territorial centers from various cities in Romania, such as Bacău, Craiova, Făgăraș, Alba Iulia, and Bucharest, drafted about 1,000 Jewish forced laborers, from 20 to 40 years old, to serve in BL 120. Some of these conscripted Jewish men were already doing forced labor in exterior brigades at the time of their new deployment. Skilled and unskilled Jews, as well as Jewish university students who had not yet finished their degrees, were drafted. A small number of Jewish tailors, shoemakers, hairdressers, carpenters, and smiths were asked to bring along with them necessary tools for performing such services. A few Jewish accountants and doctors were requisitioned and dispatched as bookkeepers and medical staff for the battalion. Doctors were compelled to serve for 90-day work cycles, whereas the other laborers were kept for an unspecified period.²

Organizationally, the BL 120 was a two-company unit, with each having 480 Jews (thus 960 in total). Each company was subdivided into four platoons of 120. Twelve Romanian army officers and 40 noncommissioned officers (NCOs) drawn from various army territorial centers were assigned to the battalion. The commandant was Căpitan Constantin Clineanu.³

The Jews in BL 120 were treated with a mix of generosity and cruelty by their persecutors. Transported by train in freight cars in crowded, unhygienic conditions, the Jews disembarked near Balta in Transnistria after five days of travel. From the train station, their luggage was loaded onto carts, and the forced laborers marched in formation to their quarters a few kilometers away. They were housed in a few dilapidated buildings, segregated from the German, Italian, and Romanian military bases that existed in the area. One of the two companies went to Britavca (42 kilometers [26 miles] northwest of Balta) to fell trees; part of the other company was deployed just outside the city of Balta to plant a large vegetable garden. The latter laborers gardened until September 1943, when they became treecutters in Bondurovca (51 kilometers [31 miles] northwest of Balta). Another group in the second company dug trenches.

Life in the headquarters camp or in subcamps farther afield was challenging, but generally better than in the Balta ghetto, with which the forced laborers did not have contact. The labor was demanding: cutting and loading 2 cubic meters (70 cubic feet) of wood per day or digging trenches 16 meters long, 1.60

meters deep, and 80 centimeters wide (52 feet long, over 5 feet deep, and almost 32 inches wide). The forced laborers received a daily portion of bread and soup, and meat a few times a week, in addition to tobacco. Tools were distributed to the laborers as well. Some received a meager salary amounting to 2 lei per workday, a regular soldier's pay. A number of Jews were given unloaded guns to "protect" themselves and deter partisan attacks, which were common in wooded areas. The accommodations were rudimentary throughout the subcamps. The forced laborers slept in makeshift barracks, abandoned houses, or barns.⁴

The Romanian commanders received strict instructions regarding battalion discipline, but enforced the rules selectively and occasionally. The laborers only wore the yellow armband, a distinctive sign for Jewish laborers in forced labor units, from time to time. Leaving the camp without a permit or talking with the local population was strictly forbidden, but some Jews socialized on occasion with Italian soldiers, who seemed friendly. All correspondence and parcels were censored (packages could contain only clothing), but unofficially some Jews received mail or money from those returning to Romania for whatever reason. A few lower level commanders (for example, Sergeant-major Solomon Ștefan, or an unnamed Ukrainian forester, or even a Jewish leader supervising the gardening team) were strict and abusive, especially under the influence of alcohol. Others like Sublocotenents Arghir and Constantin Dulgheru displayed unexpected acts of kindness that workers did not forget. Because BL 120 was formed and deployed in a short period of time, some of the Jews already working as forced laborers (especially those from Bacău) did not have a chance to get additional clothes and shoes from their families. As a result, they were in rags by the fall of 1943. They could not work in the cold months until the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) sent clothes.⁵ Some also received recycled military coats.

A level of organized religious life existed for some time. Due to the resourcefulness of the Jews from Făgăraș (near Sibiu in Romania), they were able to set up and operate a kosher kitchen, which functioned in parallel with the regular canteen. Locotenent Străchinescu permitted the observance of the Jewish High Holidays in the fall of 1943, but ordered non-observant Jews to go out to work.

The beginning of 1944 found BL 120 members scattered in various locations throughout Transnistria, usually accompanying the retreating German and Romanian armies. One such group, for example, temporarily reentered Bessarabia, crossing the Dniester River at the Râbnîța-Rezina crossing point to unload wheat brought from Transnistria. They reentered Transnistria shortly thereafter and baled straw and tended large cattle herds at Ghidirim (near Râbnîța) until February 1944. They slept in cattle barns, supplementing their food with meat from slaughtered cattle.

BL 120 returned to Romania in March 1944, making its way on foot and on carts through northern Bessarabia. In the chaos surrounding the general retreat, some laborers became

lost and others deserted. Twenty Jews lost touch with the main column and were later apprehended by Romanian soldiers on suspicion of spying. They survived because a kind corporal, although ordered to shoot them, led them instead to the killing site near the Prut River and freed them.⁶ Unable to reconnect with their peers, they were captured by Soviet soldiers near Cernăuți and forced to load goods for the Red Army.⁷

From April to August 1944, the remaining members of BL 120 lived in the Gherășeni commune (Buzău județ). The battalion later moved to a few other locations (including Botoșani) where some of its contingents were absorbed by other military labor units. After a year of continuous forced labor, some Jews were replaced in the spring of 1944 and allowed to return to their home cities.⁸ Others left the battalion under false pretenses, but were usually redrafted into local brigades in “mobile detachments” (*detașamente volante*) dedicated to emergency preparedness activities. In such units, they dug trenches and tunnels, built underground shelters, and fortified strategic positions to defend against attacks.⁹ Forced labor for Jews did not end until August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in the war. The town was liberated on March 29, 1944.

In May 1945, the Bucharest People’s Tribunal sentenced Pătrășcoiu to death for crimes committed against the Ukrainian population in Transnistria (under the pretext of their being partisans) and for mistreating the Jews of BL 120. The court also tried, but acquitted Clineanu.¹⁰

SOURCES For a collection of documents regarding the legislation surrounding the forced labor regime for Jews and regarding individual labor groups, including BL 120, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iassy: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the experience of Jews in the BL 120 are available at USHMM, in collections RG-25.003M (AMAN), RG-25.016 (CER), RG-25.004M (SRI), and RG-54.001 (ANM). A list of Jewish men enrolled in this battalion, compiled from various separate lists, is available as “Jewish Men in Battalion 120—Balta” at www.jewishgen.org/databases/Holocaust/0124_Balta-battalion.html and www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/source_view.php?SourceId=20768.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. MSM order No. 419.700, April 29, 1943, USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 42, file 7254, pp. 126–127.

2. Name lists of Jews according to education status and skills are available at USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 351, file 3492, pp. 119–122, 270, and 350; other name lists referencing various territorial centers can be found in the same collection, reel 339, file 114, pp. 6–8, 10.

3. See Annex No. 1 and Annex No. 2 accompanying this order of the Army General Staff, USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 42, file 7254, pp. 128–129.

4. VHA #01162, Eugen Leonida testimony, February 28, 1995; also VHA #45637, Eugen Krausz testimony, August 17, 1998.

5. See a list of clothing items sent to the Jews in BL 120: “Tablou de efecte de îmbrăcăminte date evreilor care prestează munca obligatorie la detașamentul Batalionul 120 Balta-Transnistria,” USHMM, RG-25.016M (CER), reel 17, file 276, p. 5 (and verso).

6. A 1944 newspaper article published in a communist-sympathizing magazine, *România Liberă*, “Masacrul de la Ștefănești: Batalionul de muncă 120 exterminat,” erroneously claimed the death of the respective group when in fact the entire group survived. A clipped copy of the article also appears in VHA #01162.

7. VHA #45637.

8. See the list of Jews sent to replace those who had one year of continuous work: USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 350, file 3490, p. 429 (but see also pp. 162–166, 272–273).

9. See, for example, a table with former BL 120 Jews working in a “calamities brigade”: USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 339, file 114, p. 22.

10. Indictment record, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file, 40011, vol. 1, pp. 5, 39; and, in the same collection, reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 97, 124–125.

BĂLȚI/LPRS NO. 7

Bălți, a midsized town and seat of the Bălți județ in northeastern Romania, in the Bessarabia province (today: Republic of Moldova), was annexed to Romania from the Soviet Union in June 1941. Situated along the banks of the Răuț River (a tributary of the Dniester River), Bălți is located 112 kilometers (70 miles) northwest of Chișinău.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the town on July 9, 1941. One month later, on August 20, 1941, the Romanian Army established a Soviet POW camp (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS), LPRS No. 7, in Bălți. The number of POWs held in the camp reached 5,790 (6,000 according to other accounts), of whom 1,896 were stationed in Bălți while the rest were placed in subcamps. The commanders from August 1941 to January 1942 were Colonel Gheorghe Chihai, seconded by Maior Alexandru Trandafirescu, the camp administrator, and Căpitan Ilie Deca, the commander of the Bălți labor detachment. After Chihai’s removal from command because of health reasons in January 1942, the camp was commanded by Colonel Mircea Petrescu and later Maior Pătrașcu. The chief medical doctor was Colonel Dr. Gheorghe Braha, and the chief camp inspector from the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes was Colonel Sandu Moldoveanu.

The camp was under the administration of the IV Territorial Command Office, Iassy (*Comandamentul IV Teritorial Iași*).¹ It had at its disposal 23 officers. There were also four Jewish medical officers, including Sub-locotenent Ilie Dumitrescu, the chief doctor of the Bălți detachment. A contingent of 498 gendarmes guarded the prisoners in the main camp and its subcamps. The Soviet prisoners included women and civil-

ians of many nationalities: Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Turks, Italians, and Greeks. The Soviet Jews among the POWs were singled out for being Jewish and, on one occasion, threatened with murder, which was averted at the last moment by Petrescu, the first camp commander.

The main camp was in Bălți. Due to the scarcity of usable buildings, it was spread out among eight locations, including empty houses left by deported Jews, a school building, and a Baptist church. The camp's command office was in Eva Grumberg's house; the commanding guard officers lived in Ițic Ioffe's house; the infirmary was in a house owned by the city hall. The main camp functioned as a rehabilitation center, as most of its POWs were sent there after they became unable to work. Because the subcamps lacked adequate living accommodations, the POWs stationed there were placed in any covered buildings that were uninhabited near their work sites, such as abandoned houses, barns, huts, warehouses, factories, and schools. These structures were rarely in good shape and provided only rudimentary living conditions.² The more permanent encampments were eventually enclosed with barbed wire after frequent escapes had occurred. Work detachments assisted in road building and erecting communication posts under the supervision of Romanian Army engineers (*batalioane de pionieri, batalioane de drumuri*).

The able-bodied prisoners were divided into five work detachments, which were further split into smaller subcamps and deployed for various lengths of time in locations in northern Bessarabia. Camp inspector Moldoveanu's report of December 24, 1941, listed the detachments and their subcamps.³ The Bălți detachment consisted of a subcamp of 574 POWs in Ghindești-Soroca (Soroca județ), crammed into two houses, and another subcamp in Tighina, with 87 POWs held in the Tighina Fortress. They were assigned to the 32nd and 35th Engineer Battalions, respectively. The Edineți detachment had a total of 802 prisoners accommodated in four smaller subcamps in Chetroșica Veche (Bălți județ), Paladia (Hotin județ), Edineți (Hotin județ), and Corbul (Soroca județ). The Jewish seminary building in Edineți was used to house the POWs and their guards. The Otaci (Atachi) detachment had a total of 1,000 POWs in subcamps at Atachi and Volcineț, and its members worked in a stone quarry for the Otaci communications subdetachment. Their temporary accommodations were in six warehouses and a synagogue in Atachi. The Cornești detachment had a total of 599 prisoners placed in subcamps in Fălești, Pârlita-Bălți, and Călărași-Lăpușna, working alongside the 3rd Road Engineer Battalion. The Orhei detachment was divided into two subcamps, in Orhei and Vatici, with a total of 582 prisoners working for the 1st Fortification Battalion.

The Soviet POWs' lives were particularly hard during their first year of captivity. In Bălți, the city's buildings were severely damaged by war, and those in better shape were occupied by the German and Italian armies, leaving only those that were barely standing to house the prisoners. In simple shelters, the POWs slept on the ground; those who were more fortunate slept on a layer of straw. Heating and sanitary facilities were

nonexistent. Cooking and eating utensils were insufficient, with three to four POWs sharing a bowl or a spoon. Moreover, all prisoners lacked adequate clothing or shoes for the type of work and the cold conditions. Because the POWs had to do the hardest work, such as breaking and carrying stone from quarries, their clothes and shoes were easily ruined, leaving the forced laborers poorly outfitted. A camp inspection in December 1941 found prisoners working seven days a week from sunrise to sunset, with 30 percent of them being barefoot.⁴ The combination of hard labor and poor nutrition (starch-based meals, such as corn grits or boiled wheat, were served regularly) caused many to become ill. Malaria, scabies, and rheumatism were the most common illnesses and were caused by drinking untreated river water, the cold temperature, and extremely poor hygiene. Hundreds were periodically escorted back to the main camp residence in Bălți in rags—barefooted and sick, no longer able to work, and in need of medical treatment. Healthier prisoners were usually sent to replace them.⁵

A typhus epidemic erupted on November 20, 1941. The admission of 100 already infected POWs into the camp may have caused the outbreak, which, in conjunction with the prisoners' general state (they were louse infested and unwashed), spread quickly. Efforts to delouse the prisoners in November 1941 were partial and fragmentary. In most subcamps, soap supplies had not been received since September. The exact number of deaths resulting from typhus is not available (some records suggest hundreds, others as few as two victims), but more than 100 prisoners died from other illnesses (88 according to one account, but it includes only the winter of 1941–1942).⁶ Some of the Jewish doctors recruited to treat POWs also contracted typhus.

The situation changed beginning in April and May 1942, when more thorough camp inspections and sanctions against camp commanders and chief service administrators brought improvements in accommodations, nutrition, and work schedule, including remuneration for the POWs' labor (in food, tobacco, and small sums of money). Still, physical abuses against POWs remained all too common, especially when supervisors were not on site.

In 1943, Chihaia was court-martialed for the typhus outbreak in the Bălți camp (and subcamps), receiving a 10-day prison sentence.⁷ After the war, on March 14, 1946, the Bucharest People's Tribunal sentenced Chihaia to four years in prison for the inhumane treatment of Soviet POWs. The sentence was subsequently overturned on August 31, 1946, when he was acquitted. The same court also sentenced Trandafirescu to three years in prison.⁸ Finally, in 1951 and 1952, Chihaia's earlier sentences were revisited, and the court also tried Căpitan Gheorghe Manda and Locotenent Petre Donca Manea, former heads of the Ghindești subcamp, where typhus first erupted. On February 19, 1954, the court, however, acquitted Manda and Manea.⁹

SOURCES No published study on the Bălți LPRS camp is presently available. General information about the fate of

Soviet POWs in Romania can be found in Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); and Andrei Șiperco, *Comitetul Internațional al Crucii Roșii și România, 1944–1947: Prizonierii de Război și Internați Civili Germani, Unguri și Austrieci, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee și Ajutorarea Evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Oscar Print, 2009).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Soviet POWs held in the Bălți LPRS camp and its subcamps can be found at USHMMA, SRI collection (RG-25.004M, reel 126, file 24361, vols. 1, 6, 7) and TsAMO (fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 1–94).

Ovidiu Creangă and Oleksandr Marinchenko

NOTES

1. See Cihai's lawyer's concluding letter to the prosecutor, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 6, pp. 70–79 (esp. pp. 70–71) (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/6).

2. Official copy of "Dare de seamă," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/6, p. 29, and also official copy of "Dare de seama," October 1941, in the same collection and volume, p. 38.

3. Sandu Moldoveanu's inspection report, "Dare de Seamă—Nr. 19," Dec. 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/6, pp. 85–98; for an earlier account that provides a slightly different organizational outline, see "Dare de Seama," in the same collection and volume, p. 29.

4. Moldoveanu, "Dare de Seamă—Nr. 19," December 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/6, pp. 85–98 (esp. 94–95); see also Constantin Nuțescu's report, commandant of the 7th Road Engineer Battalion, October 4, 1941, in the same collection and volume, p. 36.

5. Moldoveanu, "Dare de Seamă—Nr. 19," December 24, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/6, pp. 85–98; see also the prosecution statement against Chihai and Trandafirescu, in the same collection, vol. 7, pp. 444–450.

6. "Lagarul de prizonieri 7 Budești, Județul Ilfov," which also includes the camp's victims after relocating to Budești, lists well over 200 deaths that occurred while the camp was in Bălți, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 1–94 (document pages); see also Chihai's lawyer's letter to court judge, case file no. 2222, dated 1951, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/1, pp. 309 (and verso), 318 (and verso); see also a refutation statement from Chihai's lawyer, "Concluziuni sumare," in the same collection and volume, pp. 310–317; for the lack of soap, see correspondence No. 2674, November 27, 1941, between Chihai and subcamp commandant, in the same collection, vol. 6, p. 48.

7. "Act de Acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/7, pp. 123–140 (esp. p. 127).

8. See the court's verdict on March 14, 1946, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/7, p. 482; see the transcript of the court's decision to retry the case, vol. 6, pp. 102–104 (and verso); see Chihai's letter to the chief prosecutor, August 15, 1946, where supplementary evidence for overturning the initial sentence is introduced, pp. 6–7 (and verso); see also the court's decision to admit the evidence and rehear the case, pp. 20–21 (and verso); the defense requests that the court's decision to acquit Chihai be publicized, p. 82. For Trandafirescu's condemnation, see his appeal letter, dated July 1946, pp. 169, 173 (and verso).

9. See the Supreme Court's decision to reexamine the sentences, Decision No. 223, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/1, pp. 319–321 (and verso); see court Decision No. 201, in the same collection and volume, p. 244 (but also pp. 236–240 [and verso] and 245–249).

BĂLȚI/RAUȚEL

Situated in the northern part of Bessarabia (today: Moldova), the city of Bălți is located along the banks of the Rău River (a tributary of the Dniester River), 112 kilometers (70 miles) northwest of Chișinău. It was a județ (district) center for many years and had a significant Jewish population.

On July 8, 1941, Romanian and German armies entered Bălți and, in less than two days, established a military and police presence. The German Eleventh Army's commander, General Erich Ritter von Schobert, set up headquarters in Bălți and became the city's military commandant. Hauptmann von Prast headed the German military police, the Romanian police was led by Dumitru Agapie, and the Gendarmes Legion (*Legiunea de Jandarmi*) was commanded by Boulescu Mihail. The camp later established outside of Bălți was known as Rauțel.

Because the German troops and the Gestapo did not stay for long in Bălți, Romanian authorities were almost exclusively responsible for running the city. Nevertheless, during the days of shared Romanian and German administration, both sides closely collaborated, especially in persecuting and murdering Jews.

The harassment of Jews started in the first few days after the occupation. The Romanian police and Nazi SS rounded up the entire Jewish population of Bălți, regardless of sex or age, and interned them in two temporary ghettos: one was located on the property of the former sugar factory, Ismanschi; the other was in the courtyard of the local penitentiary. Following von Prast's order, a ghetto committee was created, composed of 12 members under the leadership of Bernard Walter. The committee was responsible for organizing the distribution of supplies and taking care of ghetto sanitation.

On July 12, 1941, German police ordered the Romanian gendarmes, who were in charge of guarding the ghetto, to hand over 10 intellectuals among the Jewish detainees to the Germans to be murdered, on the pretext that the Jewish population had committed acts of sabotage against their army in Bălți. On the same day, after the Romanian chief of police agreed to this demand, 10 Jewish intellectuals from the Ismanschi ghetto were handed over to the Germans and were killed in the central park of Bălți.¹

Three days later the operation was repeated. This time, von Prast asked ghetto committee members to make a list of "20 communist Jews" to be killed, warning them that in the case of an inadequate response the committee members would be the first ones to be murdered. The committee refused to furnish the list, and the majority of its members were included among the group of 20 Jews transported to a place near Flaminda, where the Nazi SS murdered them. Shortly before the killings,



Leaders of the Jewish community of Bălți, one hour before their execution, 1941.

USHMM WS #77628, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

Walter, the president of the Jewish committee, was saved by the personal intervention of the chief of the Romanian police.² At the killing site, signs were posted both in German and Romanian, and signed by von Prast and Agapie, announcing that the Jews had been executed because the Jewish population had committed acts of sabotage and fired on the German Army.

The exact number of killings perpetrated by German authorities is not known, but the records from the Bălți police archives contain a list of detainees murdered in Bălți by the Germans during the period of July 10–12, 1941. These records include the names of 76 people between the ages of 18 and 74, the majority of whom were men.³

The Romanian police soon initiated its own killing operations against the Jews. The gendarmes escorted approximately 80 Jews from the Ismanschi ghetto to a location in the suburbs, Movila Aviatiei, where they forced the prisoners to dig their own graves. In groups of 10, Jews were forced to their knees in front of the graves and shot.⁴

The arrests of Jews from throughout the Bălți district continued on July 16 and 17, 1941, and groups of prisoners were sent to three detention sites: Fălești (1,546 Jews), Bălți (1,235 Jews), and Limbenii Noi (700 Jews).⁵ Given the lack of space, food, and personnel necessary for guarding the Jews, the Romanian administration in Bălți sought a solution to its self-imposed “Jewish problem.” Concerned about the size of the next group—5,000 Jews—coming to Bălți, the Romanian Army praetor (an individual with administrative and judicial power in a district or military unit), General Ion Topor, sent a message to his superiors, complaining that he did not have sufficient people to guard the Jews and lacked the rations to feed them.

Documents show that, from the very first days of the Romanian occupation, the city’s administration had decided to remove its Jews and to relocate them to a nearby forest. The chosen site was Rauțel, located 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from the city, to which Jews were sent as early as July 15, 1941. That same day a Romanian sergeant announced to his superiors that he found four women and two children hidden in a garden of one of the residents of Bălți, and all of them were interned in the Rauțel camp.⁶

On July 19, 1941, the Bălți police chief requested that 10 Romanian soldiers be sent, under the command of an officer, to guard the camp situated in the court of the penitentiary, where all the Jews had been provisionally kept “before being sent and interned in the camp in the Rauțel forest.”⁷ The transfer of a majority of these Jews to the Rauțel camp occurred during the last few days of July, when the Bălți police chief reported that 2,164 Jews—men, women, and children—were evacuated from the city; only 233 men and women were left in Bălți, at the disposal of the mayor, for the purpose of cleaning the city.⁸ On August 16, the same person reported to a regional inspector that not a single Jew was present in the city: all had been sent to camps.⁹

Detainees from other places were also sent to Rauțel. The police of the Soroca județ prepared the lists of Jews who were to be interned in the Rauțel camp between July 22 and 30, 1941. The first list totaled 1,093 people and included approximately 380 children; more than one-third of the prisoners were women. Other lists included 578, 342, and 151 names and had a similar makeup.¹⁰

The Rauțel camp proved to be among the most horrific camps in Bessarabia. It had almost no shelter for its thousands of internees, with the sole exception of six run-down cabins that could shelter a maximum of 100 people. The camp was surrounded with barbed wire. The majority of the Jews slept in antitank ditches covered by dry branches. On rainy days and nights they had to drain the ditches of water by using old cans or just their bare hands. With insufficient food, shelter, and medical assistance, the prisoners were practically condemned to death. The mortality rate was 50 to 60 per day: the first to succumb were children and the elderly.

Starved and covered in rags, the prisoners were regularly transported to the city for work projects. They searched the streets for any leftover food in attempts to survive. The encounter with Rauțel camp detainees shocked the residents of Bălți and the surrounding communities, who came to speak with horror about Rauțel.

For more than one month, Jews lived in the horrible conditions of famine and misery found in the Rauțel camp. After that, they were deported to the no less dreadful camp at Mărculești (still in Bessarabia), and from there to Transnistria. In October, Dumitru Agapie reported to the Bălți garrison commander that on August 30, 1941, “the Jewish camps from Bălți Județ were disbanded, and all the Jews were transferred to the camp in Mărculești (Soroca Județ).”¹¹

SOURCES There is no specialized study on the history of the Bălți/Rauțel detention site. Published documentation on these sites may be found in Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jews during the Holocaust*, 12 vols. (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986), vol. 6; and J. Alexandru and S. Stanciu, eds., *Martiriul Evreilor din Romania 1940–1944: Documente si marturii Federatia Comunitatilor Evreiesti din Romania* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 1991).

Primary sources regarding the murder of Jews, prisoner composition, and deportations from the camp are available at

USHMMA, RG-54.001M, copied from ANRM. There are also some survivor testimonies available at YVA 0-3.

Diana Dumitru and Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Ancel, *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jews during the Holocaust*, 6: 269.
2. Alexandru and Stanciu, *Martirul Evreilor din Romania, 1940–1944*, p. 236.
3. USHMMA, ANRM, RG-54.001M, roll 5, fond 694, opis 3, file 132.
4. Ancel, *Documents*, 6: 272.
5. *Ibid.*, 6: 17.
6. *Ibid.*
7. USHMMA, RG-54.001, roll 5, fond 694, opis 3, file 132.
8. *Ibid.*, files 58 and 59.
9. *Ibid.*, file 105.
10. *Ibid.*, file 105, pp. 158–192.
11. *Ibid.*, file 294.

BEREZOVCA

Berezovca (today: Berezivka, Ukraine) the seat of the Berezovca raion and județ center in the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, lies 82.8 kilometers (51.5 miles) north-northeast of Odessa. According to the 1926 Soviet census, 3,223 Jews lived in the city, representing 42.6 percent of the population. A 1939 census found the number of Jews in the city reduced to 1,424, amounting only to 16.54 percent of the population. Of those, 800 lived in the Berezovca raion outside the city of Berezovca.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the city on August 6, 1941. In the weeks preceding the occupation, some Jews managed to flee eastward, and men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. By the time the Germans and Romanians occupied the city, only 250 to 300 Jews remained. From August to early September 1941, a German military commandant (Ortskommandantur II / 939) administered the city. The city's first "Jewish Aktion" was on August 14, 1941, when Sonderkommando 10a shot 41 Jews. Another 100 Jews were murdered on August 25 or 26, 1941. Records produced by the German commandant's office listing Jewish property showed that 211 Jews (56 men, 84 women, and 71 children) were murdered by early September.

In September 1941, the Romanian civil administration took over and romanianized the name of the town from Berezovka to Berezovca. Berezovca's prefect was Colonel Leonida Popp, and his deputy was Dr. Victor Petrenciuc; the praetor in Berezovca was C. Șerpuleț, and the commander of the Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu.

The Romanian gendarmerie placed the remaining Jews in a ghetto in late September 1941, to which were added Jews rounded up from nearby villages. In total, the ghetto had nearly 800 Jews. In November and December 1941, they were all sent to the Bogdanovca camp (the last transfer was sent on Decem-

ber 10, 1941), where they perished at the end of 1941 along with the other Jews gathered there.

Following the massacre of Odessa's Jews by the Romanian Army in October 1941, thousands of survivors were subsequently deported to the villages and townships of northern Oceacov and southern Berezovca județe. After a temporary halt in December 1941, a systematic deportation of Jews from Odessa began again in January and February 1942. The Berezovca județ was traversed by a main rail line linking Odessa to Kiev, which passed the city of Berezovca. Convoys of Jews from the city of Odessa regularly arrived by train in Berezovca during the first half of 1942. After disembarking at the Berezovca train station, they marched north toward the Golta județ, where many met their end in its "death camps." Other Jews from the Odessa județ were marched on foot (some in carts) through Berezovca and from there to the death camps. Stragglers were shot and their bodies left on the side of the road.

As these Jewish convoys were forced-marched through the Berezovca județ they were occasionally robbed and shot by armed residents of the many ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) villages along the way. The *Volksdeutsche* then distributed these Jews' possessions—jewelry, money, and clothes—to German and Ukrainian villagers.

Some 100 to 200 Jews from Romania were resettled in Berezovca in 1942. Among them were a few descendents of state functionaries in interwar Romania.¹ The secretary of the Jewish labor committee, named Lazarovici, enlisted Jews for mandatory work in Berezovca.² As forced laborers, their pay was a fraction of what they were entitled to receive.³ A few Jews (Leiba Raff, Frida Lazarovici, and Paul Grünvald) were assigned white-collar positions, working temporarily as accountants for Berezovca's prefecture in its economic and commercial offices in July 1943.⁴ Several other skilled Jews (Iosif Abramovici, Țalic Raf, Efraim Fleișman, Solomon Aizic, Rudolf Hirchem, Gustav Segal, and Ițic Alter) occupied similar privileged positions in the praetor's office and local industries, such as the detergent and soap factory and the fruit cannery, and in the town's main shop.⁵ Deemed important to the Berezovca administration, these workers were promised on October 16, 1943, a monthly income of 400 RKKS (German-issued scrip, *Reichskreditkassenschein*); their situation was a stark contrast to that experienced by the rest of the Jewish workers.⁶ Private funds from family and friends living in Romania were sent to the deportees in Berezovca to use to better their situation.⁷

In 1942 three Jewish doctors (Iosub Solomon, Bercu Iancu, and Moise Kestelman) were brought as forced laborers to work in Berezovca's general hospital and health clinic, as well as in an insurance office.⁸ Doctors Ludvig Samler, Mendel Wiesen-thal, and Haim Ițicovici were sent to the same hospitals in 1943, serving two obligatory 90-day cycles as forced laborers per year.⁹

The March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, which was requested by the delegation of the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER)

that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed 47 people in Berezovca (and 452 for the whole județ). It is not clear whether this figure included the local Ukrainian Jews.¹⁰ A subsequent count, conducted on September 1, 1943, listed only three Jews (two Jews from Bessarabia and one from Bukovina) remaining in the ghetto, without counting local Jews.¹¹ In the wake of the Soviet liberation of Transnistria in March 1943, the Romanian government repatriated all Romanian Jewish orphans, up to 15 years old, from Transnistria; Berezovca orphans were enlisted for repatriation as well.¹²

In late 1942, deported Roma (Gypsies) from Romania were scattered throughout villages and small towns in the Berezovca județ.¹³ Their already precarious material situation worsened dramatically during the winter months. By the summer of 1943, hundreds had died from starvation, the cold, and illness. Almost naked and unwashed, their plight worried the Romanian authorities only insofar as the Roma posed the danger of the outbreak of a typhus epidemic among them spreading to infect locals from neighboring colonies, as indeed happened.¹⁴

SOURCES Information on the fate of Jews and Roma in Berezovca during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: “Berezovka,” in Jean Ancel et al. eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah; Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-‘ad le-abar Sho‘at Milbemet ha-‘olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 409–410; “Berezovka,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2000), 4: 125; and “Berezovka,” 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: 116; for Soviet census data, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 21, 53; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003). For a study of Romanian Gypsies during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the life of Jewish and Roma deportees in Berezovca can be found in the following archives. Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary Commission and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of the Jews of Berezovca are found in GARF, file 7021-69-75. At USHMM, records of DAOO under RG-31.004M can be searched for lists of Jews living and working in Berezovca in reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 591, p. 76, and in reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 675, p. 68; records of Jewish doctors doing forced labor in Berezovca’s hospitals can be found in

the same record group in reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 77, p. 19. For a list of Jewish descendants of Romanian state functionaries, see in the same collection reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 592, p. 195; for tables listing the names of Romanian Roma (Gypsies) deported to the Berezovca județ, see in the same collection reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 592, pp. 292–297, and reel 12, fond 2242, opis 2, 72, pp. 15–21. For a survivor’s testimony, see Hanna Rabinovich, April 10, 1944, GARF, fond 7021, opis 149, delo 38, pp. 12–13.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov

NOTES

1. See “Tabel nominal al evreilor descendenți ai foștilor funcționari publici și aflați actualmente în districtul Berezovca,” February 25, 1944, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, 592, p. 195 (USHMM, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 592, p. 195).

2. See “Tabel nominal de evreii aflați în Berezovca,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 591, p. 76.

3. See “Tabel nominal de evreii care execută muncă obligatorie în raionul Berezovca,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 675, p. 68.

4. See Decision Nr. 4131/1943, signed by Colonel Leonida Popp, Berezovca’s prefect, USHMM, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1, 26, p. 141.

5. See Phone Note Nr. 1986, April 2, 1943, Pretura Berezovca to Prefectura Jud. Berezovca, USHMM, RG-31.004M/21/2377/2s, 4, p. 37.

6. See Decision Nr. 6562, December 11, 1943, signed by C. Șerpuleț, Berezovca’s praetor, USHMM, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1, 26, p. 189.

7. See “Borderou de plățile făcute evreilor aflați în Jud. Berezovca în baza ordinelor Guvernământului,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 669, p. 68.

8. See “Order Nr. 35070,” signed by Dr. Juga Aurel, January 27, 1943, USHMM, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1, 26/65; letter dated February 5, 1943, “Prefectura Jud. Berezovca, Serv. Administrativ către Pretura Berezovca,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/21/2377/2s, 4, p. 21.

9. See “Tabel nominal de medicii evrei care lucrează în raza Jud. Berezovca în cadrul muncii obligatorii de 90 de zile,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 77, p. 19.

10. See “Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

11. See “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

12. See “Tabel nominal al copiilor orfani până la vârsta de 15 ani aflați în Jud. Berezovca,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 592, p. 197.

13. See “Tabel nominal al Țiganilor evacuați din Țară în Transnistria, care au fost așezați în raionul Landau, Jud. Berezovca,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, 592, pp. 292–297; and “Tabel nominal al Țiganilor evacuați din Țară în Transnistria, care au fost așezați în raionul Landau, districtul Berezovca și plecați în locuri necunoscute,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/12/2242/2, 72, pp. 15–21.

14. See Aurel Juga's field report, Berezovca's Chief of Medical Services, to Berezovca's prefect, July 13, 1943, reprinted in Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, pp. 248–249.

BERNANDOVCA

Bernandovca (pre-1941: Berandovka; today: Chyzhove), a township in the Berezovca raion in the Berezovca județ, is located 85 kilometers (53 miles) north of Odessa in the south-eastern part of Transnistria. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 1,424 Jews lived in the Berezovca județ, amounting to 16.5 percent of the total population. Of those, 800 Jews lived in the villages and townships of the Berezovca raion.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Bernandovca and the surrounding Berezovca raion in August 1941. After a brief period of German rule, the Romanian civil administration of Transnistria, coordinated from Odessa, took over control of the township. The new administration romanianized the township's name to Bernandovca or, in some documents, Bernadovca, and governed it through the Berezovca județ. Berezovca's prefect was Colonel Leonida Popp, and the commander of the județ's Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu.

Bernandovca was an ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) Ukrainian township. In the early days of the invasion, the Einsatzgruppen moved throughout Transnistria, murdering Jews, Roma, and political prisoners. They were assisted by Selbstschutz police units formed of local *Volksdeutsche*, who continued to kill Jews after the Einsatzkommando left the region. Romanian gendarmes and local Ukrainian police units occasionally acted in concert with them, sharing intelligence and manpower in gathering and murdering the Jews of Berezovca, both in the autumn of 1941 and in the spring of 1942. They also acted independently of each other.

Following the massacre of Odessa's Jews by the Romanian Army in October 1941, thousands of survivors were deported to the villages and townships of the northern Oceacov and southern Berezovca județe. After a temporary halt in December 1941, a systematic deportation of Jews from Odessa began again in February 1942. The deportees were transported by freight trains in unbearably freezing and crowded conditions. The Berezovca județ was traversed by a main rail line linking Odessa to Kiev, which passed by the Berezovca township. Jews disembarked at Berezovca and were marched north toward Golta's death camps or were placed in various locations throughout the Berezovca raion and in other raions farther away.

In February 1942, about 500 Jews from Odessa were placed in a dilapidated farmhouse in Bernandovca, where they remained for approximately one month. On March 18, 1942, a Selbstschutz unit from the village murdered 483 of these Jews. A German officer was present during the mass murder.¹ The report about this incident, issued by Berezovca's Gendarmes Legion and retransmitted by the Transnistrian General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, indicated only the manner in which

the Jews died ("execution through shooting"), but not the disposition of the remains.² The Red Army liberated Bernandovca in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Bernandovca's Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following sources: "Bernadovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 128; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 21, 53; International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, *Final Report* (Iași: Polirom, 2005); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources on the ghetto at Bernandovca can be found in SRI, a microform of which is available at USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 20, file 40011, vol. 8. For a survivor's testimony proposing an even higher number of victims of Selbstschutz units in Bernandovca, see Rubin Udler, "Horrors of War," in Anita Brostoff and Sheila Chamovitz, eds., *Flares of Memory: Stories of Childhood during the Holocaust* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 70–80.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See the information report issued by the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion and signed by Colonel Emil Broșteanu: "Notă Informativă, Nr. 181 in 18 Martie 1942," reprinted in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 261, reproduced from USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 20, file 40011, vol. 8, n.p.

2. Ibid.

BERȘAD

Berșad is the seat of the Berșad raion, Balta județ, located some 48 kilometers (30 miles) north of Balta in Romanian-controlled Transnistria. According to the 1926 census, there were 7,016 Jews living in the Ukrainian town of Bershad (Romanian: Berșad); Soviet census data for 1939 indicated that the town's Jewish population had declined to 4,271 (73.6 percent of the total population). This decline was primarily a result of the resettlement of Jews to other towns and regions.

German forces occupied Berșad on July 29, 1941, five weeks after the invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During those intervening weeks, some Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red

Army. Approximately 2,500 Jews remained at the start of the occupation.

In September 1941, the Romanian authorities assumed responsibility for the administration of the town, romanianized its name to Berșad, and established a ghetto in the town. It encompassed 12 side streets and 337 houses. The ghetto was not surrounded with barbed wire, but going outside its boundaries without permission was punishable by death. Eli Marchak headed the Jewish Council that ran the ghetto. In October and November 1941, around 15,000 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina were moved into the ghetto. In December 1941, they were joined by several thousand Jews from the Berezovca județ, including around 1,500 Jews from Balta (although about 500 of them were soon returned to Balta) and around 500 Jews from the village of Peschanaia.¹ In total, more than 20,000 Jews were concentrated in the ghetto. The Romanian Jews were placed in the homes of local Jews, with 15 to 25 people living in each room; even the synagogue building was used as living space.

The ghetto had a Jewish police force and a well-organized Jewish labor committee, directed by Benjamin Korse, on which seven members served: lawyers Mihail Schrențel (an aide to the colony chief) and Solomon Schneider (secretary), Dr. Filip Tabac, Iehil Gold, Șmil Puchki, Leon Heisner, and Bercu Goldenberg (chief of the ghetto police).²

Jewish forced labor at Berșad assumed various forms. Some Jews felled trees and cleaned streets, others were used in workshops and factories (furniture, sugar, electric, and canning), whereas still others had duties inside the ghetto (at the pharmacy, city hall, hospital, school, and orphanage).³ Some were unemployed due to a shortage of work and work tools. In return for their work, most received meager or no compensation and therefore were forced to barter items for food or to work for Ukrainian peasants, exposing themselves to the risk of being shot if caught outside the ghetto. The payment some received, which consisted of one or two German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) per day, was equivalent to the price of a loaf of bread.⁴

As early as December 1941, a typhus epidemic raged in the overcrowded ghetto, and in a short time more than 8,000 people died from the disease, hunger, and cold.⁵ Living conditions for the ghetto inmates improved slightly in the summer of 1942 when supplies, including medical aid, began to arrive from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER).⁶ A pharmacy, a 65-bed hospital for infectious diseases, and a free dining hall for 450 people were then set up in the ghetto. A special problem in the ghetto was presented by the orphaned children, who begged for alms in the streets but nevertheless succumbed to the hunger and cold. In the fall of 1941, money sent by CER was used to rent a four-room house, in which 122 children between the ages of 5 and 16 were placed. In the spring of 1942, the Jewish Council rented a room and housed a group of 10 orphans there, who had all been released from the hospital after recovering from typhus. In addition, 135 children were placed with families who were in relatively good shape.

Another 60 to 70 children were moved to a children's home (orphanage) in Balta in late November 1942. In mid-1943, financial aid from Jews in Romania was used to buy new clothes for the residents of the children's home in Berșad. Teachers educated the orphaned children, and as of the second half of 1943, a Jewish Romanian school for all the children in the ghetto was in operation in Berșad. The teachers did not receive any pay, and the language of instruction was Romanian. In early March 1944, orphans younger than 15 were repatriated to Romania.⁷

In January 1943, with the permission of the Romanian government, a delegation from the Relief Commission (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare*) of CER visited the Berșad ghetto. The delegation found that there were 9,200 Jews in the ghetto, including 6,950 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina and 2,250 Ukrainian Jews. The number of Jewish orphaned children was 257. By mid-1943, after the transfer of 1,000 Jews to a labor camp, the number of Jews in the ghetto declined to 8,061. On September 1, 1943, after 1,203 more Jews were relocated for work in August 1943,⁸ there were 5,261 Jews in the ghetto (1,998 from Bessarabia and 3,263 from Bukovina).⁹

A resistance group, headed by Iosif Blinder, operated in the ghetto from 1942 to 1944. This group made contact with a partisan detachment commanded by Iakov Talis that was based in the Berșad raion. The Jews provided assistance to the partisans in the form of money, material goods, and medication and also hid partisans inside the ghetto. In retribution for helping the partisans, 173 Jews were shot on February 11, 1944, and an additional 154 were shot on March 11, 1944. Among the victims were Eli Marchak and Iosif Blinder. Other victims included Jeni and Hasia Sicor, the brother and sister-in-law of survivor Marcus Vexer from Vaslui (Romania), whose written testimony confirms the events and gives the name of one of the Romanian subordinates involved in the killings, Florin Ghineraru.¹⁰

Approximately 3,000 more Jews were exterminated and buried in mass graves by Romanian and German troops in the weeks before the Soviet army reached Berșad. The town was liberated on March 14, 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Berșad during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Bershad," in Hugo Gold and Max Rendel, eds., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina* (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1958–1962); "Bershad," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivisdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 411; "Bershad," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 128; V. Lukin et al., eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel'. Vypusk 2. Podoliia* (St. Petersburg: Ezro, 2000), pp. 119–145; and "Bershad," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001). For census figures, see

Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 23. Other historical information is available in Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947).

Primary sources begin with GARF (7021-54-1242), DA-VINO, and YVA. Relevant archival sources at USHMM are as follows: DAOO, records from the collections of YVA, USHMM, Acc. No. 1995.A.1273; for the Jewish Bureau Labor Organization of Balta County and of Jewish Committees from Balta County, with reference to the Berșad ghetto, see USHMM, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1562; and short written testimonies from survivors from the Berșad ghetto are available in USHMM, RG-25.051, “Records of the World Jewish Congress, 1945” (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-69-84, p. 250; and 7021-69-81, p. 281 (and verso).
2. “Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organizare a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta și a Comitetelor evreiești din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943,” USHMM, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1562, n.p. (image 0000 1128–29).
3. “Tabel nominal de evreii din ghetoul Berșad între buințați la diverse întreprinderi și instituții locale,” as copied to USHMM, Acc. No. 1995.A.1273.
4. See survivor testimony of Herman Vexer from Vaslui, Romania, in USHMM, RG-25.051M (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).
5. See the statements of former ghetto leader V. Goldenberg at the trial of 38 Romanian war criminals in Bucharest (*Pravda*, May 19, 1945). According to ChGK materials, between late 1941 and the spring of 1942, 13,500 people died of typhus in the ghetto (GARF, 7021-54-1242, pp. 129 [and verso]). This figure is too high, but survivors corroborate high figures of people dying each day. See Dora Weisthal’s letter in USHMM, RG-25.051M (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).
6. USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 17.
7. USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1541, n.p.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1242, p. 10.
9. “Situție numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.
10. GARF, 7021-54-1242, p. 5; USHMM, RG-25.051M (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).

BIRZULA

Birzula (today: Podilsk, Ukraine), a town in the Rybnitsa județ in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 96 kilometers (60 miles) northeast of Chișinău. There were 2,507 Jews living in Birzula according to the 1926 Soviet census. The town was renamed Kotovsk in 1935. From 1928 to 1929, the town was the capital of the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which comprised territories east of the Dniester River. The 1939 Soviet census recorded 2,735 Jewish residents in the town, or 17 percent of its population.

The German armed forces occupied the town on August 6, 1941. Between that time and the earlier invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, some of the Jews had managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the USSR, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Soviet Army or entered military service voluntarily. In August 1941, a German military commandant’s office governed the town. From September 1941 to March 1944, Birzula came under the Romanian governorship of Transnistria in the Rybnitsa județ.

The town was a transit point for convoys entering Transnistria via the Rezina-Râbnita crossing point over the Dniester River. One such convoy from Vertujeni in Bessarabia crossed the Dniester at Rybnitsa on October 10, 1941, and spent the night in cowsheds and a bombed-out school in Birzula, before moving on to the Grozdovca transit camp.¹ The corporal in charge of the Birzula ghetto greeted each arrival with a blow on his or her back with an iron bar. The convoys passing through Birzula went to the towns of Bobrick (in the Liubașevca raion) and Crivoi Ozero (in the Golta județ) and from there to other destinations across the Bug River.

Immediately after the occupation of Birzula, Einsatzgruppe D killed 115 Jews from the town. The remaining Jews were then herded into an open ghetto, and more were shot during the process of ghettoization. In October 1941, the Jews of Birzula were forced onto convoys with other Jews arriving from Bessarabia and Bukovina and were deported eastward. Many died or were killed en route, their bodies left unburied by the side of the road. More than 600 Jews were shot at one point along the road, 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of the village of Borshchi, by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen. Some 50 Jews from Birzula were killed in November 1941, and some were deported to Dubăsari.

Between the summer of 1942 and the autumn of 1943, Birzula became an important work center of the Balta Labor Battalion 120. Jews from other ghettos in Transnistria, including Odessa, were brought into the town and put to work by the Romanian authorities in the newly reorganized industrial “workshops” (*ateliers*), in nearby factories, and on local building projects. This select workforce was divided according to training or profession. An official count of all the Jews found in Birzula between September and October 1943 listed 117 Jews divided into 24 professions—from doctors to builders to fashion designers.² Birzula workshops were under the direction of two appointed Jewish doctors, Sigfried Wittner of Cernăuți and Wilhelm Schimmel of Rădăuți, who in turn

answered to Romanian administrators.³ Workshop chiefs managed work production. The items produced in the Birzula workshops (shoes, furs, boots, leather suitcases, and furniture) were transported back into Romania and sold there.⁴ Skilled Jews from the Birzula ghetto were recruited by the Government of Transnistria's Department of Labor to work on tasks in and around Odessa toward the end of 1943 and beginning of 1944.⁵ Because the expertise of the workers was so valued, their requests for family members to accompany them were usually granted.⁶

Information is known about the head administrator of a shoe factory in Birzula, whose name was G. Cracovescu: he was denounced by the Romanian authorities for forcing young Jewish women into prostitution with officers of the Romanian 35th Infantry Regiment stationed in Birzula.⁷ Sexual abuse of Jewish women during their internment in ghettos is known almost solely from survivors' testimonies, because such despicable acts were rarely mentioned in government records. The case in Birzula was an exception, though it is not known what measures, if any, were taken against Cracovescu and/or other incriminated army officers.

On September 1, 1943, there were still 95 Jews living and working in Birzula (10 from Bessarabia and 85 from Bukovina). The Red Army liberated the town in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information from secondary sources on Jews in Birzula/Kotovsk during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: for census counts, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26; for brief, introductory articles, see "Birzula," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); and "Kotovsk," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 174. A brief mention of the death of Jews in Birzula also occurs in the booklet, *Vaad of Ukraine: Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine* (Vaad Ukrainy, 1991). For other studies that discuss the situation of Jewish deportees in Birzula in greater detail, see Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003), pp. 59–60, 82, 276; and Matias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947), p. 88. For an account of rape and forced prostitution during the Holocaust in Romania, see Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască*, vol. 2, second part: *1933–1944*, trans. Carol Bines (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003), pp. 53–71.

Primary sources from the following archives document life under German and Romanian occupation for the Jews of Birzula: GARF (7021-69-74), DAOO, and YVA. Additional relevant holdings at USHMMA include RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1503; reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1561; and reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, p. 8. Some pub-

lished documentation may be found in *Final Report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania* (Iași: Polirom, 2005), vol. 2.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Translator Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See "Cronologie Istorică, 21 Iunie–10 Noembrie 1941," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 88.
2. See "Tabel numeric de evreii aflați la Birzula pe categorie, în luna Septembrie 1943 până la 1 Octombrie a.c.," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1561, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1561/n.p.).
3. See "Tabel nominal al meseriașilor din Atelierele Guvernământului Birzula," in *ibid.*
4. See "Referat: Domnule Guvernator, September 28, 1943" (Letter from Director of Labor, C. Sdrobici, to the Governor of Transnistria, dated September 28, 1943), USHMMA, RG-31.004M/5/2242/1/1503/n.p.
5. See "Lista evreilor repartizați din Birzula, pentru Dir. Muncii," in *ibid.*
6. See "Direcția Muncei, Serviciul Migrațiunii: La adresa Dvs. Nr. 2999/944, avem onoare a vă comunica mai jos numele meseriașilor evrei și al soțiilor lor veniți de la Birzula la Odesa, 11 Ian. 1944," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/8/n.p.
7. Report dated October 2, 1943, and forwarded by the Chișinău-Odesa Gendarmes Under-Inspectorate to the Government of Transnistria, Labor Bureau. Official report is reprinted from DAOO, Acc. No. 2242-1-1503, in Lya Benjamin, ed., *Final Report of the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania*, vol. 2: *Documente*, p. 514.

BOBRIC

Bobric (pre-1941: Bobrik), a village in the Liubașevca raion, in the Golta județ, in the eastern part of the Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 140 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Chișinău and 26 kilometers (16 miles) northeast of Ananiev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, some 1,021 Jews lived in the Liubașevca raion (statistical data for the village do not exist), representing 3.3 percent of its population. Before being occupied in 1941, a few of Bobric's Jews managed to escape by retreating with the Red Army or by enlisting as soldiers, but most remained in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Bobric in August 1941, and after a short period of German rule, authority was turned over to the Romanian civil administration. However, while the village was still under German occupation, German forces rounded up hundreds of Ukrainian Jews from Bobric and shot them at the outskirts of the village.

After establishing areas of jurisdiction over Transnistria in the Tighina Agreement of August 30, 1941, which divided the territorial and economic spoils in and around Transnistria between Germany and Romania, the Romanian authorities took control of the southern part of Pirvomaish, which was divided by the Bug River, and renamed it Golta, the pre-Soviet name. Thus, Golta became a județ center and the seat of various

county administrative and military offices that oversaw affairs in Bobric. The authorities romanianized the village's name to Bobric and placed it under the administration of Golta's prefect, Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and his deputy prefect, Aristide S. Pădure.

Along with Crivoi Ozero, Bobric was one of the destinations initially intended for Jewish convoys from Bessarabia entering Transnistria via the Rezina-Râbnîța crossing point.¹ However, many deportees initially directed to Bobric and nearby Crivoi Ozero were instead taken to Golta's death camps at Bogdanovca, Acmețetca, and Domanovca, where they perished in large numbers at the end of December 1941. Subsequent convoys, as well as smaller groups from the Balta ghetto, were stationed temporarily in Bobric before being transferred across the Bug River to German-occupied territory. According to a gendarmerie report dated December 9, 1941, and signed by General de divizie Constantin Z. Vasiliu, at that time General Inspector of Gendarmes and later Deputy Interior Minister in Antonescu's government, some 29,476 Jews were concentrated "in and around Bobric, Crivoi Ozero, and Bogdanovca."²

Information about Bobric's camp (*lagăr*), as it was called by Romanian authorities, is scant because it was actually a transit site. The deadly combination of many corpses that were left exposed to the elements or only partly buried, the arrival of deportees already infected with lice, and the lack of hygiene and medicine among locals resulted in a large typhus epidemic that spread in Bobric and its environs. In addition to endangering the healthy deportees, the epidemic also threatened Ukrainian civilians and Romanian soldiers. The acquiring of lice-infested clothes from Jews, bartered in exchange for food, also contributed to the spread of disease among locals. Thus, in November 1941, measures were taken to disinfect nearby camps (such as Vazdovca) and villages in the Liubașevca raion, with the help of local farmers and Romanian infantrymen, commanded by Locotenent Gheorghe Moșoiu. However, the epidemic continued to spread with the arrival of new convoys in the area in January and February 1942. On January 31, 1942, Prefect Isopescu requested a mobile sanitation team with delousing equipment to be sent to the area in an effort to prevent the spread of typhus to Bobric and beyond.

In January 1942, after seeing firsthand the deplorable conditions in which Jews were held while awaiting transfer across the Bug, members of the National Society of the Red Cross of Romania (*Societatea Națională de Cruce Roșie din România*, SNCRR) petitioned Marshal Ion Antonescu through Dr. Ion Costinescu, the society's president, to conduct an investigation of the Bobric transit camp. The petition carefully appealed to Antonescu's moral and national pride as a Romanian Christian leader and blamed the Jewish disaster on the negligence of his pitiless subalterns. The SNCRR offered to provide immediate medical assistance, if it was permitted to visit Transnistria's ghettos and camps. (In addition to Bobric, the letter mentioned other locations, including Mitki, Obodovca, Balanovca, and Bogdanovca.)³ The request passed through the hands of various ministry officials before reaching Professor Gheorghe

Alexianu, Transnistria's governor, who refused the Red Cross's request to assist interned Jews. Instead, he directed their concerns to the needs of the Romanian Army and of its prisoners of war, thus leaving Jewish needs in the hands of Jewish organizations.⁴

In the summer of 1943, deported Roma (Gypsies) from Romania were concentrated on the outskirts of Bobric, forming the Bobric colony (*colonie*). Poorly guarded and irregularly fed, the Roma occasionally left the colony, banding together and committing robberies in search of food; some were wounded or killed by the gendarmes.⁵ To earn their living, the Bobric colony residents were sent to work in forestry in the Savrani woods. Unpaid, hungry, and ill, they resorted to stealing and selling wood, as well as making various wooden items (such as wooden spoons) that they sold to villagers.⁶ In anticipation of the winter of 1943, a proposal was made on October 22, 1943, that Roma from the Arcipitovca camp (7 kilometers or 4.3 miles from Arcipitovca) be placed in two groups in Bobric until the spring: 300 in one part of the village (known as Bobric I) and 150 in another part (Bobric II).⁷ According to the food-request form, which was issued by the Liubașevca raion's praetor to the gendarme post in Bobric, the only ingredients that could be requested (and so provided) for the Roma were cornmeal, oil, and potatoes.⁸ The Red Army liberated Bobric in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Bobric's Jews and Roma during the Holocaust can be found in the following sources: Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53. For a study on the activity of SNCRR on behalf of Jews interned in Transnistria during the Holocaust, see Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Bobric's Jews and Roma during the Holocaust are found at USHMMA in the DAOO, DAMO, and SRI records. For a report detailing crossing points over the Dniester River, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (especially p. 3). For the SNCRR letter requesting an investigation of the mistreatment of Jews at Bobric while asking permission to intervene, see in the same collection reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1486, p. 162. For gendarmerie complaints concerning Roma acting lawlessly in and around Bobric, see USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 369, pp. 36, 49, 132. For reports concerning food and accommodation of Roma, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 369, p. 86 (and verso). For the Vasiliu letter, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18844, vol. 3, p. 718.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See "Dare de Seamă asupra Organizării și Funcționării Serviciului Jandarmeriei în Transnistria," December 3, 1941, and signed by Transnistria's Gendarmes Inspector, Colonel M. Petală, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (especially p. 3) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/1/2242/4s/5, pp. 1–5).

2. See "Referat din 9 Decembrie 1941," December 15, 1941, and signed by General de divizie Constantin Z. Vasiliu, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18844, vol. 3, p. 718. The report and figures are reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 608.

3. See a copy of the letter sent by SNCRR, "Copie de pe adresa Societății Naționale de Cruce Roșie a României No. 4091/942," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1486, p. 162.

4. See the marginalia containing Alexianu's answer on the letter informing him of the SNCRR request, January 22, 1942, *ibid.*, pp. 159–160.

5. See the report "Nr. 6367, 1943, Luna ix Ziua 12, Legiunea Jandarmi Golta către Prefectura Jud. Golta," USHMMA, RG31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 369, p. 36 (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 36); and see also another report to the same effect on p. 49. Both are reprinted in Achim, *Documente privind Deportarea Țiganilor*, 2: 312, 321.

6. See communication between Transnistria's Directorate of Forestry, Balta Office, and Transnistria's Directorate of Forestry, Administrative Service, "Nr. 6568, 18 Decembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 132, reprinted in Achim, *Documente privind Deportarea Țiganilor*, 2: 407–408.

7. See "Raport privind situația generală și motivarea măsurilor luate de Pretură, pentru cazarea și repartizarea Țiganilor în localități pe timpul iernei," October 22, 1943, and issued by the Praetor's office, Liubashevka raion, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 86 (and verso), reprinted in Achim, *Documente privind Deportarea Țiganilor*, 2: 352–355.

8. See "Pretura Raionului Liubașevca către Postul Jandarmi Bobric," August 16, 1943, Order Nr. 5829, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/21/2383/1/19, p. 658, reprinted in Achim, *Documente privind Deportarea Țiganilor*, 2: 288–289.

BOGDANOVCA

Bogdanovca, a village in the Domanovca raion, in the Golta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Bohdanivka, Ukraine), is located near the Bug River. Bogdanovca is 33 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Golta and 152 kilometers (94 miles) north-northeast of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Bogdanovca in August 1941, and the Romanian administration took over control at the end of September 1941. Under this administration, the village's name was romanianized from Bogdanovka to Bogdanovca. The Golta prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu; his deputy was Aristide Pădure. Maior Romulus Ambrus commanded the Golta Gendarmes Legion. The Domanovca praetor was Vasile Mănescu, who was suc-

ceeded by Teodor Iliescu and Gheorghe Bobei. The commandant of the Bogdanovca gendarme post (and camp) was Sergeant-major Nicolae Melinescu.

Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina reached the Golta județ by early October and continued to pour into the region until November 1941. Approximately 1,500 Jews were placed in a large, dilapidated animal farm (*sovkhov*) in Bogdanovca. The site was supposed to be temporary, but the German authorities' halting of deportations of Jews across the Bug led to it becoming a more permanent camp. Jews from other camps in the Golta and Berezovca județe were transferred to Bogdanovca in November 1941. The largest influx, 30,000 Jews, came from Odessa and the southern districts of Transnistria in November and December 1941. From housing 1,500 Jews in October 1941, the camp grew to 11,000 Jews in November and to 52,000 Jews by mid-December 1941, making it the largest camp of Jews in Transnistria.

The sovkhov was equipped with dozens of pigsties, large barns, and silos for raising pigs and cows. In addition, 40 or more sheds were connected to the farm, but were scattered over a larger area. Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the unfenced camp.¹ On arrival the deportees were shoved into pigsties without provisions.² A typhus epidemic erupted by November 1941, killing hundreds daily and threatening the entire region. In the pigsties, the dead lay among the living. A wagon came around every few days to gather frozen bodies, which were thrown into silos.

At Bogdanovca, Jews were to be exterminated by "natural" means: starvation and disease. Therefore typhus, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, and dysentery were allowed to rage in the camp. The strongest sneaked out to get food, but risked capture by police, locals, or soldiers.³ To prevent Jewish valuables from falling into Ukrainian hands, Prefect Isopescu established committees that asked the Jews to hand over valuables in exchange for compensation by the National Bank of Romania (*Banca Națională a României*, BNR). This fraudulent scheme became known as "robbery by protocol." Deputy Prefect Pădure, Praetor Mănescu, and other military authorities were implicated in it, and the involvement of a Jewish agent, Izu Landau, lent it a sense of plausibility. When Jews hesitated to hand over valuables for a piece of paper, the complicit authorities set up a camp bakery that sold only 500 loaves of bread per day, just enough to induce the starving Jews to pay with gold.

In December 1941, Bucharest officials transmitted the order to exterminate everyone in the Bogdanovca camp. Prefect Isopescu was first informed of it verbally and passed the information on to his deputy, Pădure. Pădure informed Praetor Mănescu, who in turn asked Sergeant major Melinescu to implement the order. Melinescu's refusal to obey prompted his dismissal. Pădure eventually assigned the task to a Ukrainian policeman, Afanasie Grigorievici Andrusin, who was already implicated in the murder of Jews in the Golta ghetto. A group of 70 Ukrainian auxiliaries from the district assisted Andrusin.

The massacre of 48,000 Jews began on December 20, 1941. It started inside the camp where 4,000 to 5,000 of the weakest

were locked in four cowsheds that were covered with straw, sprinkled with gasoline, and incinerated. The next day, the remaining Jews were ordered to march to the forest near the Bug River, 2 to 3 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) from the camp. Once there, they were told to undress and remove any valuables; gold teeth were extracted on the spot with bayonets. In smaller groups they proceeded to a ravine where a firing squad awaited them. From December 21 to 24 and from December 28 to 30, the murderers shot from morning to evening, while the victims awaited their deaths in the bitter cold. Operations resumed after the New Year holiday, on January 3, and ended on January 9. Three hundred and sixty (later reduced to 163) Jews were selected to form a disposal team to cover up the operation. This team gathered the bodies, sorted through piles of victims' goods, and burned the corpses on large pyres. The cremation of the bodies went on for two or more months (some accounts suggest until May 1942). During that time, other Jews who were found hiding in nearby villages were brought to that forest, shot, and thrown into the fire. The victims' belongings were dispersed to local hospitals or hotels or sold to the populace.⁴

The Bogdanovca sovkhov, a Romanian state farm by that point named "Bogdan-Vodă," resumed animal herding activi-



A young man who survived the massacre of the Jewish population of Bogdanovca, 1944.

USHMM WS #80849, COURTESY OF THE RUSSIAN STATE DOCUMENTARY FILM & PHOTO ARCHIVE.

ties in the spring of 1942; some survivors of the massacre and other Jews who arrived in the camp were deployed there as forced laborers. On May 20, 1942, 154 Jews from the Chişinău ghetto, together with 48 Jewish mental patients from the Chişinău Hospital, were deported to Vradievca in Transnistria. On their arrival on May 22, they were marched to the Bogdanovca camp, some 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of Vradievca.⁵ Most of them were killed or deported soon thereafter.

On June 29, 1942, 213 prisoners (166 men, 38 women, and 9 children) were counted in the Bogdanovca camp; on September 1, 1943, there were 70 (not including the local Ukrainian Jews).⁶ They wore the yellow star, were kept in the pigsties, and worked without pay. On January 14, 1943, a few hundred Jews from the Alexandrovca camp (Odessa judeţ) arrived in Bogdanovca after spending 19 days locked in freight cars without food or water and in extreme temperatures. Eleven of these unfortunate Jews died in transit from hunger and cold, and the surviving deportees were placed in the pigsties. Some were later moved to Golta. On February 5, 1943, some 200 Jews were deported directly from Romania to Bogdanovca as punishment for allegedly evading forced labor. Seven of them died in the pigsties before the rest were moved to Golta.⁷

In 1943, the inmates' treatment improved. The Jews received aid from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din Romania, Secţiunea de Asistenţă*, CER). Bogdanovca's praetor made a half-hearted effort to pay the Jewish workers in the raion by backdating days worked from July 1, 1943 to March 31, 1944. It is unlikely that the 138 Jewish "day laborers" were ever paid, however.⁸ The Romanian administration evacuated Golta at the end of March 1944. The Red Army liberated the Bogdanovca camp in early April 1944.

The atrocities that occurred in Bogdanovca became known to the National Society of the Red Cross of Romania (*Societatea Naţională de Cruce Roşie din România*, SNCRR) in 1942. SNCRR's president implored Marshal Ion Antonescu to ameliorate the situation. Mihai Antonescu, Romania's Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, asked the Internal Affairs Ministry to "investigate" the claim, but nothing was done.⁹ In 1942 and 1943, Tiraspol's military court investigated a number of Golta officials, including the prefect and his deputy, in connection with the theft of Jewish gold from Bogdanovca and other camps in the Golta judeţ.¹⁰ In May 1945, the People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried Isopescu and Pădure, along with accomplices Mănescu, Bobei, Landau, and Melinescu, for robbery, torture, and murder at Bogdanovca.¹¹ They were sentenced to life in prison for their crimes against the Roma, not the Jews.

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Bogdanovca camp can be found in the following publications: "Bohdanovka," in *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossphen, 2009); "Bohdanovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*,

vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Eric C. Steinhardt, “Family, Fascists, and ‘Volksdeutsche’: The Bogdanovka Collective Farm and the Holocaust in Southern Ukraine,” *HSJCH* 16: 1–2 (2010): 65–96.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the Bogdanovca camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). A testimony by T. Lowenstein Lavi regarding the annihilation of Cernăuți’s Jews in the Bogdanovca camp was a featured example of Nazi-encouraged cruelties in the trial of Adolf Eichmann; a film clip about it is available at USHMMA, under RG-60.2100*060. USHMMA’s oral history project and VHA hold together 86 testimonies from Jewish survivors who were held in the Bogdanovca camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.477*0010, Klara Birman, oral history interview, December 9, 1998.

2. VHA #49554, Libe Havas Burihovici testimony, March 8, 1999.

3. See the prefect’s report about the arrest of Ukrainian policemen and locals robbing and murdering 60 to 70 Jews, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 9, p. 45 (verso).

4. Isopescu’s letter to the government of Transnistria, April 20, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 15, p. 193.

5. General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu’s information report to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 153–154. See also the post-deportation account, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 128, file 96, pp. 73–74.

6. “Situația numerică de evrei aflați pe raza județului Golta la data de 27 Iunie 1942,” USHMMA, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 423, p. 163; for the September 1, 1943, count, see the census table reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

7. Diary entries January 14, 1943, and February 5, 1943, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 303–304.

8. See a table with number of workers and compensation for the Domanovca raion, March 1944 (?), USHMMA, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 423, p. 29.

9. See correspondence and resolution, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1486, pp. 161–162.

10. USHMMA, RG-31.008M, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 59, 74, delo 457.

11. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 5; indictments appear in the same collection and reel, vol. 19, vol. 1, pp. 4–40, 115–120.

BOLGRAD

Bolgrad, a small town in the Ismail județ in southern Bessarabia, in southeastern Romania (today: Bolhrad, Ukraine), is 150 kilometers (93 miles) south-southwest of Chișinău. There were approximately 6,240 Jews in the Ismail județ (census data for Bolgrad were not available) in 1939 and only 1,259 Jews in September 1941 at the time of the Romanian and German occupation; the Soviet regime that controlled Bessarabia from June 1940 to June 1941 had deported to Siberia some Jews from Bolgrad for being “wealthy” and/or “unsupportive” of the regime, and Jewish men of military age were drafted into the Red Army just before the attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941.¹ Some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, and others tried unsuccessfully to flee the area, but many remained in place. At the next census in May 1942, there were no Jews left in Bolgrad.²

The German and Romanian armies occupied Bolgrad in early July 1941. The prefect in the Ismail județ was Colonel S. Atanasiu, and the deputy commandant of the Ismail Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent Ion Gangea. The local population, encouraged by the approaching troops, started ransacking Jewish properties, especially those left unattended by the departed Jews. Roundups and shootings of the Jews and of those (both Jews and non-Jews) deemed communist began immediately. Jews living in rural areas around Bolgrad were rounded up by gendarmes and brought to the village. Some were shot outside the town, others were transported to the Tarutino ghetto in August 1941, but a number remained in Bolgrad where they were confined to a small area.

The Bolgrad ghetto encompassed only a few streets in the town’s former Jewish section. Houses inside the ghetto were damaged during the fight for the town or were vandalized after the occupation and were hardly fit for human habitation. Wearing the yellow star became mandatory. Gendarmes guarded the ghetto, permitting only a small number of men to leave the ghetto to purchase food from the market. Permission to leave, however, was discontinued after September 15, except for small groups of Jews who were subjected to forced labor in town—cleaning streets and removing rubble. They were guarded while working.³

Orders for the deportation of all Jews from southern Bessarabia, including Bolgrad, were issued in early October 1941 by Colonel Teodor Meculescu, the chief inspector of gendarmes for Bessarabia. On his orders, the Jews of the Bolgrad ghetto left on October 15 and began a four-day march to Tarutino. Soon thereafter, on October 25 and 27, they embarked on another four-day march from Tarutino to Purcari-Iasca (south of Tighina) on the Dniester River, some 70 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Tarutino.⁴ Meculescu ordered the gendarmerie authorities in southern Bessarabia (the Gendarmes Legions in Cetatea Albă, Ismail, and Chilia) to

remove all Jews from the areas under their jurisdiction and to bury those who were shot for not keeping up with the forced march. He warned of severe penalties if he found “a single Jew in the rural or urban territory after the closing of the operations.”⁵ Even while the Jews were still living in the Bolgrad ghetto, but especially after their deportation, Jewish homes and business were expropriated and became state property.

Indeed, only four Jews—a Jewish woman who was an Argentinian national, two Jewish women married to Christian men deported by the Soviet authorities, and a 14-year-old unbaptized son from a mixed marriage—were left in Bolgrad at the beginning of November 1941.⁶ According to a census of ethnic groups living in Bolgrad, only one Jew—the Argentinian national—resided in town in December 1941 (of a population of 10,000 residents, most of whom were ethnic Bulgarians).⁷ As Ștefan Ionescu, chief of the Bolgrad police, Security Bureau, noted in a November 1941 report, “all Jews have gone to the camp.”⁸ The orders of Bessarabia’s governor, General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu, for the “total cleansing” of Bessarabia, which Meculescu reiterated, were thus fulfilled.⁹

The Bolgrad ghetto closed down in November 1941, its former residents arriving weeks later in the southern part of the Golta district, an area known as the “kingdom of death” for its killing centers at Bogdanovca, Acmecețca, and Domanovca, as well as in the northern part of the Berezovca județ (Berezovca and Mostovoi) in Transnistria. Many perished there, although a few survived and returned to Bolgrad in March and April 1944. The Bolgrad police continued to supervise them closely until June 1944.¹⁰

In May 1942, some 1,119 Jews from the Regat (from towns such as Huși, Tecuci, Vaslui, and Galați), along with 119 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), were deployed to the 2nd Bolgrad Roads Battalion to do forced labor.¹¹ The battalion was headquartered in Bolgrad. A detachment of Jews was stationed 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) northeast of the town, in a village called Cubei (Kubey), where they worked in a stone quarry, breaking down boulders needed for road construction around the city of Ismail.¹² The work was physically demanding and dangerous, most of it being done with sledgehammers; the rocks were then transported by hand to wagons. After a few months of work the laborers’ clothes turned into rags, and their tools broke. The food received was minimal, mail and packages were censored, freedom to move about was limited, and leaves were granted rarely. At the end of 1943 the battalion moved back to the Regat, along with its detachments of Jews. It was not until after Romania switched sides in the war, on August 23, 1944, that the Jews were released from forced labor and could return home.

Starting in 1945, the People’s Court in Bucharest tried and convicted a number of perpetrators, including Governor Voiculescu, for crimes committed against the Jews in Bessarabia.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Bolgrad ghetto can be found in the following publications: “Bolgrad,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wi-

goder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), vol. 1; “Ismail,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-‘olam ha-sbeniyah*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 2:331–334; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia și Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuții la Istoria Încercării de Exterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947); Arkadii Mazur, *Stranit’ sy istorii sorokskikh evreev: Vtoraiâ polovina XIX veka i XX vek* (Chișinău: Editura Ruxanda, 1999); and Ion C. Butnaru, *The Silent Holocaust: Romania and Its Jews* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992). For forced labor of Jews in Romania, including Bolgrad, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013). Information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities in Bolgrad under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Față de Culele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania; Iassy: Polirom, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Bolgrad’s Jews are available at USHMM, in collections RG-31.004M (DAOO); RG-31.014M (DAOO, Izmail branch); RG-25.004M (SRI); RG-25.025 (ANR, Vs); RG-54.001M (ANRM); and RG-54.004M (ANRM), Selected Records of the Liaison Office (under the Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers) for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria, 1941–1944. VHA holds 10 testimonies from Jewish survivors deported from Bolgrad or who had lived in the town before the outbreak of the war against the Soviet Union.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.405*0011, Mikhail Schvartsman testimony, June 4, 1990.
2. Ismail district census figures, 1930 to 1942, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 18, p. 15.
3. USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7525, opis 1s, delo 8, p. 22.
4. Deportation instructions for the Jews of southern Bessarabia: USHMM, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 53–60 (esp. pp. 55–60); each convoy’s itinerary and schedule were carefully indicated and clearly marked on the map of the area accompanying the instructions (pp. 61–63).
5. Meculescu’s instructions: USHMM, RG-54.001M, reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 64–66; for accompanying departure/arrival schedules and map, see pp. 67–68.

6. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7525, opis 1s, delo 8, p. 89 (see also pp. 13–15).

7. Statistical figures of ethnic minorities in Bolgrad, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7525, opis 1s, delo 8, p. 168 (see also p. 149) and p. 3 (verso).

8. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7525, opis 1s, delo 8, p. 120.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

10. USHMMA, RG-54.004M (ANRM), reel 17, fond 680, file 4766, vol. 1.

11. For a description of the battalion, see USHMMA, RG-54.004M (Selected Records of the Liaison Office [under the Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers] for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria, 1941–1944), reel 10, fond 706, opis 1, delo 522, p. 35.

12. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0049, Ion Butnaru testimony, May 3, 1990; for a nominal list of the Jewish workers, see USHMMA, RG-25.025M (ANR-Vs), reel 8, file 2, 1942.

BOLGRAD/LPRS NO. 8

Bolgrad, a small town in the Ismail județ in southern Bessarabia, in southeastern Romania (today: Bolhrad, Ukraine), is 150 kilometers (93 miles) south-southwest of Chișinău.

A camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was set up in Bolgrad, following the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union that occurred on June 22, 1941. The camp was formally known as a camp for Soviet prisoners (*Lagăr de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici No. 8 Bolgrad*, LPRS), LPRS No. 8 Bolgrad. The camp fell under the III Territorial Command Center (*Comandamentul III Teritorial*), which contributed to the camp's organization and supplies, but control over the camp was exercised by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM). The commandant of the camp was Maior Cristea Lazarovici, assisted by Locotenent Dumitru Oprițoiu. The camp guards were gendarmes from the Ismail Legion of Gendarmes.¹

The first wave of Soviet prisoners interned in the Bolgrad camp in the fall of 1941 came from the provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina, as well as from Transnistria, which had been recaptured by the German and Romanian armies in July and August 1941. Most were originally from those territories and had been only recently drafted into the Red Army. After being captured, the prisoners were sent to a few transit camps for processing in Bessarabia, as well as in the Regat. One such camp in Bessarabia was in Chișinău and was known as prisoner camp no. 1 (*Lagărul No. 1*).² LPRS No. 4 Vaslui, in the Regat, also processed prisoners before their internment in the Bolgrad camp.³ Later, as the Eastern Front advanced beyond Odessa and across the Bug River, a second wave of prisoners arrived in the Bolgrad camp during the spring of 1942. They had been captured in Crimea (Sevastopol and Kerch) and had already spent time in a prisoner camp in Nicolaev (Mykolaiv, Ukraine).⁴

Little information has survived about the camp's actual location and its layout. It can be safely assumed, however, that living conditions inside it were difficult for the prisoners, par-

ticularly in the winter of 1941. In November 1941, a typhus epidemic erupted in the camp, likely caused by filth and overcrowding. It claimed the lives of many prisoners. The spread of the disease was finally controlled by February 1942, when mobile steam baths were dispatched to Bolgrad and a few de-lousing ovens were put in operation. A total of 271 prisoners (1 officer and 270 troops) died while in the Bolgrad camp because of the lack of hygiene, adequate food, and appropriate shelter. The absence of real medical attention, including treatment for battle wounds, added to the mortality count.⁵

Prisoners of Romanian origin from Bessarabia and Bukovina were released from LPRS No. 8 Bolgrad beginning in October 1941; they were followed in 1942 by anyone who resided in those provinces, as well as Transnistria.⁶ Once repatriated, all former prisoners had to report twice a month to the local police or gendarme station to receive a stamp on their release form.

The number of Soviet POWs in the Bolgrad camp in August 1944 was 5,763. Whether this figure approximates the number of prisoners held in the camp between 1941 and 1944 is yet to be determined.⁷ This information is important given the existence of three other prisoner camps near Bolgrad—Sergeheiești (Serhiivka) in the Cetatea Albă județ, Arciz (Artsy) in Ismail județ, and Friedenthal (Myrнопілья) in the Cetatea Albă (or Ismail) județ. These detention sites, in operation for only a few months, were situated in the Odessa oblast, Ukraine. Because they were not classified as stand-alone prison camps (and thus were not allocated an individual camp number), most likely they were subcamps of the Bolgrad camp.⁸

At some point in mid- or late 1942, LPRS No. 8 Bolgrad was moved to a new location in the Regat, to a camp in Turnu Măgurele in the Teleorman județ. The town is near the Danube River, some 124 kilometers (77 miles) southwest of Bucharest. The Wehrmacht had established this camp for Serbian POWs in the spring of 1941 near the town's abattoir. Most Soviet prisoners who were transferred there worked in agriculture as hired hands, though others were allocated to road and rail maintenance. In October 1943, groups of prisoners from many Romanian camps, including Bolgrad/Turnu Măgurele, were gathered together and sent to LPRS 5/12 Tighina (the precursor of LPRS 5/12 Tiraspol) for work in the fields and various industries.⁹

Romania switched sides in the war on August 23, 1944. The prisoners left in the Turnu Măgurele camp were handed over to the Soviet authorities in the Allied High Command (*Înaltul Comandament Aliat*) in September 1944, as stipulated by the Armistice Convention. The handing over of prisoners occurred without formalities, the Soviet authorities apparently refusing to sign for the prisoners they received. The camp was closed in September 1944.

SOURCES For further information about Soviet POWs held in the Bolgrad camp, see Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945): Dicționar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), especially pp. 329–341; Vasile Popa,

"Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1945)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; and Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Șiperco, "1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România . . . și Crucea Roșie Internațională," *MagIs* 2 (1997): 7–16; on prisoner repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Aparținând Națiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the involvement of the ICRC and CRR in assisting the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americani și sovietici, deportații evrei din Transnistria și emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Bolgrad camp for Soviet POWs are available at USHMMA, collections ANR (RG-25.002M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M). Further evidence about the camp can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1635; and opis 977528, delo 141–153; and RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, delo 19 and 20, containing prisoner registration forms.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For these and other Bolgrad camp staff, see USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, p. 29.
2. TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 151, pp. 255, 259.
3. RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, delo 20, p. 6; TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 153, p. 277.
4. TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 150, p. 346.
5. List of deceased Soviet soldiers in Romanian camps, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2.
6. For example, see TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 152, p. 347; and delo 153, pp. 195–197.
7. The names of the Soviet prisoners in Bolgrad camp appear in a searchable database based on Soviet archives (RGVA, TsAMO); database can be found at www.obd-memorial.ru/.
8. For the Serghiești subcamp, see the gendarmerie report informing the Chișinău Inspectorate of Gendarmes of a typhus epidemic erupting and claiming lives among the prisoners in January 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7511, opis 1s, delo 2, p. 18; for the Arciz and Friedenthal subcamps, see camp personnel, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, pp. 29–30.
9. Information on individual prisoner forms, RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, delo 19, pp. 1–38; and delo 20, pp. 1–20.

BONDUROVCA

Bondurovca, a large village in the Obodovca raion in the Balta județ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (pre-1941: Bondurovka; today: Bondurivka, Ukraine), is located along the Dokhna River. Bondurovca is 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Balta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 754 Jews in the Obodovca raion (535 of whom lived in the Obodovca township), representing nearly

2.5 percent of the entire raion's population. Census data for Bondurovca are not available.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the village on July 28, 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town at the beginning of September 1941 and romanianized its name from Bondurovka to Bondurovca (sometimes spelled Bandurovca or Bondarovca). The prefect in the Balta județ was Colonel Vasile Nica. The Balta Legion of Gendarmes was commanded by Locotenent-colonel Ștefan Gavăț. The Inspector of Gendarmes in Balta (from 1943) was Colonel Marcel Petală. The praetor in Bondurovca was Dumitru Sofian.

Convoys of Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia were marched in the direction of Obodovca at the end of October and early November 1941. En route, a few hundred Jews stopped in Bondurovca in a transit camp that had been created in the war-torn stables of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). The conditions inside the farm were inhumane. The few stables occupied by the Jews were missing windows and/or doors and lacked any beds, heating, running water, and toilets. Temperatures dropped well below freezing in November and reached extreme cold in the winter of 1941. During this time, some Jews died of cold, hunger, exhaustion, and diseases (mainly typhus and dysentery) in the camp. Frozen corpses were amassed outside the cold barns because it was impossible to dig deep enough into the frozen ground without tools and bury them.

With a population of 26,240 people in January 1942, the Obodovca raion was struck by a typhus epidemic in the winter of 1941, becoming one of the most highly infected raions in the Balta județ—and Bondurovca, which had 2,551 residents in January 1942, had one of the highest rates of infection in the Obodovca raion.¹ The epidemic flared from December 1941 to March 1942, touching almost every village in the raion. Colonel Nica blamed the arrival of Jewish deportees in the area for the spread of the disease and ordered strict quarantine measures in the Obodovca raion, including the incarceration of the Jews in guarded camps (*lagăre*).²

A record from the Balta medical service indicates that 26 Jews in the Bondurovca camp contracted typhus in January 1942. The actual number was likely higher and did not include those who had already died from the disease. It is unclear how many of the Jews in the camp survived, because they did not receive any assistance from the Romanian administration.³ The Obodovca hospital had an infectious disease department that admitted Ukrainian patients, but not Jews.⁴ The health situation in the Obodovca raion improved slightly in the following year, when the Romania civil administration struggled to provide the minimum delousing equipment necessary to prevent another typhus epidemic.⁵

The harsh living conditions inside the camp forced the Jews to search for work and food in the nearby villages. They slipped out of camp after dark under risky conditions, as Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries patrolled the area. Barter became a mode of survival for those who had been able to smuggle valuables with them when crossing into Transnistria; yet even for those lucky few, their resources only lasted so long.

Eventually most Jews ran out of items to sell or exchange. Gradually, during the summer of 1942, the Jews moved outside the camp and into empty houses vacated by local residents, some of whom were Jewish. A ghetto was thus created in an area of the village allocated for Jewish settlement (at which point the farm ceased to exist as a camp). The ghetto was not enclosed with barbed wire, but was simply demarcated by signs and word of mouth.

Leon Jrubetki led the Bondurovca ghetto, assisted by a few other leaders selected from among the ghetto community.⁶ Workshops (*ateliere*) were created in late 1942 and throughout 1943 in the Obodovca raion, but not in the Bondurovca ghetto, probably because of its small size and lack of tools. The Jews in Bondurovca found work among the villagers; Jewish men were taken to load and unload train cars at the Dochna train station (today: Dokhno), located three kilometers (nearly two miles) southeast of Bondurovca.⁷ There were tailors, seamstresses, shoemakers, and a furrier living in the ghetto, but their skills were not utilized.⁸

Financial and material support to the Jews in Bondurovca came from the Jewish communities in Romania. In 1943 the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență, CER*) sent money, goods (glass, produce, coal, and tools), and medicine (particularly against typhus and dysentery) to the Balta ghetto to be redistributed to every ghetto or camp in the Balta județ.⁹ The District Jewish Office in Cernăuți (*Oficiul Județean al Evreilor din Cernăuți*) also sent used clothing and tools to the Jews in Obodovca for redistribution to the Jewish communities in the raion, including those in Bondurovca.¹⁰ Financial aid from family and friends in Romania also reached one or two Jews in the Bondurovca ghetto in the second part of 1943.¹¹ Despite the assistance, the deportees lived in great poverty.

According to the March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistria, there were 250 Jews in Bondurovca (including Ukrainian Jews); in September 1943, there were 116 (excluding Ukrainian Jews), all originally from Bukovina.¹² Another statistic from late 1942 or early 1943 indicates that there were 121 Jews in Bondurovca, while the total number by mid-February 1944 was 117 Jews.¹³

The Red Army liberated Bondurovca on March 15, 1944, by which time the civil Romanian administration had evacuated the town. The Jews waited for the Red Army to arrive before setting out to return to Romania. In April 1945, the Bucharest's People's Court tried and sentenced to prison some of Balta's gendarme commandants, including Gavăț and Petală, for abusing the Jews in the Balta județ.¹⁴

SOURCES Further information about the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Bondurovca ghetto can be found in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 4 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estest-

vennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; "Bondurovka," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kebilot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), p. 407; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts I and II) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Bondurovca ghetto can be found at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and DAOO/YV (RG-68.130M). VHA holds seven survivor testimonies in five languages (English, Romanian, Russian, Hungarian, and Portuguese) from Jews imprisoned in the Bondurovca ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See figures of typhus and other diseases in the Bondurovca village and the Obodovca raion, from December 1941 to June 1942, at USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, pp. 1–60 (and verso).

2. The prefect's report following a field visit in the Obodovca raion in December 1941 can be found at USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 695, pp. 142–143.

3. See USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, pp. 21 (verso) and 22.

4. For medical personnel and institutions in the Obodovca raion, see USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 717, p. 26.

5. For a list of delousing equipment and its condition in the Obodovca raion, see USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 717, p. 5.

6. See the list of work committees and ghetto chiefs for the Balta județ, "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organiz. a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta și a Comitetelor evreiești din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso).

7. See the list of Jewish forced laborers working in the Obodovca raion, USHMM, RG-68.130M (DAOO/YV), reel 2, file M-39/32 (DAOO: fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666), p. 11.

8. See the list of Jews according to skills and labor utilization in Balta județ's ghettos, USHMM, RG-68.130M, reel 2, M-39 (DAOO: 2358/1/668), p. 73.

9. See one such parcel containing boxes of medicines, August 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 718, pp. 184–185, 189–190.

10. Letter informing the Jewish Committee in the Obodovca raion about the sending of packages, September 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 1, file M-39/26 (DAOO: 2358/1/107), p. 7 (see also pp. 104, 110, 112).

11. See receipts of deposit, “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din România deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Obodovca (Jud. Balta),” RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 783, n.p.

12. March 1943 census, “Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; September 1943 census: “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.

13. For late 1942 or early 1943 census data, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 16; for February 1944 data, see USHMMA, RG-68.130M (DAYV), reel 2, M-39/27 (DAOO: fond 2358, opis 1, delo 110), p. 100.

14. See court depositions against Gavăț, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 1, pp. 4, 38 (verso); vol. 2, p. 96, 121; for Petală, see reel 26, file 20725, pp. 311–312.

BRANIȚA-MOGHILEV

Branița (today: Bronnytsya, Ukraine), a village in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 8.4 kilometers (5 miles) southeast of Moghilev-Podolsk, the seat of the Moghilev județ and raion.

A small camp for political prisoners (Legionnaires) already existed in Branița, called the “camp of detained legionnaires, Branița-Moghilev” (*Lagărul de deținuți legionari Branița-Moghilev*). The Legionnaires were members of the fascist movement, the Legion of the Archangel Michael (*Liga Arhanghelului Mihail*), founded in 1927 by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. From its inception, the movement was extremely antisemitic, xenophobic, and anticommunist, instigating and carrying out acts of violence against Jews and other ethnic or religious minorities. After its failed coup d’état against General Ion Antonescu in January 1941 (in the so-called Legionary Rebellion in Bucharest during which hundreds of Jews were killed, Jewish properties looted, and synagogues set on fire), the Legionary movement was abolished and its many active members imprisoned. The Antonescu regime suppressed the Legionnaires throughout the war. The gendarmerie in the Moghilev județ and throughout all of Transnistria, just as in Romania, closely monitored the Legionnaires’ activity, alongside that of Ukrainian nationalists, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), religious minorities, and Jews.¹ Various Romanian police agencies ferreted out the activities of Legionnaire groups, which they termed “nests” (*cuiburi*).

The Branița camp for the Legionnaires was located near the eastern bank of the Dniester River, along the highway

connecting Moghilev-Podolsk to Iampol (today: Yampil, Ukraine). It was created by the Inspectorate of Gendarmes of Transnistria, under Order No. 503 of February 16, 1943. The camp was administered and staffed by the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion. The camp commandant was Plutonier Augustin Nicoară, assisted by one sergeant and six gendarmes. In March 1943, it had a total of eight prisoners—six men and two women (seven Romanians and one Hungarian)—who were interned for possessing Legionnaire propaganda.²

It is not clear what the fate of the camp and its prisoners were as the Red Army approached the region in the spring of 1944. The Red Army liberated the Moghilev județ in March 1944.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the suppression of Legionnaires in Romania and Transnistria are available at USHMMA, records ANR (RG-25.002M) and SRI (RG-25.004M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. On the suppression of Legionnaires, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reels 70, 97–99, 101, and 102.

2. “Nota. Lagărele existente în Transnistria,” March 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, pp. 410–411, 417–418.

BUCUREȘTI/LPRA NO. 12 AND NO. 13

București (Bucharest), the capital of Romania and the largest municipality in the Ilfov județ, is located in the southeastern part of Romania.

The Romanian army captured American and British airmen following the repeated Allied aerial bombardment between April and August 1944 of the Ploiești oil fields and refineries of Bucharest. The first camp for Allied prisoners of war (POWs) was set up at Timișul de Jos, and a second camp was established in Bucharest in April 1944. The camp was known as a “camp for American prisoners” (*Lagărul de prizonieri americani*, LPRA), but it was understood that prisoners from other Allied nations, particularly the British, were held there too. The majority of the prisoners were airmen of the United States Army Air Forces (USAAF) and the Royal Air Force (RAF).

The camp was located on the grounds of the Sixth Mihai Viteazul Guard Regiment in Bucharest. It incorporated a few large military barracks that were made available for housing prisoners. The camp was guarded by army soldiers, and it was likely surrounded by fencing. Living conditions inside the camp were generally acceptable, especially for officer prisoners who received better treatment than the other soldiers. The barracks contained multitiered beds and straw mattresses for sleeping; bedding, blankets, and pillows were gradually made available to each prisoner. A dining hall, shower rooms, and lavatories were also available. The water supply to the camp (and much of the city) was severed as a result of bombing, mak-

ing showers unavailable. A limited amount of water for daily washing, however, was brought into the camp each day for personal hygiene. The number of prisoners rose steadily as air raids intensified, leading to overcrowding and lice infestation. Attempts by camp officials to delouse the prisoners were made using an iron press, and prisoners also tried to delouse themselves by washing their clothes in cold water, but without soap or kerosene, these efforts were unsuccessful.

Meals were served three times a day. Officer prisoners received better meals, with meat and other sources of protein, as reflected in the food allocation set by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) for officers. Noncommissioned officers (NCOs) had a smaller food allocation, and consequently their meals were less nutritious, producing discontent. The number of prisoners at the end of April 1944 was 229: 93 officers and 136 NCOs. The Senior Allied Officer (SAO), representing all the prisoners, was Major James B. Beane.¹

A number of factors hampered the development of the Bucharest camp for Allied POWs into a full-fledged camp, with better facilities and services. Chief among these factors was its temporary nature: it was conceived from the outset as a provisional camp, to be occupied while the Sixth Guard Regiment soldiers were away on duty. Adding to this factor, however, was the crippling of strategic infrastructure (rail hubs, bridges, and highways) and national institutions (ministerial buildings and factories) resulting from continual bombardment. Between May and June 1941, Bucharest sustained repeated bombing by the Allied air forces. By July 1944 the functioning of many state institutions in Bucharest (and elsewhere in the country) was totally disrupted, if it had not already ceased.²

Still, even in such circumstances, the Allied POWs in the Bucharest camp benefited from attention from national and international aid organizations. Periodically, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) supplied parcels to the prisoners. In addition, Romania's King Michael I, along with his mother, Queen Helen, visited the camp and advocated on behalf of its prisoners. Days before visiting the Bucharest camp, the king met with a wounded American prisoner who was being interrogated in the military barracks in Ploiești. He spoke alone with the prisoner and requested that he be interned in the military hospital in Ploiești for medical treatment. On April 25, 1944, the king visited the Bucharest camp and observed its conditions. He talked with the SAO, Beane, about the prisoners' treatment by Romanian camp officials, their rations, and lodging. The king requested of the camp officials that the camp be less congested and that meals be improved. He then ordered that some of the captured equipment (parachutes, pistols, and ammunition) be taken to his royal residency in Sinaia for storage and restitution at a later time.³

In May 1944, officials of the German army stationed in Bucharest requested of the Romanian Army General Staff that a center for the interrogation of Allied (primarily American) POWs be established in Bucharest. Marshal Ion Antonescu

approved this request. The interrogation center had 20 to 30 interrogation rooms (cells), and it was set up in the German barracks at the outskirts of Bucharest.⁴

In the second part of May 1944, Beane wrote a letter to King Michael I requesting that the Allied prisoners be moved out from Bucharest so they could be protected from future bombardment. Antonescu agreed to relocate the Allied POWs, but only to an area inside the city. Consequently, in late May or early June, the officer prisoners were moved into the building of the Saint Ecaterina Normal School for Girls (*Școala Normală de Fete Sfânta Ecaterina*), in Bucharest's southern district, while the NCO prisoners were housed in the Queen Elisabeth Military Hospital (*Spitalul Militar Regina Elisabeta*) in Bucharest's northern part. The camp in the Ecaterina School became LPRA No. 12, and that in the Queen Elisabeth Military Hospital became LPRA No. 13. The total number of U.S. POWs in Bucharest's camps in August 1944 was roughly 1,010 (some 420 officers, 581 NCOs, and 9 troops); the number of British POWs was around 30.

Living conditions inside both camps were initially unsatisfactory, characterized by overcrowding, only basic meals, no soap or radio, and cold-water showers; yet prisoner morale remained high. Thanks to parcels received from the ICRC and increased cooperation from camp officials, food and hygiene conditions slowly improved. Sending and receiving mail were possible through the Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roșie din România*, CRR). A weekly "newspaper" was produced by a group of prisoners in LPRA No. 12, reporting whatever information was obtained from the guards.⁵

On August 23, 1944, Romania switched sides in the war, aligning itself with the Allied nations against Nazi Germany. The Allied POWs in Bucharest's camps were released from camps a week later to the Allied Control Commission (*Comisia Aliată de Control*). Between September 1 and 3, 1944, almost all the American and British POWs in Romania were flown out of the country and returned to their respective armies: 1,117 American POWs, 31 British, 12 Dutch, and 1 French.

SOURCES For more information regarding the Allied POWs in Bucharest's camps, see Donald R. Falls, "American POWs in Romania," *APH* 37 (Spring 1990): 37–44; Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al doilea război mondial (1941–1945): Dicționar enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999); Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); Mircea Pietreanu, "Prizonierii americani învață limba română," *MagIs* 2: 311 (February 1993): 58; Alesandru Duțu, "1943–1944, the American Prisoner Fliers in Romania," *RMH* 1 (1992): 10–12; and Ottmar Trașcă, "Bombardamentele anglo-americane asupra României, Aprilie–August 1944. Percepții germane și maghiare," available at www.history-cluj.ro/Istorie/anuare/2002/Otto%20-%20Bombardamentele%20anglo.htm. On repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, "Repatrierea prizonierilor aparținând Națiunilor Unite, după 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118.

Primary sources documenting LPRAs Nos. 12 and 13 can be found at USHMM, record PCMCM (RG-25.013M). NARA holds a brief film documenting the liberation of Allied fliers in Bucharest by the U.S. Fifteenth Air Force, which is available at USHMM under RG-60.0943. The citation is OSS, Field Photographic Branch, "Project Gunn (Camera Report No. 4, Unit 24D)." A transcript of an interview with the SAO, Major (and later Lieutenant Colonel) James B. Beane, can be found at HI. A fragment of the unpublished memoir, "Benghazi to Bucharest: A Second World War Memoir," written by Bertrand Whitley, a former prisoner in Bucharest LPR No. 12, can be found in Adrian Boda, "Prisoner and Agent in 1944 Romania: A Fragment from the Memoir of Pilot Officer Bertrand Whitley," *Philobiblon*, 19: 2 (2014): 1–24; and Bertrand Wiley, "Benghazi to Bucharest: A Second World War Memoir," available at <http://citynews.ro/previzualizare/215005>.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See a description of the camp facilities, conditions, treatment of prisoners, and official visits from the Counter-information Bureau, MSM, prisoner section (or Section II), "Nota," April 1944, USHMM, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 6, file 175, pp. 52–54.

2. See the situation depicted in German and Hungarian diplomatic correspondence, Trașcă, "Bombardamentele anglo-americe asupra României," available at www.history-cluj.ro/Istorie/anuare/2002/Otto%20-%20Bombardamentele%20anglo.htm.

3. Summary of visits by King Michael I and Queen Helen, in "Nota," April 1944, USHMM, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 6, file 175, pp. 52–53.

4. Resolution note, May 9, 1944, USHMM, RG-25.013M (PCM-MC), reel 6, file 175, p. 43.

5. See summary of unpublished memoir of Bertrand Whitley, an RAF pilot held prisoner of war in LPR No. 12: "Benghazi to Bucharest," available at <http://citynews.ro/previzualizare/215005>.

BUDEȘTI/LPRS NO. 7 AND 13

Budești, a small town in the Ilfov județ in the Regat, in southern Romania (today: Budești, Călărași județ), is 36 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Bucharest.

A camp for prisoners of war (POWs) existed at Budești in the spring of 1941, before the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union that occurred on June 22, 1941. When it was established, the camp held POWs taken by the Wehrmacht in the Balkan campaign. It reopened in the summer of 1942, when the camp for Soviet prisoners of war (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS), LPRS No. 7 Bălți, in Bessarabia, moved to Budești. The concentration of Soviet POWs in the Regat was part of a plan designed by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) in March and April 1942, whereby prisoners would be made available for hire to large state-owned and private agricultural and forestry companies, as well as to national rail and road services.¹

The camp became known as the Budești camp for prisoners No. 7/13. The listing of the Budești camp as LPRS No. 7 / 13 was meant to distinguish it from its former existence as Bălți LPRS No. 7, although it was not uncommon for the Budești camp to be listed later as LPRS No. 7. The camp fell within the jurisdiction of the II Territorial Command Center and was controlled by the MSM. Locotenent-colonel Teodor Gheorghe and Maior C. Ionescu were among the camp commandants from 1942 to 1944. After the camp was established, it received Soviet prisoners from other camps in Romania; for example, from Tiraspol LPRS No. 5, Vaslui LPRS No. 4, and Independența-Galați LPRS No. 3.

The Budești camp became one of the largest camps for Soviet POWs in Romania, holding about 11,200 prisoners in 1943.² It also recorded the highest number of deaths, namely 938 prisoners. This figure comes from the statistical data produced by the Romanian authorities for the Soviet authorities in the Allied Control Commission in December 1944 and includes the prisoners who died while the camp was based in Bălți.³ Their corpses were buried in mass graves as well as individual graves in a cemetery created expressly for the Budești camp prisoners. The most common causes of death were starvation, exhaustion, skin infections, blood poisoning (septicemia), enterocolitis, tuberculosis, heart failure, pneumonia, jaundice, and generalized edema.

The camp consisted of 163 barracks containing multi-tiered beds. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp, and a troop of 216 soldiers was charged with guarding it. Prisoners who were officers, 15 in total and of various ranks, were housed separately in better conditions. The camp had showers, delousing ovens, and an infirmary. Sublocotenent Ștefan Mișcă, a Romanian military doctor—assisted by six prisoner doctors and four nurses—headed the camp infirmary. A small Christian Orthodox chapel was built early on, and religious services were officiated in the Russian language by an Orthodox priest brought from Kuban. A number of warehouses and workshops were set up in the camp for storing clothing, blankets, and shoes and for mending prisoner uniforms.

Prisoners who were educated worked in the offices of the camp administration. Most prisoners, however, were sent to work out of the camp for varying periods of time. On the assumption that the prisoners were buried in the cemeteries near their work sites, the following list includes some of the places where the Budești POWs worked: Cocioac and Crângași (Ilfov județ); Obilești, Râmniceni, Măicănești, and Gulianca (all in Râmnicu Sărat județ); Brăila (Brăila județ); Bolovani-Ploiești (Prahova județ); Medjidia (Constanța județ); Călărași (Ialomița județ); and Bucharest.

A delegation from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), composed of Edouard Chapuisat and David de Traz, visited the camp in May 1943, along with representatives of the Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roșie din România*, CRR). They distributed postal cards for the prisoners to use for their correspondence. To help the prisoners who were illiterate or lacked writing utensils, some of the cards already had a short

message on them—"We are well. Wishing to receive news from you."—in Russian and Romanian.⁴

At the request of the governors of Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria, prisoners originally from those provinces were gradually released from the camps in Romania beginning in 1942; this process, however, ended in 1943, with no prisoners being released after that time.⁵

Romania switched sides in the war on August 23, 1944. Soon thereafter the Wehrmacht rapidly began moving troops to Bulgaria through the Budești area and liquidating assets along the way, such as the Luftwaffe arms depot from the nearby Șoldanu village. To prevent the Soviet prisoners from falling into the hands of the Wehrmacht, they were quickly marched to Bucharest. The Romanian camp officials released the Soviet prisoners to the Red Army authorities that reached Bucharest soon thereafter. This transfer of prisoners occurred without formalities. The Red Army absorbed some of the prisoners in various capacities, some as laborers and others as soldiers, while sending others eastward. The camp was destroyed by the freed prisoners upon their liberation and was closed down in September 1944.

SOURCES For further information about the fate of the Soviet POWs held in the Budești camp, see Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945): Dicționar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), especially pp. 329–341; Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1945)," available at www.once.ro/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; and Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Șiperco, "1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România . . . și Crucea Roșie Internațională," *MagIs 2* (1997): 7–16; on prisoner repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Aparținând Națiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the involvement of the ICRC and CRR in assisting the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americi și sovietici, deportații evrei din Transnistria și emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Budești camp for Soviet POWs are available at USHMMA, records PCMCM (RG-25.013M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M). Further evidence about the camp can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003 and opis 977528; RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, contains prisoner registration forms and death certificates. See also the archives of the Budești district (*Pretura Plășii Budești*) and Budești City Hall (*Primăria Comunei Budești*) available at ANR-Că.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. MSM study plan, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 22, file 48, pp. 99, 137–147.

2. The names of the Soviet POWs held in the Budești camp appear in a searchable database based on Soviet archives

from TsAMO; the database can be found at www.obd-memorial.ru/.

3. See TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2. A nominal list containing the names of the 938 Soviet POWs, including their burial place, can be found in that archival collection.

4. See mailing cards bearing the seal of the CRR, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18004, delo 918, n.p.

5. See rejection letter for a release request addressed to the camp by the governor of Transnistria, February 1944, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 534, p. 15.

BUDI

Budi, a village in the Balta județ, in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is approximately 119 kilometers (74 miles) northeast of Chișinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Jewish population of Budi (Ukrainian: Budy) was 79, which represented an increase from the 1926 census, when only 21 Jews lived there. Budi was occupied by German forces on July 28, 1941. From September 1941 to March 1944, the village was under Romanian administration.

In October 1941, a ghetto was established in Budi to hold Jewish convoys deported by the Romanian authorities from Bessarabia and Bukovina to Transnistria. It held about 1,200 Jews, about half of whom were from Storojineț, a town in northern Bukovina. Approximately 1,000 perished in the winter of 1941 due to a deadly mix of circumstances: frigid temperatures, poor housing, lack of food, and an unforgiving typhus epidemic that alone claimed 450 lives.¹ Assuming that the Budi ghetto resembled other ghettos in the Obodovca raion (a subdistrict of the Balta județ), the stables where the deportees were housed likely had no windows, doors, or beds, and those dying every day were either buried unceremoniously in ditches that served as mass graves or were piled up frozen on the ground, awaiting burial in the spring when the snow melted and the ground defrosted.

Not much is known about the activity of the several hundred Jews who survived the winter of 1941. The existence of well-structured Jewish work committees—the so-called *comitetele evreiești*—within the Bureau of Labor of the Government of Transnistria for the Balta județ suggests that the Jews of Budi performed mandatory labor. The chief of the Budi colony (*șeful coloniei*) was Tresser Berl, a Bukovinian Jew from Storojineț who supervised work assignments for the ghetto, among other responsibilities.² Not paid for their work or paid only symbolically, and having been robbed of their possessions en route, the Jews in Budi relied heavily on humanitarian aid and money sent to them by the Bucharest's Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din Românian*, CER), as well as by their family or friends from Bessarabia and Bukovina.³ However, this material and financial aid came too late for many in the Budi ghetto.

Statistical evidence compiled in 1943 puts the number of Jews living in the ghetto at somewhere between 179 and 270

people. Romania's General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, Department of Security and Public Order, reported there were 270 Jews in the ghetto (134 Jews from Bessarabia and 136 Jews from Bukovina) as of September 1, 1943.⁴ This figure is slightly higher than the one of 220 Jews provided by the Relief Commission (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare*) of CER on their return from Transnistria, used to determine the anticipated delivery of aid to the deportees of Transnistria in 1943.⁵ It is still higher than the figure of 179 Jews (45 men, 65 women, 69 children) listed in the table appended to the Relief Commission's ghetto inspection report of May 1943.⁶ The Red Army liberated the camp in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Budi during the Holocaust can be found in these secondary sources: for census data, see "Budy," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivvasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); "Budy," in *Rossiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 181; and Gary Mokotoff and Sallyann Amdur Sack, with Alexander Sharon, eds., "Budy," *Where Once We Walked—Revised Edition: A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002). For the numbers of Jews deported to Budi, their place of origin and living conditions while in captivity, see Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din Romania, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947), pp. 267, 440; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986), p. 325.

Primary sources documenting the extermination of the Jews of Budi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1259), DAVINO, and YVA. Records of labor information and external financial and material aid sent to Budi can be found in USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, p. 1561; reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, 1359, n.p.; and reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, 837, n.p. See also at USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205/1943, vol. 2, p. 446, for statistical evidence of ghettos in the Balta județ as of May 1943.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See "Cronologie Istorică, 1 Octombrie 1941–20 Martie 1944," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 267.

2. See "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organizare a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta și a Comitetelor evreiești din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1561, n.p.; USHMMA, RG-31-004M/6/2242/1, 1561/n.p.

3. See, for instance, receipts of money transfer to Jews from Romania deported to Budi in Transnistria (Budy is the spelling in these documents), in USHMMA, RG-31.004M/17/2358/1, 837/n.p.; USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1, 1359/n.p.

4. See "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

5. See "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," Ancel, *Documents Concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry*, 5: 346.

6. See "Situația numerică de numărul evreilor aflați în lagărele din județul Balta, la 5 Mai 1943," USHMMA, RG-25.002 (ANR), reel 16, file 205/1943, vol. 2, pp. 433–435, 446 (Annex Nr. 2). Government inspection of Jewish and Roma ghettos in Transnistria took place in May 1943 at the request of Marshal Ion Antonescu, the dictator of Romania (1941–1944).

CALAFAT

The city of Calafat, in the Dolj județ in the southern part of the region of Oltenia in Romania, is more than 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Craiova and over 257 kilometers (almost 160 miles) southwest of Bucharest, along the Danube River. An internment camp was set up near the city.

The Calafat camp was created as part of Order No. 4147 of the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Ministerul Afacerilor Interne*, RMAI), issued on June 21, 1941, the day before the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union began. This order was relayed to the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, the General Directorate of Police, and all district prefects. The order contained Marshal Ion Antonescu's command that all able-bodied Jewish men aged 18 to 60 residing between the Prut and Siret Rivers (in northeastern Romania) were to be "evacuated" to the Târgu Jiu internment camp in southern Romania; all remaining Jews in Moldova, including the families of those deported to Târgu Jiu, were to be evacuated to urban areas and then deported to purpose-built internment camps in southern and southwestern Romania, one of which was Calafat.¹

The deportation of the Moldovan Jews to the internment camps, including Calafat, began within 48 hours of the issuance of Order No. 4147. The Jews who were deported to Calafat came from the city of Rădăuți, in the Botoșani județ, along the Prut River (not to be confused with the larger city of Rădăuți in the Suceava județ), located more than 558 kilometers (347 miles) from Calafat. The total number of people interned in the camp peaked at 780, according to a report from August 7, 1941.² By mid-August, there were 744 people interned in the camp: 243 men, 295 women, and 206 children.³ They were guarded by troops from the local military garrison, along with gendarmes and local police, under the orders of the RMAI.

It is difficult to determine who actually did forced labor in the internment camps, because of the chaotic nature of the

initial organization of Jewish forced labor in Romania in August 1941. Although Antonescu ordered that Jews in the internment camps perform “hard labor” (*muncă grea*), this command only applied to Jewish men between 18 and 60 years old; the status of women and men outside that age group was not clear.⁴ Even though MSM took control of Jewish forced labor in Romania from the RMAI on August 8, the status of Jews such as those interned at Calafat remained unclear. On August 23, MSM proposed that the Jews in the internment camps who were not directly subject to the work order issued by Antonescu and the RMAI would remain under the authority of the latter. Although the final decision regarding the forced labor of the internees at Calafat rested with the I Territorial Command, per the RMAI’s orders, no work order was ever issued for the people interned at Calafat. It is therefore unlikely that forced labor was organized there, with due allowance for possible labor in the local community.⁵

Camps like those at Calafat were designed only to intern Jews living near the front, because the regime considered them potentially sympathetic to the Soviets and thus politically unreliable; they were not intended to be a part of the Antonescu regime’s genocidal policies toward the Jews (such as those carried out in present-day Moldova during the first months of the war). Therefore, no organized killings took place at Calafat. The spoliation of Jewish property through “war effort contributions” did serve as a secondary motive in the formation of camps like Calafat, and conditions in such camps were spartan at best. The potential for disease, including serious diseases such as typhus, was always present, though the local authorities and RMAI did not record statistics on illness or of any deaths that may have occurred in the internment camps.

The internment camps in southern Romania, including Calafat, remained in operation for approximately six months. On December 16, 1941, the RMAI ordered the camps to be closed and those Jews living in the camps to be returned to the urban center closest to their places of origin (because Jews were still concentrated into urban areas by law).⁶ It is not clear how many people remained in the camp at Calafat and how many were freed at this time. Those who remained were returned to the city of Dorohoi in northeastern Romania. None of the people directly involved in the operation of the camp were brought to trial on any matters related to the persecution of the Jews of Romania during the war.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Calafat camp are Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania*, trans. Yaffah Murciano (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and Ottmar Trașcă, ed., “*Chestiunea Evreiască*” în *documente militare române, 1941–1944*, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). Additional information

can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-’ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’olam ha-sbeniyah*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Calafat camp can be found in AMANR, available at USHMM in collection RG-25.003M; and ANR, available at USHMM as RG-25.002M. Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. Order No. 4147 reproduced in Trașcă, ed., “*Chestiunea evreiască*,” Doc. 5, pp. 120–121.
2. USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 144, file 2410, p. 381; and RG-25.002M, “*Situația Lagărelor*,” August 6, 1941, USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19.
3. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2413, p. 309.
4. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2410, p. 386.
5. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 136, file 2361, n.p.
6. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, p. 2.

CĂLĂRAȘI

The seat of the Ialomița județ and center of the Călărași raion, the town of Călărași is located on the Danube River in southeastern Romania. It is 101 kilometers (63 miles) southeast of Bucharest and 331 kilometers (206 miles) south of Iași (Yassy). According to Romanian censuses, the Jewish population was 327 in 1930, 193 in September 1941, and 203 in May 1942.

After the pogrom of Iași in June 1941, in which more than 12,000 thousand Jews died at the hands of Romanian and German authorities (both military and civilian), a train transport carrying 2,530 Jews departed that city on June 30. The Jews—mostly men of various ages, including some teenagers—were crammed into overcrowded freight cars in numbers of 100 or more. They were without food or water and unaware of their destination.¹ After a week of random movements and prolonged stops, the train arrived in Călărași on July 6.

Fewer than half the initial passengers survived the journey. With a few exceptions, such as when the dead were unloaded, the car doors remained tightly shut; the windows were covered with wooden planks. The hot summer temperatures warmed up the unventilated cars, leading to mass exhaustion, dehydration, and suffocation. Moreover, Jewish and non-Jewish civilians wishing to distribute water or food rarely succeeded in doing so, because they were usually prevented by the train

guards from approaching the train.² The train had become a “death train” (*trenul morții*), with the count of bodies offloaded along the way being as follows: 6 corpses in Mărășești, 654 in Târgu Frumos, 327 in Mircești, 300 in Săbăoani, 53 in Roman, 40 in Inotești, and 25 in Călărași.³ If those shot by the guards for trying to get water during stops were added, the total count reached 1,400 dead. The number of Jews disembarking at Călărași’s train station, Călărași Port, was 1,011 (or 1,006) with more than 100 unaccounted for.

They were all in a state of despair, hungry and unwashed; many were naked or barely dressed. From the train station they were marched to a makeshift camp on the premises of the 23rd Infantry Regiment. At least some of the escorts were German soldiers. The 25 bodies of those offloaded in Călărași were buried in mass graves dug in the Jewish cemetery.⁴ The internees were placed in the garages or warehouses used for military vehicles, and those structures became their camp.⁵ The Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry controlled the camp at that time.

Unfit for human habitation, the garages lacked beds; people slept on the floor that was covered with hay. The Jewish community of Călărași (with additional help from the Bucharest Jewish community) provided some relief to the Jewish internees. Packages containing canned foods and clothes were thrown over the fence by non-Jews sympathetic to the Jews’ fate. Occasionally, the Jews were taken to wash in the nearby Borcea River. Ninety-nine Jews perished while in the camp, probably from injuries and diseases acquired while on the train and left uncared for due to the absence of medical assistance in the camp.

Another group that was brought to Călărași, just a few weeks after the death train arrived, was that of 685 Old Believers (*Lipoveni*), a Russian ethnic and religious minority in the Tulcea județ (among other places in Romania). In the official terminology, the Jews were labeled “evacuees,” whereas the Old Believers were seen as “suspects.” In August 1941, the total number of people held in Călărași was 1,691.⁶ It is unknown how the Old Believers fared in the Călărași camp in

comparison with the Jews, but their shorter journey to the camp may have aided in their survival.

On August 30, 1941, all the people were released from the Călărași camp and sent home. They were again transported by train to Iași and other places, but this time in relatively humane conditions, due to the efforts of the camp commandant.⁷

Men from the Călărași Jewish community were recruited for forced labor periodically from 1942 to 1944. In particular, during the winter months of 1942 and 1943, teams of 20 or more Jewish men were created to clear snow for the 12th Călărași Regiment.⁸ Forced labor duties for Jews ceased soon after Romania switched sides over to the Allies on August 23, 1944.

Yad Vashem honored Viorica Agarici, president of the Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roșie din România*, CNR) in the city of Roman, Moldavia, as a Righteous Among the Nations for her kind deeds in bringing food and water to the Jews on the train when it passed through Roman.

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Călărași’s Jews can be found in the following publications: “Calarasi,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 282; “Calarasi,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ba-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-‘ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-‘olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 229; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Marius Micu, *Pogromul de la Iași* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947). For forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013). Information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Față de Cultele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania; Iași: Polirom, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews interned in the Călărași camp are available at USHMM, collections ANR-Că (RG-25.067M) and ANR-Ialo (RG-25.079M); SRI (RG-25.004M); AMAN (RG-25.003M); and FUCER (RG-25.021M). USHMM RG-50 also holds a few oral history interviews by victims and witnesses of the persecution of Jews in or on the way to Călărași. VHA holds seven testimonies (in four languages) from survivors or witnesses of the Iași–Călărași death train and the subsequent imprisonment in the camp.

Ovidiu Creangă



Survivors of the Iași–Călărași death train languish in an internment camp after their arrival in Călărași.

USHMM WS #80079, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0495, Michael M. Cernea testimony, May 4, 2005; for documentation, see trial indictments and witness testimonies, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reels 43–48, file 108233.

2. USHMMA, RG-50.573*0017, Ana Dediu testimony, September 24, 2004.

3. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 48, fond 108233, vol. 30.

4. USHMMA, RG-50.573*0009, Aurel Giurcă testimony, April 3, 2004.

5. A rare photograph showing the camp and its inmates in the courtyard of the military regiment is available at YVA (Item ID: 82101).

6. For demographic information on Jews in camps in the Regat in August 1941, see “Situția Lagărelor,” USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19; for Old Believers, see USHMMA, RG-25.085 (CNSAS), file D 15.248, pp. 20–22.

7. For their names, see USHMMA, RG-24.004M (SRI), reel 148, file 7632, vol. 1; for the names of those aboard the train before departing Iași, see, in the same collection, reel 48, file 108233, vol. 30.

8. USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 86, file 89; and also reel 63, file 7281; see also the total number of Jews already recruited and those available to be recruited for forced labor on October 1, 1941, in USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 254.

CAPUSTERNA

Capusterna (today: Kopystyryn, Ukraine) is a village in Șargorod raion in the Moghilev județ. It is located between the towns of Șargorod and Șmerinca in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, 68 kilometers (42 miles) west-northwest of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 2,626 Jews lived in the Șargorod raion, but a much smaller number of Jews lived in Capusterna. In the general mobilization following the invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some local Jews were drafted into the Red Army. Only 13 households were still living there when the German and Romanian armies occupied Capusterna on July 22, 1941.

After a short period of German control, Capusterna came under the jurisdiction of the Romanian civil administration at the end of August. The village's name was soon romanianized from Kapusterna to Capusterna (also written in the records as Copesteren, Copistern, Copistrin). High officials from the Șargorod praetorial staff and the Gendarmes Legion controlled Capusterna's affairs. The praetor in Șargorod was Iosif Dindelegan; the commandant of the Șargorod gendarmes sector (within which Capusterna fell) was Locotenent Vasile Grama, and the chief of Capusterna's gendarmes post was Toma Crainic.

Convoys of Romanian Jews marching from the direction of Moghilev were interned in Capusterna; their numbers

reached 400 in June 1942. Among them were World War I veterans, as well as many women and children separated from their husbands and fathers in Romania, who had undertaken forced labor in other parts of Romania when deportation orders were issued. Once in Capusterna, the Jews were crammed into empty and dilapidated buildings that once formed the village's collective farm (*kolkhoz*). The camp was surrounded with barbed wire, and anyone found outside it without written permission was severely punished. Diminishing provisions and the lack of items for bartering, coupled with extremely cold winter temperatures and illness (typhus in particular), decimated the weak and the elderly in the winter of 1941. From late November 1941 to March 1942 some 50 Jewish internees perished.

Living conditions in the camp were so precarious that after Maior Romeo Orașanu, commandant of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion, visited the camp in early 1942, he had it dismantled immediately. He relocated the deportees to the village, in the area where local Jewish families were living. The new arrangement resulted in an open ghetto, with better living conditions than available at the farm.

The deportees' effort to organize themselves also brought about an improvement in their situations. In the spring of 1942, a Jewish Council of nine members was formed, along with a small Jewish police force. Also facilitating survival was assistance from the Jewish Council from Șargorod and Murafa, which redistributed clothing, medicine, and money that they received from the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER). Soup kitchens functioned for the very poor and the sick and elderly unable to work. A Jewish doctor was also available to provide medical assistance and enforce camp hygiene measures. The deportees' public religious life was restricted to prayers during the High Holidays.

The village's farmers hired Jewish day workers in exchange for food, with which they supported their families. The deportees also did forced labor on the Ieroshinka-Murafa road and in the Nestervarka labor camp near Tulcin, where they dug peat.

Small security units were formed from the local Ukrainian population to aid the Romanian gendarmes in policing the village, the Jews in particular. Toma Crainic, chief of the Capusterna gendarmes post, was a fierce persecutor of the Jews, killing Jews indiscriminately for any deviation from official orders. On December 8, 1943, he shot two Jewish children who had escaped German-controlled Transnistria via the Bug River and who were hiding in Capusterna.

An additional concern for the occupying forces was the Soviet partisans. Small partisan cells, such as the one unit led by Schiopa, sought refuge in the forests surrounding the village. The Jewish Council of Capusterna shared some aid it received with the partisans. After the murder of the Jews in Brailov in 1943, 12 escaping Jewish families were hidden in Capusterna with friendly Ukrainian farmers.

According to the March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistria, there were 250 Jews in Capusterna (it is not clear whether this figure included both Romanian and local Ukrainian Jews).¹ A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, found only five Romanian Jews in the camp (this census excluded local Ukrainian Jews), the rest of the deportees having been deployed for labor in other parts of Transnistria.² Of the total number of surviving Jews in Capusterna, 201 were from Dorohoi County and were repatriated to Romania in December 1943; the remaining 140 were from various other places in Bukovina and Bessarabia and remained in Capusterna until March 20, 1944, when the Red Army liberated the site.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Capusterna can be gleaned from the following sources: “Kopystyrin,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2004), 5: 151; “Kopystyrin,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossphen, 2009), 459; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); “Kapusterna,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’olam ha-sheniya* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 494–495; M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), p. 50; and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 23.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews of Capusterna can be found at USHMMA, records DAVINO (RG-31.011M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M). For a list of Transnistria’s urban and rural localities, see “Tablou de județele și raioanele, comunele și cătunele din Transnistria,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, pp. 1–30; and “Tabel nominal de comunele din Districtul Moghilev,” USHMMA, RG-31.011M, reel 14, fond 2966, opis 1, delo 44, pp. 11–12; for a survivor’s account, see VHA (# 39273), Sonia Shtrikman testimony, December 18, 1997.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

2. “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați

din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

CAPUSTIANI

Capustiani, a village in the Trostineț raion in the Tulcin județ in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kapustyany, Ukraine), is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Tulcin.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Capustiani during the second part of July 1941. The few local Jews were soon persecuted by the military authorities, forced to wear the yellow star, and eventually deported on foot and under escort to the larger town of Chechelnyk where they were put in a ghetto.¹ The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village’s name was romanianized from Kapustiani to Capustiani (sometimes spelled Căpușteni or Copusteni), and the name of the raion was changed to Trostineț. The praetor in the Trostineț raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A forced labor camp was set up in Capustiani at some point in 1942. It was most likely intended as an agricultural settlement, possibly existing on the grounds of the local kolkhoz and/or in the vacant homes left after the expulsion of the village’s Jews. If the latter was the case, it explains the frequent use of the term “ghetto” for this camp.

Jews deported from Bukovina in Romania and likely a handful of Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria were brought to Capustiani from other camps and ghettos in the Tulcin district, such as the Pecioara (Pechora) and Ladajin (Ladzhyn) camps. The camp was guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries.²

The treatment applied to those in the camp was strict, and work was physically demanding. Hunger and diseases were rampant, causing the deportees to steal and smuggle produce from the kolkhoz to survive. Still, some perished as a result of mistreatment. The civilian leader of the forced laborers was Vaisman.³

The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in March 1943 did not list Capustiani among the places where Jews deported from Romania lived; it could be that the delegation gathering this information in January 1943 was unable to obtain any census figures for this location. The Romanian gendarmerie in Transnistria, however, listed the camp in its September 1, 1943, census as having 66 Jews, all from Bukovina.⁴ There were also most likely Ukrainian Jews there, who were included in a census taken in October 1943 by the gendarmerie that included “all” the Jews in the Tulcin județ; it found that the Capustiani camp held 142 Jews (37 men, 56 women, 39 children, and 10 elderly).⁵

At the beginning of March 1944, the Romanian administration retreated from Tulchyn, handing control to the German military authorities who were retreating before the advancing Red Army. In March 1944, the Red Army recaptured Capustiani, freeing the Jews who were still being held there.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Capustiani can be found in the following publications: “Kapustiany,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 386; “Kapustiany,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 146; “Kapustiany,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2004), 5: 49; “Capustiani,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-’ad le-abar Sho’at Milbemet ha-’olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 494; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Capustiani camp can be found at USHMM, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). VHA holds 14 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Ukrainian, and Hebrew) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #52003, Viktor Faitel’berg-Blank testimony, January 15, 1999.
2. VHA #18289, Mikhail Ikman testimony, August 5, 1996.
3. VHA #19049, Rosa Grinfel’d testimony, August 18, 1996; VHA #10383, Eva Skliar testimony, February 26, 1996.
4. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the April 1943 census, see USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11, and delo 717, p. 42; for the absence of Capustiani from the September 1943 census, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

5. USHMM, RG-26.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 585.

CARACAL

The city of Caracal in the Olt județ, in the south-central part of Romania, is located approximately 48 kilometers (30 miles) southeast of Craiova and 145 kilometers (90 miles) southeast of Bucharest.

An internment camp was established in Caracal on June 21, 1941, by Order No. 4147 of the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry (*Ministerul Afacerilor Interne*, RMAI), which was relayed to the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, the General Directorate of Police, and all district prefects. The order contained Marshal Ion Antonescu’s command that all Jews residing between the Prut and Siret Rivers in northeastern Romania were to be deported to purpose-built internment camps in the southern part of the country, so that they would no longer be near the front with the Soviet Union. Able-bodied Jewish men between 18 and 60 years old were to be sent to the large camp at Târgu Jiu, where they were to perform forced labor; their families, as well as other women, children, and elderly men, were to be sent to other camps in the area.¹ The roundup and deportation of Jews from northeastern Romania began within 48 hours of the issuance of Order No. 4147.

The deportees to Caracal consisted of men from the area near the town of Dărăbani in Botoșani județ, in northeastern Romania, who were unfit to perform forced labor at Târgu Jiu. At its peak population, in August 1941, the camp at Caracal held 1,319 prisoners, all of them men, of a total of 12,744 deported under Order No. 4147. The men in the camp were described as “suspected communists,” an accusation frequently leveled against Jews by the Antonescu regime.² In the camp, these men were guarded by the army garrison in Caracal, with assistance from the gendarmes and the local police force, although the camp itself remained under the RMAI’s overall authority.

It is unclear whether the prisoners at Caracal were subjected to forced labor, despite the fact that Antonescu had previously ordered that all Jews in the internment camps were to perform “hard labor” (*muncă grea*).³ Given that all of the able-bodied Jewish men from the region of Moldova from which the deportations took place were sent to the larger Târgu Jiu camp for forced labor, the men sent to Caracal were probably either too old to be used as forced laborers or were deemed physically incapable for such labor. After the RMAI transferred the control of Jewish forced labor in Romania to the MSM on August 8, 1941, the regional army authorities—in this case, the I Territorial Command—would have had the authority to decide whether the Jews in the Caracal camp were to be subjected to forced labor, with due allowance for possible labor deployment in the local community.

Like the other internment camps created under Order No. 4147, the internment camp at Caracal was neither intended

as a killing site nor was it part of the Antonescu regime's plans to exterminate the Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina; instead its purpose was to remove Jews from the vicinity of the front line, because they were considered politically unreliable and Antonescu feared that they would spread communist "propaganda" in the region. It was only in the territories that were occupied by the Soviet Union, including present-day Moldova and the area around the city of Cernăuți, that the order for extermination was carried out. As such, no organized killing operations were conducted at Caracal.

Nonetheless, the Jews living in Caracal still suffered from poor living conditions. As was the case at the forced labor camps, the food supply was not consistent nor was the food always of good quality, and sanitary conditions in the camps were also substandard. As a result, many people in the camps became ill, and the risk of outbreaks of serious diseases, such as typhus, was ever present. However, because no official statistics on illnesses or any subsequent deaths in the camps were recorded, it is impossible to determine how many (if any) deaths occurred in the camp.

Caracal, like the other camps created under Order No. 4147, operated for the remainder of 1941. On December 16, 1941, the RMAI ordered the closure of the internment camps for Moldovan Jews, and the return of these people to the urban areas closest to their place of origin (because Jews were still prohibited from residing in villages).⁴ The Jews remaining at Caracal at this time were returned to Dorohoi. None of the camp's guards or other personnel associated with the camp were ever brought to trial.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Caracal camp are Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania*, trans. Yaffah Murciano (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and Ottmar Trașcă, ed., *"Cbestiunea Evreiască" în documente militare române, 1941–1944*, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). Additional information can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), vol. 1; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Calafat camp can be found in AMANR, available at USHMM in collection RG-25.003M; and ANR, available at USHMM as RG-25.002M.

Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. Order No. 4147 reproduced in Trașcă, ed., *"Cbestiunea evreiască,"* pp. 120–121, Doc. 5.
2. USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 144, file 2413, p. 309.
3. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2410, p. 386.
4. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, p. 2.

CARIȘCOV

Carișcov (pre-1941: Karyshkov; today: Karyshkiv), in the Copăigorod raion of the Moghilev județ, Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is almost 41 kilometers (26 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. German forces occupied the village on July 20, 1941. The village does not appear to have had a settled Jewish population before 1941. From September 1941 to March 1944, the village, renamed Carișcov, was part of the Romanian governorship of Transnistria.

In October 1941, a ghetto was created in the village to hold Jewish convoys from Bessarabia and Bukovina who had been deported to Transnistria by the Romanian authorities. Initially, there were 300 Jews in the ghetto, of whom 280 died, most in the winter of 1941–1942, from malnutrition, cold, and typhus.¹ Several hundred more Jews from Bessarabia were placed in the ghetto in 1942. As a result, in January 1943 the ghetto's population reached 400.² By March 1943, the total number dropped to 301 Jews, possibly as a result of deaths, or population transfers, or both.³

The official report of the Relief Commission of the Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER), written in the aftermath of its visit to Transnistria in January 1943, indicated that money delegated earlier by CER to assist the Jews of Carișcov had not yet been appropriated by those who were supposed to receive it.⁴ The allocated money was still in Moghilev at the time of the official visit, awaiting delegates of the Carișcov colony to claim it. The report does not specify why the sums had not yet been claimed. From observations made in the report by CER's Jewish representative, Fred Șaraga, difficulty in communication between the organization in Bucharest and the ghettos in Transnistria, as well as among the ghettos themselves, coupled with unanticipated and sudden population transfers, may have been plausible causes of the delay. Șaraga and the other three members of the delegation visited Transnistria in the first half of January 1943, with the permission of the Romanian government. On September 1, 1943, only 227 Jews were recorded for Carișcov (210 from Bessarabia and 17 from the Bukovina).⁵ The decline in the number of ghetto inmates probably occurred because some Jews were deployed elsewhere to work in mid-1943.

Lack of information about the ghetto in Carișcov makes it difficult to piece together what the living conditions were like between 1941 and 1944. In the Copaigorod (later Kopaygorod) ghetto, located only 6 kilometers (4 miles) northwest of Carișcov, the 2,200 Jews held there, who were mostly from Bukovina, did not receive any pay for their forced labor. Similar circumstances may have prevailed in the smaller ghetto of Carișcov, but this supposition needs further investigation as more evidence becomes available.⁶ The Red Army liberated Carișcov in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES For information on the fate of the Jews of Carișcov, see Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986), especially pp. 345–358.

Primary sources include GARF (7021-54-1239). At USHMM, information about Carișcov may be gleaned from the official report of the Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews that visited Transnistria in January 1943 in RG-25.004M, Romanian Information Service Records, reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-54-1239, p. 20 (and verso).
2. Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 221, citing records of Fred Șaraga, a member of a delegation from the Relief Commission of CER.
3. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.
4. See “Raportul oficial al comisiei evreiești care a fost în Transnistria,” USHMM, RG-25.004M, Romanian Information Service Records, reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 119, reproduced in part in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 353–358 (USHMM, RG-25.004M/9/2710/33/119).
5. See “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.
6. “Raportul oficial al comisiei evreiești care a fost în Transnistria,” RG-25.004M/9/2710/33/126.

CAȚMAZOV

Cațmazov, a village in the Stanislavci raion in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Katsmaziv, Ukraine), is located on the Murashka

River. It is 51 kilometers (32 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 301 Jews in the Stanislavci raion, all living in the town of Stanislavci and none in Cațmazov.¹

The German and Romanian armies occupied Cațmazov, on July 21, 1941. After a short German military occupation, the Romanian civil administration took control of the region in September 1941. The praetor in the Stanislavci raion was Gheorghe Iosa.² The town’s name was romanianized from Catzmazov to Cațmazov, although it was occasionally spelled Kotmazov or Catmazov.

Hundreds of Jews from Bukovina (from the Hotin, Dorohoi, Suceava, and Campulung districts) and northern Bessarabia in northern Romania were deported to Cațmazov and arrived probably in November 1941, typically after months of forced marches from place to place in wintery conditions. The majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk before being sent farther east or northeast toward the Bug River. The Jews were robbed of many possessions at the entry point, which added substantially to their misfortune.

Little information is known about the fate of the Jews deported to Cațmazov and the conditions in which they lived. It can be safely assumed, however, that at first (and given the absence of a Jewish community in Cațmazov to receive them) they lived in the village’s dilapidated homes along a few streets that formed a ghetto. Most certainly, they faced the harsh winter of 1941 with few and inadequate resources, which led to the death of many deported Jews in the surrounding camps and ghettos in the Moghilev district (for example, Copaigorod, Șargorod, and Cazaciocva, a village in the Șmerinca district). Hunger and disease (especially typhus) raged through the camp. Those fit for work were enlisted for forced labor from the summer of 1942 onward. The deportees survived by exchanging goods or services for food. Contact with relatives back in Romania or abroad was rarely possible and was usually mediated by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in Bucharest or by the International Red Cross in Geneva.³

A Relief Commission from CER visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 4 in Șmerinca (Zhmerynka), some 21 kilometers (13 miles) northeast of Cațmazov. The commission delegation, led by Fred Șaraga, learned from the Jewish leaders of the Șmerinca ghetto that 1,200 Jews were amassed in Cațmazov. It does not appear that the commission was able to leave any goods for them at that time, but future shipments most likely included useful items.⁴ By March 1943, the known number of Jewish prisoners was 376 (probably not counting the Ukrainian Jews); on September 1, 1943, also without the Ukrainian Jews, there were 344 Jews (253 from Bessarabia and 91 from Bukovina).⁵ In February 1944, the number of Jews deported from Romania and living in the entire Stanislavci raion was 970 Jews (specific data for Cațmazov are not available).⁶

The repatriation of the deported Jews originally from Drohobych and the Regat began at the end of 1943; the remaining Jews were permitted to return to Romania only in March 1944. The Red Army reached Cațmazov in April 1944, liberating those still in the camp.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Cațmazov can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreistva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 204); A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Cațmazov ghetto can be found at USHMM, records DAVINO (RG-31.011M) and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds 10 survivor testimonies from Jews held in the ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Altshuler, *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR*, p. 49.

2. For the praetors in the Moghilev district, see RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, pp. 9–10.

3. The Ghelbert family’s correspondence from the Cațmazov ghetto is available at YVA, and can be found at www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/gathering_fragments/ghetto_katzmazov.asp.

4. For a visit report, see USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 115.

5. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, and for the September 1943 census, see “Situție numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

6. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev district, USHMM, RG-31.011M, reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5.

CAZACIOVCA

Cazaciovca, a village in the Șmerinca raion in the Moghilev județ (today: Ukraine), in what became the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 66 kilometers (41 miles) north-northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 4,630 Jews living in the city of Zhmerynka, the raion’s administrative center, representing 17.8 percent of the city’s total population, and an additional 2,108 Jews living in the entire Zhmerynka raion, representing 3.7 percent of the population (census data for Cazaciovca for this period do not exist).

The German and Romanian armies took control of Cazaciovca soon after the occupation of Zhmerynka, on July 17, 1941. After a short period of German rule over Zhmerynka and its surroundings, the Romanian civil administration of Transnistria took over in late August or early September 1941. The new administration romanianized the village’s name from Kazachovka to Cazaciovca (or Cozacivca, as it appears in some documents) and the name of the raion from Zhmerynka to Șmerinca in the Moghilev județ. The village’s affairs were placed under the authority of the prefect, Colonel Constantin Năsturaș, and of successive military leaders from the 11th Moghilev Battalion of Gendarmes, who ensured that local gendarme platoons were placed in the Șmerinca raion to implement the prefect’s orders.

Among other villages in the Șmerinca raion, Cazaciovca was one of the final destinations for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina who entered Transnistria via the Atachi-Moghilev crossing point over the Dniester River. A ghetto was created in Cazaciovca that held some 300 Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina as late as January 1943. A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, found only 24 detainees in the ghetto. Of these, 23 were from Bukovina and 1 was from Bessarabia.¹ It is not clear whether relocation for work, deportation across the Bug River, or extermination led to the decrease in the number of Jewish prisoners between these two dates. The Moghilev Jewish Labor Office assisted with the implementation of work projects assigned to the Jewish population in Cazaciovca.

Sums of money from deportees’ families and friends reached those detained in the Cazaciovca ghetto, providing an occasional lifesaving means of support. The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER), based in Bucharest, facilitated the sending and receipt of these private funds.² The ghetto closed on March 18, 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Cazaciovca’s Jews can be found in the following publications: “Kazachovka,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 372; M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefangnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 32–33;

Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României. Problema Evreiască 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); for 1939 census data for the Cazaciocva, a village in the Șmerinca raion, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47.

Primary sources are available at USHMMA, records of DAOO, RG-31.004M. For a remittance receipt, see in this collection reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1363, p. 293.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See “Situție numerică de numărul evreilor aflați în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

2. See “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țara evacuați în Transnistria și aflați la Cazaciocva, raion Jmerinca, jud. Moghilev,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1363, p. 293.

CERNĂUȚI

Cernăuți (today: Chernivtsi, Ukraine), the capital of the Bukovina province, in northeastern Romania and the administrative center of the Cernăuți județ between 1941 and 1944, is located along the Prut River. It is 176 kilometers (104 miles) northwest of Iași (Iassy), and 265 kilometers (165 miles) northwest of Chișinău. It was known in German as Czernowitz and in Ukrainian as Chernivtsi. In December 1939, there were 49,587 Jews in the city of Cernăuți and 319,994 in the entire Cernăuți județ. In early June 1941, some 3,000 Jewish business owners and intellectuals, considered “capitalists” and “political undesirables,” were deported by the Soviet authorities to remote areas of the Soviet Union. When the Germans and Romanians attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, young Jews were drafted into the Red Army, and some families retreated with the Soviet administration; however, most Jews stayed in place. In September 1941, 49,497 Jews were living in the city of Cernăuți, and 265,165 Jews in the Cernăuți județ. In May 1942, there were 19,400 Jews in the Cernăuți județ, most living in the city.¹

After occupying Cernăuți on July 5, 1941, German and Romanian soldiers terrorized Jewish men and women and plundered Jewish property for three days. On July 6 to 7, they murdered approximately 2,000 Jews. Another 3,000 Jewish men, women, and children were confined in the cellars of the Cernăuți Gendarmerie, where after intensive searches, the women and children were released while the men remained in custody for a few more days. Einsatzgruppe D rounded up some 400 Jewish leaders, including Rabbi Dr. Mark and Can-

tor Gurman, and held them in the city’s Cultural Palace. On July 9, all of them were shot near the Prut River. The imposing Jewish synagogue in downtown Cernăuți was set on fire at that time as well.² On August 1, 1941, another 682 Jews were rounded up and shot on the city’s outskirts.

The Romanian civil administration took control of the city in July 1941. The governor of Bukovina was General de divizie Corneliu Calotescu, and the Inspector of Gendarmes was Colonel I. Măneuca. Traian Popovici was the mayor of Cernăuți from 1941 to 1942, and Colonel F. Berechet was the prefect of the Cernăuți județ. The early months of occupation, before ghettoization, were characterized by the ad hoc rounding up of Jews for forced labor. Jews were forced to clean up streets and to remove debris from the main roads. Some women were taken to clean German and Romanian military barracks, whereas other male workers were enlisted for a German-coordinated dam construction project on the Prut River.³ Jews were required to wear the yellow star, as announced by Calotescu with Ordinance No. 1344, promulgated on July 30, 1941, and reissued as Ordinance No. 43 on August 24, 1942.⁴

Preparations for deportation began on October 10, 1941.⁵ On October 11, 1941, Calotescu notified the Jewish population of Cernăuți to relocate before 6 p.m. that day to an area in the eastern part of the city, known as the Jewish district, which was designated as the ghetto. The governor’s announcement indicated that deportation was to follow shortly thereafter. The Jews were permitted to take clothes and food into the ghetto, but only what they could carry. Before leaving, each household had to inventory its remaining possessions, lock the house, and place the keys in an envelope to be handed over to authorities once they were in the ghetto. Such property was subsequently seized. Assisting the Jews or, conversely, robbing their homes, was strictly prohibited; however, these regulations were not immediately enforced, and so many Jewish homes were robbed.



German police and auxiliaries in civilian clothing prepare to execute naked Jewish men and boys who are being lined up at the edge of a mass grave, near Cernăuți, 1943.

USHMM WS #43196, COURTESY OF BILDARCHIV PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ.

Any Jew found outside of the ghetto after 6 p.m. or anyone resisting the order was to be shot.

The ghetto area included some of the downtown center (between Eminescu Street, Dacia Square, and General Mircescu Street, on one side, and Căliceanca Street, Ion Creangă Street, and General Averescu Street, on the other side).⁶ The ghetto was encircled with barbed wire, wooden boards, and nets; there were a few entry and exit points guarded by Romanian gendarmes.⁷ A hospital was inside the ghetto. In addition to providing medical services the hospital was used as a Jewish community center. The Cernăuți ghetto commandant was Maior Iacobescu.⁸

The ghetto soon became overcrowded. Up to 48,000 people inhabited a space that would normally accommodate a few thousand. Luggage and other goods brought into the ghetto added to the space shortage. Some Jews had family or relatives in the former Jewish district, and they moved in with them, up to 30 to 40 people in a room. Every available space, including cellars, basements, corridors, entryways, attics, and barns, was occupied. People slept on the floor in their clothes. The ghetto streets and apartments became unsanitary, because essential services were difficult to access. Food was available from the families' limited personal supplies or could be bought in stores that already existed in the ghetto or from the ghetto's provisional marketplaces supplied by villagers.⁹ Ghetto life was especially difficult for children and the elderly, many of whom succumbed to illness. Despite these circumstances, young adults set up theatrical performances for which they improvised costumes. This was one way the internees tried to carry on a "normal" life.¹⁰

Deportations commenced on October 13, 1941, and concluded on November 15, 1941. A brief interruption occurred from October 14 to 20, when Mayor Popovici secured authorization for the retention of 4,000 Jewish skilled laborers deemed essential to the city's economic survival.¹¹ An additional 16,000 Jews were granted permission to remain in Cernăuți after paying bribes; they were later able to depart the ghetto. Those who stayed in Cernăuți were requisitioned for labor in the city or sent for forced labor in the Regat by the Cernăuți Recruitment Center (*Cercul de Recrutare Cernăuți*).¹²

The Romanian authorities deported 28,341 Jews from Cernăuți (or 33,891 Jews from the entire Cernăuți județ) to Transnistria. Commanded by Iacobescu, the 1st Gendarmes Battalion cordoned off the ghetto and escorted the Jews to the train station. There were 14 transports, each averaging 2,200 to 2,500 people, as well as an additional transport from the Sădăgura camp that carried 400 "more dangerous" Jews.¹³ The Jews were forced onto freight trains, 80 to 100 people per car, traveling eastward to Atachi (Otaci) near the Dniester River, though some went to Mărculești (and from there walked to the Dniester).¹⁴

In June 1942, after reevaluating their permits to remain in Cernăuți, an additional 4,290 Jews were deported to Transnistria by the Romanian authorities. The following transports took place: 1,977 Jews (June 8 and 11); 1,151 Jews (June 15); and 1,162 Jews (June 29). The Jews were picked up from their

homes and escorted by gendarmes to the "Macabi" sports club. After being forced to sell their valuables for worthless German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS), they were led to the train station and transported in freight cars to Atachi, where they were forced to cross into Transnistria.¹⁵

A remnant of Jewish survivors returned to Cernăuți in early 1944. The Red Army recaptured Cernăuți in March 1944. In April 1944, there were 17,341 Jews in Cernăuți, with a few more thousand in labor camps in the Regat. In 1945, the Bucharest People's Tribunal sentenced several of Bukovina's former leaders, including Calotescu, to years of hard labor.¹⁶

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Cernăuți's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Cernăuți," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 237–238; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 341; "Chernovtsi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 362–364; "Chernovtsi," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossen, 2009), pp. 1063–1066; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, "The Cernăuți Ghetto, the Deportations, and the Decent Mayor," in Valentina Glajar and Jeanine Teodorescu, eds., *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), pp. 57–75; Nathan Getzler, "Tagebuchblätter aus Czernowitz und Transnistrien (1941–1942)," in Hugo Gold, ed., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, Ein Sammelwerk, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Olamenu, 1962), 2: 53–60 (a translation by Jerome Silverbush is available as "Diary Pages from Czernowitz and Transnistria" at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/bukowinabook/buk2_053.html); and Traian Popovici, *Spovedania = Testimony*, ed. Th. Wexler, trans. Viviane Prager (Bucharest: Fundația Dr. W. Filderman, c. 2001). On September 21, 1969, Popovici was recognized as a Righteous Among the Nations by Yad Vashem for his efforts to save Cernăuți's Jews; see Israel Guttman et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust, Europe* (part 2) (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011), pp. 84–85.

Primary sources documenting the destruction of Cernăuți's Jews are available at USHMM, records DACkO (RG-31.006M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AME (RG-25.006). For

testimonies taken by the ChGK in July 1945, see RG-31.006M (DACKO), reel 21, fond 153, opis 1, delo 103; for the Cernăuți labor brigade, see RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 84; for monthly information reports regarding the situation of Jews and other ethnic and religious minorities in Bukovina, see ANRM, Selected Records of the Liaison Office for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria, 1941–1944, available at USHMM as RG-54.004M; and ANR, Selected Records Related to Bessarabia and Bukovina, available at USHMM as RG-25.019. Additional documentation on deportations from Cernăuți is available in RG-25.021 (FUCER). USHMPA holds many prewar and postwar photos of Cernăuți. VHA holds 1,238 testimonies (in 16 languages) from survivors of the Cernăuți ghetto and deportations to Transnistria.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. CER census figures, 1930–1942, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 17.
2. VHA #03947, Sophie Berkowitz testimony, August 10, 1995; VHA #23574, Eva Bender testimony, November 3, 1996.
3. VHA #02598, Leo Dawer testimony, April 20, 1995.
4. Ordonanța 43, USHMM, RG-31.006M (DACKO), reel 6, fond 307, opis 3, delo 13, pp. 11–12 (USHMM, RG-31.006M, 6/307/3/13, pp. 11–12). Photos of Jews wearing the yellow star: USHMPA, WS #30087; WS #38050.
5. Calotescu's instructions for the Bukovina Military Cabinet, No. 37, 1941, USHMM, RG-31.006M, 5/307/3/10, p. 202; and the schedule for the operation, "Programul străngerii în ghettoa a evreilor din Cernăuți," p. 204.
6. For the announcement, see "Încunoștiințare," USHMM, RG-31.006M, 5/307/3/10, p. 203; for rules applying to the ghetto, see "Regulament," pp. 205–206.
7. VHA #08315, Meta Brandwein testimony, October 29, 1995.
8. "Nota Informativă," October 16, 1941, reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 103–109 (esp. 106).
9. VHA #40785, Dorothea Benjamini testimony, April 28, 1998.
10. See photographs depicting young Jews in the ghetto staging performances and reading magazines: USHMPA, WS #29629; WS #29630; WS #29627.
11. USHMPA, Erika Neuman's authorization, WS #42012, and Lotte Gottfried Hirsch's, WS #33919.
12. See a list of Jewish specialists requisitioned for work for the city of Cernăuți, February 1942: USHMM, RG-31.006M, 5/307/3/10, pp. 21, 70.
13. See schedule, numbers, and officers in charge: USHMM, RG-31.006M, 5/307/3/10, pp. 208–209.
14. VHA #11435, Bertha Blauner testimony, January 26, 1996; VHA #49994, Harry Kolisher testimony, July 18, 1999; VHA #45947, Iosif Adler testimony, September 1, 1998; VHA #23574, Eva Bender testimony, November 3, 1996.
15. Statistical reports prepared by the Government of Bukovina for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of Romania, September 1942, USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 130–131, 150–151, 196–215.
16. USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 22, file 40011, vol. 27, p. 31; reel 28, file 40017, vol. 7, pp. 19–20.

CERNOVIȚI

Cernoviți, a raion center in the Juguștru județ within Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located some 26 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,425 Jews living in the village of Cernoviți (pre-1941: Chernevtsy; Yiddish, Chernivitz), constituting 18.6 percent of its population.

The village was occupied on July 21, 1941, one month after the joint German and Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. In the period between the retreat of the Soviet armies and the arrival of the advancing German and Romanian armies, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men of military age were drafted into the Red Army. From July through August 1941, the German military commandant's office governed the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the Romanian civil administration. It was renamed Cernoviți (or Cernevti, in some Romanian documents, not to be confused with the city of Cernăuți in Bukovina).

On the first day of the occupation, July 21, 1941, one Jew was shot in the village. On July 24 and 27, 25 Jews perished at the hands of Romanian and German soldiers, and one more Jew was killed in August 1941.¹

In the fall of 1941, the Jewish neighborhoods of the village were turned into a ghetto. This ghetto contained all the remaining Jews of the village—around 1,300 people—and several hundred Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who had been deported to Transnistria in the fall of 1941. A committee of local and Romanian Jews headed the ghetto. Going outside the ghetto's limits was punishable by shooting. A special permit had to be obtained for burials in the Jewish cemetery, which was located on the other side of the Murafa River. Ukrainians and Poles brought food to the ghetto to sell, and several of them tried to help the Jews. Those few "Romanian" Jews who had some money left after deportation or those receiving money from outside the ghetto could occasionally purchase goods from locals. Money and other forms of aid were sent from Romania through the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER).²

A small group of Jews maintained contact with the partisans and spread information obtained from Soviet Information Bureau radio reports among the ghetto inhabitants.

The occupation authorities deployed the Jews for agricultural and construction work. There existed various types of workshops (*atelieri*) in Cernoviți, in which many Jews from the ghetto worked daily. According to a list of workshops from 1943, nine such workshops were active at that time: tailoring, sewing military uniforms, shoemaking, hairdressing, locksmithing, painting, weaving, tinsmithing, and soap making.³ Three Jewish doctors—Brandes Iuliu, Cleiner Clara, and Renblid Polea—provided medical assistance in the ghetto.⁴

On September 1, 1943, there were 449 "Romanian" Jews (170 from Bessarabia and 279 from Bukovina) in the ghetto.⁵ Together with the local Jews, the total Jewish population was roughly 2,000 Jews.⁶

Cernoviți was liberated on March 18, 1944. The vast majority of the Jews survived the occupation and detention. This high survival rate was due, in large part, to the ability of local Jews to remain in their own homes and the relatively small number of deportees arriving from Romania who were housed in the homes of local Jews (for example, in barns or attics). The Jewish community in Cernoviți was thus preserved.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Cernoviți during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: “Cernevti (Chernevtsy),” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-ad le-abar Sho’at Milbemet ha-’olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 493; “Chernevtsy,” 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: 247; and “Chechel’nik,” in V. Lukin, A. Sokolova, and B. Khaimovich, eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel’*; *Vypusk 2; Podoliia* (St. Petersburg: Ezro, 2000), pp. 347–372. For statistical information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente. Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Cernoviți can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1255); DAVINO (r2988-3-81, 84; r6022-1-39: lists of ghetto prisoners); DAOO (r2255-1-1156, 1157, 1189, 1240, 1309, 1359, 1362–1367, 1369, 1373, 1400, 1403, 1407, 1408, 1412: lists of ghetto prisoners); and YVA. For information on active workshops in Cernoviți, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1562, n.p.; for remittances sent to Jews in the Cernoviți ghetto, in the same collection see reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1567, n.p.; and reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, 1189, n.p.

Ovidiu Creangă and Aleksander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-54-1255, pp. 3, 23 (verso), 24 (verso).
2. See, for example, “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Cernevti (Jud. Juguștru),” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1567, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004/6/2242/1, 1567/, n.p.); also “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Cernevti (Jud. Juguștru),” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9, fond 2255/1, 1189, n.p.
3. See “Tabel de atelierele evreești din județul Juguștru,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1562, n.p.
4. See “Tabel nominal de medicii evreii aflați în județul Juguștru (ghetouri),” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1562, n.p.
5. See “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost

evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

6. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel (ed.), *Documents*, 5: 348.

CETVERTINOVCA

Cetvertinovca, a village in the Trostineț raion in the Tulcin județ (today: Ukraine), is in the northeastern part of what became Romanian-controlled Transnistria, bordering the Bug River. It is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) east-southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 1,731 Jews lived in the Trostineț raion, representing slightly more than 4 percent of the raion’s population.

The German and Romanian armies captured the town and its surroundings in late July 1941. After a short period of German rule, the Romanian civil administration assumed control in September 1941. The Romanian authorities romanianized the village’s name from Chetvertinovka to Cetvertinovca and placed its affairs under the rule of Colonel Ion Lazăr, the first prefect of the Tulcin județ, and of the praetor of the Trostineț raion, Constantin Alexandrescu.

Immediately after his installation as prefect, Lazăr issued an ordinance (*ordonanță*) establishing a ghetto in Cetvertinovca for local Jews. Micu Grünberg became the ghetto leader (*șef de colonie*); he was expected to mobilize all ghetto residents, ages 14 to 60, for forced labor each day at 6:00 A.M. On November 17, 1941, Lazăr issued a new ordinance severely restricting Jewish movement. It forbade Cetvertinovca’s Jews from leaving the ghetto without a permit. Depending on the distance needed to travel, permits were either issued by local authorities (for destinations within 20 kilometers [12.4 miles] from the ghetto) or by the county prefecture (for distances exceeding 20 kilometers from the ghetto). Any Jew found outside the ghetto without a leave permit and identity documents was considered a “communist courier” or a “spy” and subject to the laws of war. Moreover, police chiefs who did not report unauthorized residents were considered accessories to plotting against the Romanian state, which called for severe punishment.¹ Lazăr’s actions reflected practice regarding the “Jewish regime” that was eventually formalized in the 10 articles of the far-reaching Ordinance No. 23, which Marshal Ion Antonescu issued through Transnistria’s governor, Gheorghe Alexianu, on November 11, 1941.²

On July 6, 1942, some 1,800 Jews from Cernăuți and Dorohoi were deported to Cetvertinovca, after staying for a short time at the Ladijin stone quarry ghetto (*Cariera de piatră*), a dilapidated Soviet-era labor camp, for delousing.³ They were placed in abandoned houses, with several families sharing a single house. In August 1942, German authorities from across the Bug River requested that Colonel Constantin Loghin, Tulcin’s prefect who had succeeded Lazăr, send 5,000 Jews to work on the Nemirov-Bratslav-Seminki-Gaysin segment of Highway IV (*Durchgangsstrasse IV*, DG-IV), the strategic highway connecting Poland to southern Ukraine. With Alexianu’s

approval, Loghin sent 800 Jews exclusively from Cetvertinovca's ghetto across the Bug River.⁴ Some of those transferred, including the elderly and the disabled, as well as some women and children, were shot in the first days after their arrival. The Jews remaining at Cetvertinovca were used for forced labor in the local stone quarry.

On August 26, 1942, more Jews from the Ladijin stone quarry ghetto were deported to Cetvertinovca. A group of mentally ill deportees from Cernăuți was shot the same day. After three weeks, on September 13, the group that had been previously transferred to Cetvertinovca on August 26 was returned to the Ladijin quarry. A new group of 250 Jews from the Ladijin quarry was transferred to Cetvertinovca in October 1942 and then was moved to Obodovca (Balta județ) after a few weeks. During their time in Cetvertinovca these Jews were housed in cowsheds. The back-and-forth movement between ghettos, in addition to transfers across the Bug River, separated family members, resulting in increasing numbers of petitions to Romanian authorities to be reunited; it also led to the failure of private aid sent by deportees' family and friends to reach the intended recipients.⁵

Evidence is too scant to reconstruct everyday life in the Cetvertinovca ghetto. It is unlikely that payment or food rations were given in exchange for forced labor, despite government rules regarding deportees' entitlements. Article 6 of Ordinance No. 23, issued by Antonescu in November 1941, clearly stipulated that "in return for a day's work, a worker receives a food stamp (*bon de alimente*) worth 1 RSKS (*sic*) for unskilled labor and 2 RKKS (German-issued scrip; *Reichskreditkassenschein*) for skilled labor."⁶ Hardly enough to buy a loaf of bread and about one-quarter the daily income of an apprentice (*ucenic*), the sum was paid irregularly, if at all. But private sums of money sent by family and friends via the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) did reach the Cetvertinovca ghetto. However, as mentioned earlier, many intended recipients had already been moved to a different location or had been transferred across the Bug, never to return.⁷ For the few among Cetvertinovca's Jews who were fortunate enough to receive aid, that money prolonged their survival in the remaining months of 1942.

The Cetvertinovca ghetto was not included in the two general deportee counts that took place in 1943. According to the count that followed the visit by a Romanian delegation of CER to Transnistria's ghettos in January 1943, there were no Jews reported as residing in the Trostineț raion.⁸ The September 1943 count lists Trostineț as having 95 Bukovinian Jews, but does not mention Cetvertinovca.⁹ The ghetto may have closed down in early 1943. Residents were most likely transferred across the Bug or were moved to other ghettos in Transnistria.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of Cetvertinovca's Jews can be found in the following sources: "Cetvertinovca," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1066; Matatias Carp, ed.,

Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României. Problema Evreiască 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2), (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Cetvertinovca's Jews can be found at USHMM, in the records of the DAOO (RG-31.004M). For Prefect Ion Lazăr's Ordinance No. 6, restricting Jewish movement in the Tulcin județ, see reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p.; for Ion Antonescu's Ordinance No. 23, outlining the treatment of Jews in Transnistria, see in the same collection reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso); for Alexianu's approval of a transfer of 3,000 Jews from Tulcin, which included 800 Jews from Cetvertinovca, see reel 2, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1088, p. 151; for receipts of money transfers to Cetvertinovca ghetto, see reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1189, pp. 105, 188; and for failed deliveries of money due to the recipient no longer living in the ghetto, see reel 12, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1405, pp. 2–8 (and verso). For a survivor's testimony, see Erica Antal's account at <http://193.226.7.140/~leonardo/n05/Vakulovski2.htm>.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See "Ordonanța Nr. 6," November 17, 1941, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p. (USHMM, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/76).
2. See "Ordonanța Nr. 23," USHMM, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1, p. 268 (and verso).
3. See entry "6 Iulie 1942," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 279–280.
4. See Alexianu's answer to Loghin's telegram, "51304, 11 Aug. 1942, Inspectoratul de Jandarmi Transnistria," USHMM, RG-31.004M/2/2241/1/ 1088, p. 151 (but see also pp. 148–150).
5. See official letter, "Președintele Comitetului Evreiesc Moghilău către Onor. Legiunea de Jandarmi Moghilău," registered with Number 2611 and dated September 24, 1942, requesting the transfer of those listed from Moghilev to Cetvertinovca to be reunited with their families: RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1490, p. 64 (see also pp. 59–66).
6. See Article 6 in "Ordinance Nr. 23," USHMM, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1, p. 268 (verso).
7. See, for example, "Tabel nominal de achitarea mandatorilor de plată cuvenită evreilor din Colonia Ladajin, Carieră de piatră, în care se găsesc și cei din col. Ladajin, Olanița și Cetvertinovca, conf. adresei Prefecturii județului Tulcin," USHMM, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1189, p. 188; see also "Tabel de remiterile făcute Evreilor din România evacuați în

Transnistria și aflați la Cetvertinovca, plasa Trostineț, jud. Tulcin,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1189, p. 105; finally, see “Tabel de sumele ce nu au fost plătite evreilor din Transnistria, deoarece nu au fost găsiți la adresele arătate,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/12/2255/1/1405, pp. 2–8 (and verso).

8. “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

9. “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

CHIANOVCA

Chianovca, a village in the Balki raion in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kyyanivka, Ukraine), is located 59 kilometers (36 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. A handful of Jews lived in the nearby village of Kuzmintsy in 1939 (census data for the village of Chianovca are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Chianovca in the second part of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time the local Jews were persecuted, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village’s name was romanianized from Kiianovka to Chianovca (also spelled Chianivca or Chiianivca), and the raion became Balchi. The praetor in the Balki raion was Ștefan Tăutu.

The Jews deported from Bukovina (from the Hotin district, in particular) and northern Bessarabia (primarily from the Soroca district) in the summer of 1941 arrived in Chianovca in October and November 1941. After being marched all the way from their home, the majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River. Stopping shortly in Moghilev-Podolsk, they were then marched farther northeast toward the Bug River. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route to the deportation site, adding substantially to the misery that they had to endure; they also suffered from many beatings along the way.¹

Once in Chianovca, the deportees were placed on the grounds of the local *sovkhoz* (state farm), inside its dilapidated structures. It was there that the deportees spent the first winter, which proved deadly for many. According to an estimate by Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), 50 percent of the deported Jews in the Moghilev județ perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus.² In the spring of 1942, the survivors were allowed to move into the village and rent rooms along a few streets in an area that became a ghetto (the designation “camp,” *lagăr*, persisted). Several families shared a single room. A Jewish Council was formed in the ghetto, and there existed also a Jewish police force charged with maintaining order.³

Life in the guarded ghetto was filled with restrictions. Leaving the ghetto without permission was severely punished. Wearing the yellow star became obligatory. All able-bodied men were taken to do forced labor in agriculture, while others provided personal services for the authorities. Because the raion’s administration provided nothing for the deportees, bribery and barter became essential means of survival, as was the occasional help provided by locals.⁴

The Chianovca ghetto held Ukrainian Jews deported from Transnistria, as well as Jews deported from Romania. As of March 1943, there were 33 Jews in Chianovca. The size of the ghetto grew that spring because of the transfer there of other Jews from nearby ghettos, but then declined when some Jews were sent to the Nestervarca labor camp for peat harvesting in the Tulcin județ. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 79 Jews in Chianovca (71 from Bessarabia, and 8 from Bukovina).⁵

The repatriation of Jews deported from Romania began at the end of 1943 with the Jews originally from Dorohoi and the Regat, along with orphaned children and a few other special categories of Jews (for example, former state functionaries, World War I veterans, and widows). Few, if any, of the Jews from the Chianovca ghetto qualified for this early return. The ghetto was liberated by the Red Army at the end of March 1944. Some Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, whereas others made the dangerous journey back to Romania.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Chianovca can be found in the following publications: “Chianovka,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyab shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bivsdam ve-ad le-ahar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 505; “Kyianovka,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 153; and in these two other encyclopedias: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2004), vol. 5. For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional background information can be found in A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, “The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos

and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive,” *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Chianovca can be found at USHMMA, in collections DA-VINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). Of special interest is collection GARF (RG-22.002M), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1273, which covers atrocities committed against the Jews in the Bar region of Ukraine. VHA holds five survivor testimonies in Russian from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #39591, Moshe Kogan testimony, January 7, 1998; VHA #39640, Sheiva Kogan testimony, January 7, 1998.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

3. VHA #41082, Efim Gorin testimony, February 18, 1998.

4. VHA #39640, Sheiva Kogan testimony, January 7, 1998; VHA #41362, Sara Solomonov testimony, March 1, 1998.

5. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 census, see “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

CHIȘINĂU

The capital of Romanian-controlled Bessarabia (today: Republic of Moldova), Chișinău (Kishinev) is located in the Lăpușna județ in west central Bessarabia, 357 kilometers (222 miles) northeast of Bucharest. In June 1941, 60,000 Jews, including refugees from other regions, lived in Chișinău.

Before the German and Romanian armies occupied Chișinău on July 17, 1941, many Jews had fled eastward toward Odessa or were drafted into the retreating Red Army; however, the majority had remained in Chișinău. The situation immediately following the occupation was chaotic: most administrative and industrial facilities had sustained bomb damage or were destroyed by the retreating Soviets. Romanian soldiers and Einsatzgruppe D murdered Jews, in retribution for allegedly showing disrespect to the retreating Romanian army in June 1940 and for aiding Soviet resistance. Under Romanian civil administration, the city’s name was romanianized as Chișinău. Marshal Ion Antonescu appointed General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu as Bessarabia’s military governor, with Chișinău as its capital. Colonel Anibal Dobjanski was Chișinău’s mayor, and Colonel Teodor Meculescu was its Inspector of Gendarmes.¹

The Chișinău ghetto was established on July 24, 1941.² It was placed under the control of the military in Chișinău, under the overall command of Colonel D. Tudosie (July 18 to September 1, 1941); General de divizie Constantin Panaițiu (September 1 to 6, 1941); and Colonel Eugen Dumitrescu (September 7 to November 15, 1941). The Romanian authorities regarded the ghetto as a stopgap measure, before the deportation of Jews to Transnistria.

The ghetto population peaked at 11,525 Jews: 4,476 women (39 percent), 4,148 men (36 percent), and 2,901 children (25 percent). Of these, 3,206 (28 percent) were over 50 years old.³ Jews who converted to Christianity before 1939 or those married to a Christian spouse were confined to the ghetto and deported as well, a practice that was later abolished but too late for many.⁴

Located in the southern part of Chișinău, in the Visternici area, the ghetto had a circumference of about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) with gated entrances and exits barricaded by wooden walls. Its size was reduced twice before the end of August 1941.

Approximately 80 soldiers from the First Company of the 50th Infantry Regiment and from the 10th and 23rd Police Companies guarded the ghetto.⁵ Leaving the ghetto was prohibited; any Jew caught on the street at night was in danger of being shot. However, both Jews and non-Jews entered and exited the ghetto for work or trade, usually by bribing Romanian or German soldiers.⁶ The airport road cut through the ghetto, and a number of workshops were located within the ghetto. Security blind spots, the authorities’ poor organization, and the guards’ tacit permission afforded the civilians and uniformed personnel the occasion to abuse the Jews, including robberies and rapes.⁷

When ordered to move to the ghetto, the Jews were allowed to take a few belongings with them. Once inside the ghetto, the ability to secure housing depended on each household’s resources and individuals’ opportunism. Most people lived in communal houses (25 or more to a house) in crowded and unsanitary conditions. Others slept outside in improvised shelters. Because food quickly became scarce, farmers were allowed to sell food—at inflated prices—in the ghetto.⁸ Before ghettoization, approximately 3,000 Jews had relied on Jewish charitable assistance; this need immediately increased. Jews sold or exchanged their remaining possessions to obtain basic necessities. As Romanian officials noted, “because of the lack of clothes and bed linens many of the internees get ill and 10 to 15 persons die daily.”⁹ By early September 1941 typhus had already spread in the ghetto.

Led by president Landau Guttman, a 22-member Jewish Council represented Jewish interests before the commandants and city administration. The Council established a bakery, a market, an orphanage, and a hospital, and assisted in allocating housing. Alexandru Gherovici was a doctor in the ghetto’s small hospital.

Chișinău’s Jews were forced to work as street cleaners, removing rubble.¹⁰ They also built roads, with some working for the Nazi construction organization, Organisation Todt (OT),



Chişinău: Jewish women under Romanian military guard are led off to forced labor.

USHMM WS #86179, COURTESY OF YIVO INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH RESEARCH.

and others for the city administration.¹¹ On July 27, 1941, the Romanian Interior Ministry ordered that Jewish labor should be paid according to its value, but approximately two weeks later a new order stipulated 25 lei a day in food and 10 lei for “maintenance.” In late August 1941, the number of forced laborers was about 800.¹²

In the summer of 1941, two mass killings terrified Chişinău’s inhabitants. The first occurred on August 1, 1941, when 250 men and 200 women were turned over to a German officer for the ostensible purpose of being sent to work outside the ghetto. Only 39 returned, bearing the news that the remaining 411 had been shot and buried near Visterniceni. Enraged by Soviet air raids, the Germans threatened other ghetto inhabitants with collective reprisals if they did not “stop signaling with light to the incoming Russian planes.”¹³ The second massacre took place on August 7, 1941, when 525 Jews were turned over to a Romanian road inspector, Chircorov, allegedly to construct a road near Ghidighici, a northwestern suburb of Chişinău. A conflict with Romanian soldiers aboard a military train passing through Ghidighici station broke out, for which the 350 Jewish laborers deployed there were blamed. All were shot by the Second Machine Gun Company commanded by Căpitan Radu Ionescu.¹⁴

Swift military advances across the Dniester River in July and August 1941 gave Romanian authorities the opportunity to deport Chişinău’s Jews. General Ion Topor, the Romanian Army’s Grand Praetor, issued deportation orders for the Chişinău ghetto in September 1941.¹⁵ Preparations for deportation were made until early October, at which time trade in the ghetto was forbidden, forced laborers returned to their homes, and security increased considerably.¹⁶ The tense atmosphere inside the ghetto led some Jews to commit suicide.

On October 8, 1941, the first convoy of approximately 2,500 Jews marched out of the ghetto, escorted by the 23rd Police Company, commanded by Căpitan Ion Paraschivescu, until they reached Orhei. From there the Orhei Gendarmes Legion, commanded by Maior Filip Vechi, conducted them to the northern crossing point, Rezina-Râbnita.¹⁷ Alternating con-

voys were escorted by troops from the 82nd Police Company to a southern crossing point at Tighina-Tiraspol. Those capable of walking marched to the crossing points (80 kilometers [50 miles] to Rezina and 56 kilometers [35 miles] to Tighina), while the elderly, the sick, children, and luggage were transported in horse-drawn carts.¹⁸ During the march, the deported Jews were not supplied food, but had to feed themselves from their own provisions. Rain, cold weather, and physical exhaustion slowed down the march, and those unable to keep up were shot. Some were left unburied, and many bodies were placed in graves prepared in advance along the route.¹⁹ Villagers along the deportation route preyed on the weakened Jews. Organized bands of thugs, with military support, robbed and shot Jews in the first convoy somewhere between Orhei and Rezina, sending waves of panic through the Chişinău ghetto.²⁰

At checkpoints in the city of Chişinău and near crossing points over the Dniester River, the Romanian National Bank and the Romanianization Bureau oversaw the extraction of the deportees’ remaining gold and other precious goods. Poor recordkeeping and negligence enabled Romanian officials to steal much of this property before it made its way into the national bank.²¹

Smaller convoys regularly departed the ghetto until mid-November 1941. On November 5, only 118 Jews were left, mainly the seriously ill and hospital staff.²² The ghetto’s Jews were deported to camps in the Golta and Berezovca judeţe, where many died.²³ The ghetto closed on June 25, 1942, when the last Jews, including mental patients, were deported.²⁴ A small number of Jews remained in the city outside of the ghetto: there were 183 Jews by September 30, 1942, and 177 by April 6, 1943.²⁵

Between 1945 and 1950, the Bucharest’s People’s Tribunal tried some of the perpetrators—Voiculescu, Meculescu, Tudosie, and Panaiţiu—responsible for the destruction of Chişinău’s Jews. Marshal Antonescu received a death sentence and was executed on June 1, 1946.²⁶

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Chişinău’s Jews can be found in the following publications: Paul A. Shapiro, *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941–1942: A Documentary History of the Holocaust in Romania’s Contested Borderlands* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press in association with USHMM, 2015); Paul A. Shapiro, “The Jews of Chişinău (Kishinev): Romanian Reoccupation, Ghettoization, Deportation,” in Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Destruction of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews during the Antonescu Era* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 1997), pp. 135–193; Liviu Carare, “Evreii din ghetoul Chişinău: Studiu de caz: Masacrul de la Ghidighici (august 1941),” *HSC* 4 (2011): 74–83; Samuel Aroni, *Memories of the Holocaust: Kishinev (Chişinău), 1941–1944* (Los Angeles: University of California, International Studies and Overseas Programs, 1995); David Doron (Spektor), *Kishinevskoe Ghetto—Poslednii Pogrom* (Kishinev: Liga, 1993); “Chisinau,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 249–253; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea

Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contributii la Istoria Romaniei: Problema Evreiasca: 1933–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, with a foreword by Elie Wiesel and a preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources on the Chișinău ghetto can be found at USHMM, in microform collections copied from ANRM (RG-54.001M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and SRI (RG-25.04M). For investigative reports into irregularities taking place in the ghetto, see RG-54.001, reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 69. Also shedding light on the ghetto is General Voiculescu's memorandum, RG-54.001 (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22. For trial records, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 16, file 22539, vol. 12 and, in the same collection, reel 34, fond 40010, opis 49; for Colonel Meculescu's instructions regarding the deportation of the Chișinău ghetto, see RG-54.001M, reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22. For trial records of members of the Antonescu administration, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 16, file 22539, vol. 12 and, in the same collection, reel 34, 40010, vol. 49.

Diana Dumitru and Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Raport de anchetă al Comisiunii instituită conform ordinului Domnului Mareșal Ion Antonescu, Conducătorul Statului, pentru cercetarea neregulilor dela Ghetto din Chișinău," December 4, 1941, USHMM, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 69, pp. 1–45 (esp. pp. 6–8) (USHMM, RG-54.001M/1/706/1/69); "Raport de anchetă Nr. 2 al Comisiunii instituită conform ordinului Domnului Mareșal Ion Antonescu, Conducătorul Statului, pentru cercetarea neregulilor dela Ghetto din Chișinău," in the same collection, pp. 48–58; the latter report is reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 61–65.

2. "Raport de anchetă," p. 7; "Romanian troops round-up Jews in Kishinev shortly after the occupation of the city by German and Romanian troops," USHMM, WS #67310 (Courtesy of Süddeutscher Verlag Bilderdienst).

3. "Raport de anchetă," p. 16.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 42–43; "Tablou de evreii care se găsesc pe raza orașului ne internați în Ghetto," issued by Chișinău Municipality Police Office, Siguranța Bureau, USHMM, RG-54.001M/7/679/1/6588, p. 303.

5. General Constantin Voiculescu, "Memoriu asupra Problemei Evreilor din Basarabia," USHMM, RG-54.001M/1/706/1/22, p. 5.

6. "Nota Informativa Nr. 1 din 20 August 1941," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 10: 92.

7. For the fraction that were reported, see "Raport de anchetă," pp. 17, 26; prosecutor Florin Tărăbuța's report Nr. 741, October 27, 1941, from Lăpușna court, USHMM, RG-51.001M/706/1/68, p. 33.

8. "Ukrainian farmers sell produce to Jews at an open market in the Kishinev ghetto," USHMM, WS #03331 (Courtesy of Georg Westermann Verlag).

9. "Nota Informativă," resent by General Voiculescu to Colonel Eugen Dumitrescu, the ghetto commandant, September 5, 1941, USHMM, RG-54.001M/1/706/1/22, pp. 20–21 (and verso) (esp. p. 21); "Raport de anchetă," p. 16.

10. "Jews in a forced labor battalion clear rubble from the streets of Chisinau (Kishinev)," USHMM, WS #67307, Courtesy of Süddeutscher Verlag Bilderdienst, and "Jewish women at forced labor clearing the rubble off the main street of Kishinev," USHMM, WS #03330 (Courtesy of Georg Westermann Verlag).

11. "A group of male and female Jewish forced laborers assigned to road construction in the vicinity of Chisinau, wait in front of a truck to receive their midday meal," USHMM, WS #55262 (Courtesy of Süddeutscher Verlag Bilderdienst). "Tabel de evrei întrebuințați la lucru pe ziua de 1 Septembrie 1941," USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 25, fond 20725, vol. 7, p. 86 (USHMM, RG-25.004M/25/20725/7).

12. Voiculescu's letter to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, August 31, 1941: "Conducerea și Administrarea Basarabiei, Cabinetul Militar către Președenția Consiliului de Miniștri," USHMM, RG-25.005M/25/20725/7, p. 486.

13. Aroni, *Memories of the Holocaust*, p. 45.

14. "Raport de anchetă Nr. 2," pp. 51–52.

15. General Voiculescu, "Memoriu," USHMM, RG-54.001M/1/706/1/22, p. 6; "Raport de anchetă Nr. 2," p. 49.

16. General Voiculescu's communiqué sent to all Bessarabia's prefecture offices, Bessarabia's Police and Gendarmes Inspectorates, and to the office of Chișinău's Military Commandant, "Comunicat," September 15, 1941, USHMM, RG-54.001M, reel 1, pp. 23–24 (and verso), and the following exchanges, pp. 25–30.

17. Chisinau Police Regional Inspectorate, "Buletin Contra-Informativ de la 1–10 Octombrie 1941," USHMM, RG-25.004M/25/20725/7, pp. 180–181.

18. Chișinău Gendarmes Inspector, Colonel Teodor Meculescu, "Instrucțiuni referitor la evacuarea evreilor din ghetoul Chișinău și a celor din Sudul Basarabiei," USHMM, RG-54.001M/1/706/1/22, pp. 53–60; "Jewish families prepare to leave the ghetto during the deportation of Jews from Kishinev to Transnistria," USHMM, WS #01099 (Courtesy of Georg Westermann Verlag).

19. Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 195.

20. Chișinău Police, Siguranța Bureau's report for the Regional Police Inspector, "Nr. 6847," signed N. Marinescu, October 9, 1941, USHMM, RG-54.001M/7/679/1/6586, pp. 419 (and also 418).

21. "Raport de anchetă," pp. 11–14, 22–25, 34, 40, 43; "Raport de anchetă Nr. 2," pp. 50–51.

22. Voiculescu's report Nr. 733/C to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, November 18, 1941, USHMM, RG-25.004M/25/20725/7, p. 58.

23. "Dare de Seama asupra Organizării și Funcționării Serviciului Jandarmeriei în Transnistria," USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 48, delo 5, p. 3.

24. Regional Police Inspector, Stere Papasotir's report "Nr. 8391," June 3, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.004M/25/20725/7, p. 60.

25. "Tablou Nominal de evreii dimiciliati pe raza municipiului Chisinau la data de 30 Septembrie 1942," issued by Chișinău Police Office, Siguranța Bureau, USHMM, RG-54.001M/16/679.1/692.2, pp. 722–724 (and verso); "Tablou

nominal de evreii domiciliati pe raza acestui municipiu, la data de 16 Aprilie 1943,” issued by Chişinău Police Office, Siguranţa Bureau, USHMMA, RG-54.001M/ 16/679.1/721.9, pp. 19–22.

26. “Actul de Acuzare,” USHMMA, RG-25.004M/16/22539/12, pp. 251–254, 361–460 (document pagination); for Antonescu’s indictment, see Prosecution’s statement, “Ion Antonescu,” USHMMA, RG-25.004M/34/40010/49, pp. 49–59 (esp. p. 59). All trials and executions took place under Decree Law 312/1945.

CICELNIC

Cicelnic was the center of the Cicelnic raion, in the Balta judeţ, in Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Chechelnyk, Ukraine). According to the 1939 Soviet census, Cicelnic had 1,327 Jewish residents, representing 66 percent of its total population. The village, located some 37 kilometers (23 miles) northwest of Balta, was occupied by German forces on July 24, 1941, five weeks after the joint German and Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Before German forces arrived in the village, some Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Red Army.

In September 1941, the Romanian authorities established a ghetto in the village. About 1,000 local Jews, as well as Jewish refugees from Kodyma and Peschanka (today: Kodima and Pishchanka)—18 kilometers (11 miles) and 27 kilometers (17 miles) west of Cicelnic, respectively—were crowded into the ghetto. All Jews were required to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing.

In November 1941, more than 1,000 Romanian Jews deported to Transnistria from Bessarabia and Bukovina also were placed in the ghetto. The extremely cold winter of 1941–1942, the lack of basic food and hygiene, and the great overcrowding of people in houses evacuated by Jewish inhabitants who had fled eastward led to large epidemics, primarily of typhus and dysentery. Among the Jewish deportees were physicians willing to provide care without being paid, but they lacked the necessary medicine. The mortality rate among the Jews—especially among the newly arrived Romanian Jews, who hardly had anything left with them after being robbed repeatedly en route to the ghetto—was extremely high. About half of all the Jews in Cicelnic died that first winter.

A committee headed by Iosif Zaslavskii governed the Cicelnic ghetto. By 1943, Dr. Şmulî Malamad was colony chief (*şef de colonie*); Israil Weiţman was his aide; Dr. Iacob Schor was hospital chief; Moise Fihman coordinated social services; Moise Ackerman and Iacov Miaskovshi oversaw the ghetto’s financial matters; Aria Coblic was treasurer; and Isac Granovschi managed the works section. The committee’s executive arm was a Jewish police force headed by a man named Volokh. The local Romanian gendarmerie post oversaw the committee and the Jewish police. On orders of the gendarmerie, the Jews undertook forced labor at the railroad station, at a sugar refinery, and in the fields. Some held office jobs within the local Romanian administration, working as accountants (like

Moti Vasslas) or clerks (such as Leon Lemberg, Olea Andesburg, Iosif Aizemberg, and Leea Rubal) in the office of the military magistrate. Still others (like Costin Ficsman) were cooks in the magistrate’s canteen.¹

Anyone found outside the ghetto could be shot. Nonetheless, many people went to nearby Ukrainian villages and either asked the peasants for food or tried to earn it by working. Women knit and sold their handwork to avoid starvation.² Those few receiving money from family or friends were able to improve their living situation little by little, but overall, life in the ghetto remained difficult throughout 1942.³ In January 1943, material and financial assistance from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secţiunea Asistenţei*, CER) in Bucharest began to reach Cicelnic regularly. As a result, a kitchen was opened for children and those in need.⁴ There was also a small ghetto hospital, where Maria Trahtenbroid practiced medicine. Three Jewish doctors living in the ghetto—Şmulî Melamad, Leib Şuhotnăi, and Iacob Şor—worked in the Cicelnic medical center.⁵

In March 1943, there were 1,400 Jews in Cicelnic.⁶ In the late spring of 1943, around 60 young, able-bodied Jews were sent to Nicolaev near Odessa to build bridges over the Bug River. Some 15 of them perished there. On September 1, 1943, there were 475 Romanian Jews in the ghetto (421 from Bessarabia and 54 from Bukovina) in the ghetto, not counting the local Jews.⁷

Cicelnic village was liberated on March 17, 1944. A week before liberation, however, the Romanian Jews were returned to their place of origin, as were 15 Jews from the Dorohoi judeţ in Bessarabia, who returned home on March 8, 1944.⁸ Orphaned Jewish children from Bessarabia and Bukovina up to 15 years old were also sent back to Romania. At least 25 such children left the Cicelnic ghetto in one group in March 1944.⁹ Most of the local Ukrainian Jews survived the occupation, and as a result, the Jewish community in Cicelnic was preserved to a large extent.

After the war, Zaslavskii, the head of the Jewish committee, was sentenced to 15 years in corrective labor camps for collaborating with the Romanian occupiers.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Cicelnic during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: “Cicelnic (Chechelnyk),” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyab shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivassdam ve-’ad le-’abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 492; “Chechel’nik,” in V. Lukin, A. Sokolova, and B. Khaimovich, eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskii putevoditel’; Vypusk 2. Podoliia* (St. Petersburg: Ezro, 2000), pp. 375–396; and “Chechelnyk,” 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: 242. For statistical information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte şi Documente; Suferinţele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest:

Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources regarding the treatment of the Jews of Cicelnic can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1270), DAVINO (r2706-1-1, 2; r2970-1-3), and YVA. Other relevant sources are available at USHMM. See, for example, RG-31.004M (DAAO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, 1501, p. 156; and reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, 838, pp. 45–46, for money transfers to the Cicelnic ghetto. Official correspondence regarding Jewish doctors from Cicelnic employed in the Romanian administration may be found in the same collection, reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, 1503, file 12A, pp. 430–431. A list with the names of Jewish doctors in Cicelnic is in reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, 15, p. 8. For a short survivor’s memoir, see Roza Borukhovich, “A Memoir relating to experiences in Rezina, Rabnitza, and Chechelnik,” USHMM, Acc. No. 1995.A.0695. Survivors’ testimonies also exist. See Khona Barak’s testimony in *Vestnik: Vypusk 2. Liudi ostaiutsia liud’mi; Svidetel’sstva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1992), pp. 14–15, and Rakhmil Gun’s testimony in *Vestnik: Vypusk 3; Liudi ostaiutsia liud’mi. Svidetel’sstva uznikov fashistskikh lagerei-getto* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1994), p. 126.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See the letter, “Subinspectoratul Jandarmi Chișinău către Guvernământul Transnistriei, Dir. Ad-ției și Personalului,” October 30, 1943, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, 1503, file 12A, p. 431 (but see also p. 430).

2. Borukhovich, “A Memoir relating to experiences in Rezina, Rabnitza, and Chechelnik,” USHMM, Acc. No. 1995.A.0695.

3. See “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați în Cicelnic,” RG-31.004/4/2242/1, 1501/156, and “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați în Cecelnic,” RG-31.004M/17/2358/1, 838/45–46.

4. Israel Taigler’s testimony, YVA, 03/246; see also Khona Barak’s testimony in *Vestnik: Vypusk 2*, pp. 14–15; and Rakhmil Gun’s testimony in *Vestnik: Vypusk 3*, p. 126.

5. Cf. “Tabloul medicilor evrei din Jud. Balta,” RG-31.004M/13/2264/1, 15/8.

6. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

7. “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

8. See “Colonia Evreiască Cicelnic, Jud. Balta, 8 Martie 1944, Nr. 32. Tabel nominal de evrei repatriați în Jud. Dorohoi,” RG-31.004M/16/2358/1, 674/42.

9. See “Colonia Evreiască Cicelnic, Jud. Balta, Nr. 26. Tabel nominal de copii orfani de ambii părinți de la 1-15 ani plecați în România,” RG-31.004M/16/2358/1, 674/43.

CIHRIN

Cihrin (today: Chyhyrin, Ukraine), a village in the Berezovca raion in Berezovca județ, in the southeastern part of what became Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 16 kilometers (10 miles) southwest of Berezovca. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Berezovca raion, including Cihrin, had a Jewish population of 800, representing 2.7 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Cihrin in early August 1941, and on their arrival German forces murdered the remaining 74 Ukrainian Jews in the village. After a short period of German rule, the Romanian civil administration assumed authority and romanianized the spelling of the village’s name to Cihrin (or Cihrin-Berezovca, because of its proximity to the town of Berezovca). The village’s affairs were placed into the hands of the prefect of the Berezovca județ, Colonel Leonida Popp, and of his sub-prefect, Alexandru Smochină. The praetor of the Berezovca raion was Sergeant TR (*Termen redus*, or reduced-term sergeant) Victor Petrenciu, who became sub-prefect in 1942 and prefect in March 1943. Constantin Șerpuleț subsequently succeeded Petrenciu as praetor in 1943. The commandant of the Gendarmes Legion in Berezovca was Maior Ion Popescu, who was succeeded by Maior Octavian Ursuleanu in 1943.

The first convoys of Jewish deportees from Odessa passed through Berezovca in early November 1941, moving in the direction of Golta’s “kingdom of death”: the camps at Bogdanovca, Domanevca, and Acmețetca. The second round of deportations from Odessa began on January 18, 1942, and lasted until February 10, 1942. In most cases, Jewish convoys were transported to Berezovca by train, locked in boxcars for days without food, water, and toilets. After disembarking at Berezovca, exhausted and having been robbed of their belongings by Romanian soldiers, the Jews walked through bitter cold and deep snow to various ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) and Ukrainian villages, such as Cihrin. They were placed in neighboring dilapidated *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* (state collective farms), which were turned into improvised camps. The Jews placed in Cihrin came from one of the Odessa convoys transported by train to Berezovca in early February 1942; they then walked the remaining 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to their destination.

The Jews lived almost unsupervised for a month in the village’s *kolkhoz*, because the majority of Cihrin’s population were *Volksdeutsche* and did not welcome them in their midst, fearing contamination by typhus and other illnesses. (According to the list of German townships in the Berezovca județ, Cihrin does not appear to have been a German colony.¹) The deportees did not have food and lacked the most essential elements of hygiene, such as clean water, soap, and toilets. Assisted by neither the Berezovca raion’s praetor nor a representative of the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), they quickly fell prey to illness, starvation, and cold, with their bodies impossible to bury in the frozen ground.

On March 9, 1942, a Selbstschutz unit (a police unit made up of local ethnic Germans) from Mostovoi and Zavadovca townships descended on the Cihrin camp and arrested 772 Jews. The Selbstschutz units were paramilitary organizations set up by the local VoMi commander, SS-Oberführer Horst Hoffmeyer, to protect the economic interests of the *Volksdeutsche* settlements in Transnistria. These policemen, often with some assistance from the Romanian gendarmes, escorted the Jews to the outskirts of Cihrin where, after having the Jews remove their clothes, they shot them in groups of 50 to 100 people at a time. After the Jews were gunned down in a ditch, personal items belonging to the victims were collected and taken up by the German policemen, who retained the most valuable items (jewelry, watches, earrings, brooches, and gold coins) and distributed the rest to the ethnic German villagers.² Then the bodies were doused with gasoline and burned. Galaction Sienko, a local resident, saved a Jewish boy who survived the massacre.

SOURCES For more information about the fate of the Jews in Cihrin see the following sources: “Chigirin,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia*, (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1073; “Chigirin,” 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: 249; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); for 1939 census data for the Berezovca raion, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Cihrin’s Jews are available at USHMM, in collections microfilmed from DAOO and PCMCM. For a list of German townships in the Berezovca județ, see “Tabel de comunele Germane din Județul Berezovca,” USHMM, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 2, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1087, p. 144; for a copy of a counterintelligence summary note reporting the murder of 772 Jews from Cihrin-Berezovca, see USHMM, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 11, file 108, p. 296.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. “Tabel de comunele Germane din Județul Berezovca,” USHMM, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 2, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1087, p. 144.

2. See “Exterminarea Deportatilor Evrei din Odessa. Masacrele din Regiunea Mostovoi-Vasiliev-Berezovca,” communiqué of Transnistria’s Gendarmes Inspectorate, number 144,

March 24, 1942, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 226. A copy of a Romanian counterintelligence summary note reporting the atrocities committed by the German police in Cihrin on March 9, 1942, is found in “Nota,” USHMM, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 11, file 108, p. 296.

COLOSOVCA

Colosovca, a village in the Mostovoi raion in the Berezovca județ, in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kolosivka, Ukraine), is 13 kilometers (8 miles) north of Berezovca.

The German and Romanian armies overran Colosovca around August 10, 1941. The military authorities soon rounded up all the Jews in the area and concentrated them in larger towns, such as Mostovoi. Many were killed soon thereafter by extermination units of Einsatzgruppe D deployed to cleanse the rear of “elements” deemed dangerous. The Romanian civil authorities took over control of the village at the beginning of September 1941. It romanianized the village’s name from Kolosovka to Colosovca, changed the raion’s name to Mostovoi (or Mostovoie), and renamed the județ Berezovca. The prefect in the Berezovca județ was Colonel Leonida Popp. The deputy prefect was Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The praetor in the Mostovoi raion was Dr. Victor Petrenciuc.

Between 5,000 and 10,000 people from among the tens of thousands of Jews of Odessa and the Odessa județ who had been deported to the Berezovca and Golta județe at the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942 were offloaded from trains at Colosovca.¹ After a brief examination, those deemed too weak or too ill to continue on foot were summarily shot, most likely by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries; those remaining were then marched to various makeshift camps in nearby raions, many populated by ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). Ethnic Germans underwent an intense Nazification process concomitant with the deportation of Jews and Roma (Gypsies) from Romania and Transnistria at the end of 1941 and throughout 1942. A branch of the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), the organization representing the economic and cultural interests of the *Volksdeutsche* in Transnistria, was based in Landau, some 31 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of Colosovca; it was headed by SS-Obersturmbannführer Müller. VoMi created an extermination force made up of *Volksdeutsche* men, named Sonderkommando Russland (SkR). One of its units, Bereichskommando 11 (BK 11), was stationed in Rastadt, a village 8 kilometers (5 miles) east of Mostovoi and 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northeast of Colosovca. SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Hartung commanded BK 11.²

BK 11 made repeated trips to the Mostovoi camp and to the Colosovca train station to collect Jews and then rob and kill them in Rastadt or in other nearby locations. In February 1942, for instance, a group of 800 Jews arrived in Colosovca from Odessa. On February 16, all but 30 of these Jews were shot in the vicinity of Colosovca, probably by BK 11 troops that had traveled there to meet the group at Colosovca.³ Local Roma

were also killed in a similar fashion in Colosovca.⁴ Finally, between July 15 and 30, 1942, approximately 1,500 Jews who had been gathered from a few camps in Transnistria (including Vapniarca) were transported by train in groups of 800, 400, and 300 to Colosovca. They were taken there under the pretext of being needed for work in the ethnic German villages. However, the Romanian authorities knew all too well that the Jews were to be killed by the *Volksdeutsche* police units soon after their transfer. The last group of 300 Jews, however, were simply too poor to attract the *Volksdeutsche* police's interest. They were shot and burned by Romanian gendarmes commanded by Sublocotenent Ion Herghelegiu in an antitank ditch outside Colosovca.⁵

In addition to being a mass murder site, Colosovca appears to have been the site of a temporary labor camp for Jews who were sent there from other parts of Transnistria in 1943. This camp most likely was linked to the train station: the Jews were needed for rail maintenance and, especially, for loading/unloading cargo from trains.⁶ Hardly anything else is known about this camp. A money order sent from Romania to one of the laborers suggests that, at least for a period of time, Jewish deportees lived and worked in Colosovca.⁷

The Red Army recaptured the area at the end of March 1944. The People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried and condemned many of Berezovca's civilian and military leaders, including Herghelegiu and Popp, for the fate of the Jews who arrived at Colosovca and in other locations in the Mostovoi raion.⁸

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews in the Colosovca camp can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 446; "Kolosovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 4: 135; "Kolosovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainского Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 161; "Colosovca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kebilot: Romanyab; Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyab* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 500; M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghetto auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), p. 124; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Colosovca camp are available at USHMM, rec-

ords DAOO (RG-31.004M) and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds eight testimonies from Jewish and Roma survivors who were persecuted in Colosovca.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Today the Kolosivka train station is incorporated into the village of Kudriavtsivka, Mykolaivs'ka oblast', Ukraine.
2. See the outline of VoMi's EG and SK units for Transnistria, USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 311, file 801, p. 321.
3. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainского Evreystva*, p. 161.
4. VHA #49615, Lidiia Zolotareva testimony, October 12, 1998; VHA #49704, Nina Shvets testimony, October 15, 1998.
5. See court deposition against Ion Iordachescu, deputy commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 27, file 39181, vol. 4, pp. 232–234 (and verso).
6. VHA #46085, Semen Vaisman testimony, June 25, 1998.
7. USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 692, p. 66.
8. See court depositions against Leonida Popp, RG-25.004M, reel 26, file 39181, pp. 248, 252–253.

CONOTCĂUȚI

Conotcăuți (today: Konatkivtsi or Konatkovtsy), a rural town in the Șargorod raion, Moghilev județ, in the northwestern part of what became Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 2,626 Jews living in the Șargorod raion (census data for Conotcăuți are not available), representing 3.4 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the Șargorod raion in late July 1941. After a brief period of German control, authority was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in late August 1941. The new administration romanianized the town's Ukrainian spelling from Konatkovtsy to Conotcăuți. In Romanian documents, the spelling of the town's name appeared variously as Conatcăuți, Conatchiveț, and Kanatchivți. Overseeing the township's affairs were the Șargorod raion's praetors, Iosif Dindelegan and Dimitrie Rusu, and its district gendarmes commanders (*comandanții sectorului de jandarmi*), Locotenents Vasile Grama and Vasile Mihăilescu.¹ Between 1941 and 1944, the Moghilev județ had four prefects whose decisions directly affected the lives of the Jewish deportees: Colonels Constantin Dumitru, Dr. Ion C. Băleanu, Constantin Năsturaș, and Constantin Loghin.

In 1942, Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews, together with some local Jews, were interned at the camp in Conotcăuți, which consisted of a horse stable located in the middle of a field neighboring the village. Very little is known about the circumstances under which these Jews were brought to Conotcăuți or the administration's intention in bringing them there.

Perhaps, given the village's rural economy, the goal was for these Jews to work and live off the land. Alternatively, the movement of deportees may have eased population pressures in the Moghilev and Șargorod ghettos, if indeed Jews were transferred from there.

Although the living conditions of the members of the Șargorod ghetto improved by January 1943, thanks to self-organization and material assistance received from Romania, only 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) away in Conotcăuți, the situation was disastrous. The absence of work and work tools greatly impoverished the Jews, and their living conditions in the horse stable were poor. On July 8, 1943, the Moghilev Jewish Labor Office, which oversaw Conotcăuți, dispatched one of its members, Moses Katz, to visit Conotcăuți. He left an account of the horrific conditions:

One of the important accomplishments of our committee [Jewish Labor Office] was the visit to colonies from this county [Mogilev]. On that occasion, I discovered in Conotcăuți, in Șargorod raion, in the middle of a field, a long and dark horse-stable where 70 persons lived. They were unfed—men, women, and children living together—and were all naked. These people lived from begging, their appearance repulsive. The camp's head was Mendel Aronovici, a former banker from Dărăbani, in Dorohoi county [today: Botoșani county, Romania], who lived there in filth beyond description.²

Of the 70 Jews held in Conotcăuți, 42 were listed in the general count of Jews deported from Romania on September 1, 1943.³ This figure does not include the local Ukrainian Jewish population, which likely accounts for the discrepancy. Of the 42 Romanian Jews mentioned, 27 were from Bessarabia and 15 from Bukovina. The Red Army liberated the village in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Conotcăuți can be found in the following publications: "Konatkovtsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 449; "Konatkovtsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2005), 5: 142; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for 1939 Soviet census data for Șargorod raion, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47.

Primary sources attesting to the fate of the Jews of Conotcăuți are available in microform at USHMMA, in the records of DAOO, RG-31.004M. For a table listing Transnis-

tria's praetors' names, see in this collection reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 23, p. 3; for an official document containing Gheorghe Alexianu's decision to (re)appoint named members for Transnistria's Jewish Labor Offices (county offices), including Moghilev, see in the same collection reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 26, p. 62. Moses Katz's memoir is reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 384.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Tablou cu repartizarea pretorilor la județele din Guvernământul Transnistriei," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 23, p. 3.

2. Moses Katz's memoir, reprinted as "Mizeria în Colonile din Județul Moghilev," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 384. For a summary entry on the same event, see "8 Iulie 1943," reproduced in *ibid.*, 3b: 299.

3. See "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in *ibid.*, 3b: 441. The numeric table is also reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 456.

COPAIGOROD

Copaigorod (pre-1941: Kopaigorod; today: Kopaihoroda, Ukraine) is located some 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk, in the Moghilev județ, in the northwestern area of Romanian-administered Transnistria. Jews had thrived in Copaigorod since the eighteenth century. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,075 Jews living in this large village, representing 37.4 percent of the population.

German forces occupied the village on July 20, 1941. Before that, some Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service had been drafted into the Red Army. In July and August 1941, the German authorities governed the village. In September 1941, Romanian civil administration took over and renamed the village Copaigorod, designating it a raion center in the Moghilev județ. Ion Voda was praetor in Copaigorod.

In late September 1941, the entire Jewish population of the village was forced into a camp near the Copai railroad station, located 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) northwest of the village. This camp was located in a forest and surrounded by barbed wire. In October 1941, several thousand Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina were also forced into this camp. A small number of those Jews arriving from Moghilev—usually those who had the means to give a hefty bribe or to buy or rent a cart—were transported by trucks or carts; most deportees, however, walked in columns to Copaigorod and then to the camp.

In late November 1941, all the Jews were driven back to Copaigorod, into a ghetto, and were forced to live in houses that had been devastated and plundered (another attempt to return the Jews to the camp near the train station was made in 1942, but the plan was halted due to the intervention of Jewish leaders in Moghilev). In the ghetto, three to four families lived in each room of the dilapidated houses. The floors in most of the

houses were mud, and they were frequently damp. People searched for old boards in the ruins so they could make them into plank beds. The ghetto was encircled with barbed wire, and leaving it without permission was punishable by death. The chief of the Jewish ghetto was Fabius Ornstein, and the chief pharmacist was Moise Weinstein.

In total, 5,000 to 6,000 Jews were concentrated in Copai-gorod. Epidemics of infectious diseases erupted in the ghetto in December 1941 and January 1942, with their spread aided by hunger, cold, polluted water, and unsanitary living conditions. Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina, who had been robbed of their belongings on entering Transnistria at Atachi (a crossing point on the Dniester River), stood little chance against disease. In the absence of proper care and medicine, typhus and pneumonia claimed 2,800 lives. The dead were buried in the Jewish cemetery in four common graves. In addition, nine Jews were shot: two Jews from Bessarabia and three local Jews in July 1942; one Jew from Bessarabia and two local Jews in March 1943; and one local Jew in February 1944.¹

Copaigorod's praetor repeatedly threatened to deport the Jews across the Bug River unless they acceded to his frequent demands for money. Those who still had money gave him bribes, only to be deported when they could no longer pay. In 1942, a group of young and healthy Jews were sent to a labor camp near the town of Tulcin to dig peat, and in 1943 they were sent to a labor camp at Trihati near the town of Nicolaev to build a bridge over the Bug River. Regular work for which able-bodied men in the ghetto were recruited each day included road maintenance, farming, and demolition. Generally, no payment was made to these laborers.

In January 1943, with the permission of the Romanian government, a delegation from the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER) visited the Copaigorod ghetto. The delegation ascertained the presence of 2,200 Jews in the ghetto, mostly from Bukovina; the number of orphaned Jewish children was 98. (A smaller figure, 1,161 Jews, appeared in the March 1943 count; the discrepancy could be the result of the absence of Jews who had been transferred for work purposes).² The delegation also learned that, as of August 12, 1942, a cafeteria existed, which served two meals per day to some 500 people in the ghetto. A small hospital with 10 beds also operated in Copaigorod. The delegation donated 4,500 German scrip (*Reichskreditkassenscheine*) to be used to augment the food supply and assist orphans.³ Financial help from friends and family was sent to named deportees in Copaigorod via CER.⁴

On September 1, 1943, not counting local Jews, there were 1,295 Jews in the ghetto (676 from Bessarabia and 619 from Bukovina).⁵ The Red Army recaptured Copaigorod in March 1944, freeing the remaining Jews.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Copaigorod during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Copaigorod (Kopaygorod)," in Jean Ancel et al.,

Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah; Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 501f.; "Kopai-gorod," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2005), 5: 148–149; and "Kopaygorod," 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: 656; for census information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Copaigorod can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1239); DAVINO (file r2966-2-691: lists of prisoners in the ghetto); DAOO (r2255-1-1178, 1180, 1359, 1360, 1362–1366, 1373, 1377, 1400, 1403, 1407; r2264-1-8, 15: lists of prisoners of the ghetto); and YVA. At USHMM, money transfer records to the Copaigorod ghetto can be found in RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1501, p. 165, and opis 1, delo 1496, p. 93. Fred Șaraga's report on Copaigorod can be consulted at USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 125–126. Published survivors' testimony can be found in *Vestnik: Vypusk 1; Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1991) for Rosa Sterenberg; and in *Vestnik: Vypusk 2; Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1992) for Haim Rosental; *Vestnik: Vypusk 4 (chast' percaia); Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi. Svidetel'stva uznikov fashistskikh lagerei-getto* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1995) for Ronia Royzen.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-54-1239, p. 1.
2. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5: 344.
3. See Fred Șaraga's final report, "Raportul Oficial al Comisiunii Evreiești care a fost în Transnistria," USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 125–126.
4. See "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Copaigorod (Jud. Moghilev)," USHMM, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, 1501, p. 165 (USHMM, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1501,

p. 165), and “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Căpățâneni (Jud. Moghilev),” USHMMA, RG-31.004/4/2242/1/1496, p. 93.

5. “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

CORBENI/LPRS NO. 10

Corbeni, a township in Argeș județ in the south central part of Romania, is situated 19 kilometers (12 miles) north of Curtea de Argeș, along the Argeș River, and 150 kilometers (93 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the capture of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) necessitated the creation of camps to hold and exploit them. A Romanian POW camp for Soviet prisoners was officially set up in Corbeni in December 1941 to hold more than 2,000 prisoners who had been transferred from a POW camp in Alexandria in the Teleorman județ (158 kilometers, or 98 miles, southeast of Corbeni).¹ The new camp was called Soviet POW camp (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS), LPRS No. 10 Corbeni. The I Territorial Command (*Comandamentul I Teritorial*) was responsible for providing material support to it, but the camp was a self-governing unit expected to implement the Defense Ministry’s “General Instructions Regarding the Treatment of Prisoners.”²

Corbeni’s first commandant was Locotenent-colonel Constantin Tănăsescu (October 1941 to March 1942); he was succeeded by Maior Ion Bălăianu (March 1942 to October 1943). At the Romanian Council of Ministers’ request in October 1941, the Soviet POWs were assigned to work on the construction of an exemplary village in honor of Marshal Antonescu at Corbeni, as well as on repairing/maintaining important infrastructure roads and monasteries near Curtea de Argeș.

Three subcamps were formed along the Trans-Carpathian highway (Transfăgărășan) at Corbeni, Oești (or Oiești), and Sălătruc. Those arriving at Sălătruc were soon moved to Căpățâneni (or Căpățineni). In December 1941 there were 780 prisoners at Corbeni under the command of Căpitan Niculae Giurcă (Tănăsescu’s deputy), 480 prisoners at Căpățâneni commanded by Locotenent Dumitru Georgescu (October 1941 to April 1942), and 678 at Oești commanded by Dumitru Cristea. A group of 205 gendarmes (75 gendarmes each at Corbeni and Oești, and 55 at Sălătruc) guarded the prisoners.³

In each subcamp the prisoners lived crammed into two barracks, each barrack normally accommodating only 250 people. The barracks were wooden, covered with cardboard building boards, and measured 25 meters long, 10 meters wide, and 3 meters high (82 × 32.8 × 9.8 feet). The barracks were poorly insulated, and at Corbeni and Căpățâneni they were located in low, swampy areas near the Argeș River. The urinals were dug

so close that they were almost touching the barracks and the river. Each camp had other barracks used for kitchens, lavatories, guard dormitories, and sometimes an infirmary. The camps were only partly surrounded by barbed wire, which created opportunities for prisoners to escape temporarily into the nearby towns and villages to work for food, drink, or cigarettes. Initially the prisoners slept on bare wooden planks or on elevated areas built out of earth covered with straw. Gradually they dismantled their “beds” to burn wood for heating. They generally lacked warm winter clothes, especially shoes. Some could not leave the barracks for work for lack of footwear. Others tied straw around their feet so that they could step outside. Prisoners with frozen fingers and toes were a common sight in the bitter winter of 1941.⁴

The prisoners’ health rapidly deteriorated, especially at Corbeni and Căpățâneni. Not only did they live in poorly designed and uninsulated wooden barracks during the cold season but also delousing efforts and segregating the sick in separate facilities did not begin until mid- to late January 1942. The subcamp commanders did not build or install baths and distribute soap until months after the prisoners’ arrival. A typhus epidemic erupted at Căpățâneni in February 1942. Among its first victims was Filip Sachter, a Jewish doctor conscripted to work at the Căpățâneni subcamp. At Oești, an early delousing effort coupled with better housing gave prisoners a better chance of surviving the epidemic. Locotenent doctor Solomon Rosmarin, an assimilated Jew, was chief camp doctor and was based at Corbeni. There were other Jewish doctors and military health professionals working in each subcamp, but insufficient medication and inadequate medical facilities significantly reduced their effectiveness. Hundreds of prisoners died of acute tuberculosis, starvation, exposure to the cold, and typhus. Many suffered from gastroenteritis and dysentery because of polluted drinking water.⁵ Under the threat of deportation to Transnistria, the chief commandant Tănăsescu ordered conscripted Jewish doctors to report false diagnoses for the deceased prisoners so that he would not be held responsible for their deaths.⁶

The food was poor in nutrients and of very limited quantity, partially because large amounts of potatoes and cabbage intended for the subcamps were left to rot in warehouses in Alexandria. When some food was eventually sent to Corbeni, it arrived either frozen or in an inedible condition, but was served anyway. At Căpățâneni, food designated for the camp was sold to the local population while the prisoners starved. The same practice applied to clothing distribution as well: new items that prisoners desperately needed during the winter months gathered dust in military warehouses in Alexandria until late January 1942.⁷

POW work detachments were formed in October 1941 to repair the railroad tracks between Curtea de Argeș and Cumpăna (near Pitești). In addition, POWs skilled in stone masonry refurbished the Curtea de Argeș monastery. By early December 1941, the prisoners’ poor health led contracting firms to avoid hiring Soviet POWs.⁸ However, a group of prisoners from the Căpățâneni subcamp who had been tailors

before the war was sent in mid-February 1942 to a tailoring workshop (*atelier*) in Târgu Jiu.

The standard rate of pay for prisoner labor was 30 lei per day, plus an additional allowance of 5 lei for soap and 5 lei for cigarettes (the rate was lower for those who did not work, but all rates rose slightly by late 1942). POW officers received a slightly higher allocation of food (40 lei per day). The money was not paid to the prisoners, except for the daily allowance, but went into a camp fund distributed among working prisoners, according to the number of days worked. Administrative problems and the contracting firms' frequent lack of funds meant that the POWs were paid randomly, incrementally, and less than they were owed.⁹

Under Maior Bălăianu's command, the overall living conditions improved in the summer of 1942. Old barracks were rebuilt on higher ground. Infirmarys, tailor and shoe repair workshops, and baths and toilets were built. Delousing equipment was acquired for each subcamp. Tighter government regulations, the introduction of punishment (for prisoners and gendarmes alike for disregarding orders), and frequent inspections ensured that food and health services gradually improved.¹⁰ The employment of prisoners also resumed.

After Italy's Armistice in September 1943, the Italian Military Mission in Bucharest was dissolved, and a number of Italian troops, mostly naval personnel, were disarmed. Some 494 Italian soldiers were subsequently interned in a camp in Oești, next to (but separate from) the Soviet POW subcamp found in the same village. In November 1943, after the proclamation of the Italian Social Republic (*Repubblica sociale italiana*, RSI), a Fascist legation in Bucharest was opened. Through an appointed representative, Tenente George Morelli, the legation requested that the Romanian Army General Staff release those Italian internees (called "prisoners" in Romanian documents) willing to join the RSI army. Only a small number of internees left as a result, because in February 1944 the number of internees in the Oești camp remained at 487; of these, 25 had escaped and 6 were in the hospital.¹¹

While interned in the Oești camp, the Italians lived in wooden barracks and enjoyed better treatment than the Soviet POWs. For example, they were allowed to leave the camp and take walks through the village. They were also spared hard work (such as tree cutting in the nearby forest), unlike the Soviet prisoners, and did only what was needed in the running of their camp. As a result, except for a few cases of illness that required hospitalization, there were no deaths among the Italian internees.

On August 23, 1944, Romania reentered the war on the side of the Allies against Nazi Germany. At that time there were 2,441 Soviet POWs registered in the camp. By October 1944, the prisoners were formally handed over to the Soviet authorities for repatriation to the Soviet Union. The Italian internees, too, were released from interment and returned to Italy.

In April 1942, at health inspector Colonel Dr. Aurel Pană's request, Tănăsescu and Georgescu were court-martialed for negligence toward the Soviet POWs in their care. They were sentenced to 10 and 6 days, respectively, in jail. Doctors

Rosmarin and Sachter, too, were tried and it was proposed that they be interned in the Târgu Jiu political prisoner camp.¹² In March 1946 the Bucharest's People's Court retried and condemned Tănăsescu and Georgescu to five years and three years, respectively, of hard labor for inhumane treatment (*tratament neomenos*) of Soviet POWs.¹³ Bălăianu, Rosmarin, and Sachter were also tried, but acquitted.¹⁴ In May 1955, the Bucharest's Tribunal deemed Tănăsescu's 1946 sentence too lenient and sentenced him to nine years of hard labor.¹⁵

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Soviet POWs in Corbeni/LPRS No. 10 can be found in the following publications: Dedu Constantin, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Apartinând Națiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=833&Itemid=118; Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1944)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; and Petrisor Cana and Cristina Mathias, "Lăgarul Sovietic Ascuns: Secretele din Pădurea Domnitorului Șerban Cantacuzino," available at www.evz.ro/lagarul-sovietic-ascuns-in-padurea-domnitorului-serban-cantacuzino.html.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Soviet POWs in Corbeni/LPRS No. 10 (and its subcamps) are available at USHMMA, records SRI (RG-25.004M, reels 126 and 127). Archival records are found in AMR, fond MSM, Sectia Prizonieri, file 719.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Tănăsescu's deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 2, pp. 5–6 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2); see also Interior Defense Forces Command's letter, "Nr. 93.971, 1 Octombrie 1941," to LPRS No. 10 Alexandria, in the same collection and volume, p. 83.

2. See Vasile Butmy's "Memoriu," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 24 (and verso); for the Ministry of Defense's general instructions, signed by the Defense Minister General Pantazi, October 13, 1941, see in the same collection, vol. 2, pp. 34–36; for instructions regarding camp discipline and other recommendations, see "Instrucțiuni asupra Tratatului Prizonierilor," in the same collection, vol. 3, pp. 193–197.

3. See Tănăsescu's inspection reports, October 12, 1941, and December 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 45–47. See "Dare de seamă," January 21, 1942, in the same collection, vol. 4, pp. 136–138 (and verso).

4. See Pană's report, "Referat," December 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 28–29.

5. For lists with the names of ill Soviet POWs, see "Referat Nr. 88.489 din 19 Feb. 1942," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, p. 74 (and verso), and "Tabel de prizonierii bolnavi febril din Lagarul de prizonieri Nr. 10 la care s-a recoltat sange pt. reactia Weil-Felix," in the same collection and volume, p. 86, but see also pp. 87–91.

6. Medical doctor Iancu Himel Brand's deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 14–15.

7. Supplies officer Zaharia Vasile's deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 7–8, and Inspector Aurel

Panea's deposition, in the same collection and volume, p. 10 (and verso).

8. Follow-up letter from the State Forest Organization, November 13, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, p. 40.

9. Regarding payment rates, see instructions transmitted by General Pantazi and others, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, pp. 35–36, 37, 38, 84, 98; for payments or lack thereof, see in the same collection and volume, pp. 96–97. For a 1942 governmental decision regarding prisoners' payments and allocations rates, see General Vintilă Davidescu, "Deciziune Nr. 2132 din 26. IX.1942," in the same collection, vol. 5, pp. 50–51.

10. Ion Bălăianu's deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, p. 185 (and verso).

11. AMR, fond MSM, Prisoner Section, file 719, p. 52.

12. Court Martial's decision, April 10, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/2, p. 63 (and verso); see also Aurel Costescu's deposition in the same collection and volume, pp. 16–17, and his "Declarație," p. 18 (and verso); see also Bucharest's People's Court, "Decision Nr. 13/March 14, 1946," in the same collection, vol. 7, pp. 440–484 (esp. pp. 453–464).

13. See Bucharest People's Court decision, "Hotărâre Nr. 13," March 14, 1946, USHMMA, RG-25.00M/126/24361/7, pp. 440–484 (esp. pp. 453–462, 482–483) and also "Act de Acuzare," in the same collection and volume, pp. 123–124, 128–138.

14. "Ordonanța de scoatere de sub urmărire," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/127/24361/2, pp. 292–295.

15. For a retrial proposition, see Romania's General Prosecutor A. Alexa's letter to the President of the Supreme Court, "Către Președintele Tribunalului Suprem," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/1, pp. 140–141, and the court's acceptance, pp. 147–148 (and verso); see record of Penal Sentence Nr. 526/May 28, 1955, in the same collection and volume, p. 127.

CORNEȘTI TÂRG

Cornești Târg (referred to simply as Cornești or Cornești Tg.) is 76 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Chișinău, 38 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Iași (Iassy), and 357 kilometers (222 miles) northeast of Bucharest. Commanded in succession by Locotenent-colonel I. D. Crețu, Maior Radu Spânu, and Căpitan Dumitru Rădulescu, the 3rd Roads Battalion was a unit of army pioneers based in Cornești Târg, Bălți județ, in Bessarabia (today: Cornești, Ungheni raion, Moldova). Structurally, the Third Roads Battalion belonged to the First Pioneer Regiment of the Putna Territorial Circle (*Cercul Teritorial Putna*).

Shortly after the annexation of Bessarabia to Romania and the rounding up of the Bessarabian Jews after the joint German-Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, hundreds of non-Jewish civilians from the Bălți județ in Bessarabia, along with Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and other ethnic minorities, were requisitioned to work on rebuilding roads. They worked alongside soldiers (pioneers) in the 3rd Roads Battalion. Gradually, Jewish forced laborers brought

from the Regat replaced the non-Jewish workers (with the exception of the retained Soviet POWs). A group of 500 Jews from Romania first arrived under escort to the 3rd Roads Battalion in May 1942.¹ By November 1942, the total number of Jews in that battalion was 400, with additional groups arriving in February 1943. New arrivals replaced those who finished their work period or went missing. In March 1943, the total number of Jews increased to 493.² These Jews were enlisted for exterior forced labor by the Putna, Iași, and Bacău army recruitment centers (*Cercuri de Recrutare*).³

The 3rd Roads Battalion was divided into four companies (*companii*). Each was placed in a different location around the main center in Cornești. The 1st Roads Company, the largest of the four, was based in Fălești, Bălți județ, and was commanded by Căpitan Sergiu Volosievici. The 2nd Roads Company was stationed at Pârliți Târg, Bălți județ, and was commanded by Locotenent Lazăr D. Lazăr. Commanded by Căpitan N. V. Petrenciu, the 3rd Roads Company was based in Călărași Târg, Lăpușna județ. Finally, the Quarry Company was stationed at Grinăuți, Bălți județ, and was commanded by Locotenent Ion Ștefănescu (followed by Locotenent Mircea Găgiu).

The Jews allocated to the 1st Roads Company were housed in a former synagogue situated on the outskirts of town. The Jews of the 2nd Roads Company were similarly housed in a synagogue, whereas those in the 3rd Roads Company were housed in a large building that had held Soviet POWs the previous year. Lastly, the Jews from the Quarry Company were placed in a large vacant house that had been abandoned by a German family. Military guards were posted at each of the four subcamps. The guard staff included an officer or a noncommissioned officer (NCO) accompanied by a small group of soldiers drawn from the First Pioneer Regiment. Except for the Grinăuți subcamp, which was located inside the village, encircling the subcamps with barbed wire was not deemed necessary.⁴

On arrival, the Jews were asked to give their money to the company bank, "to prevent bribery" in the camp. Everyone was required to wear a yellow armband (*bransardă*) on the left arm as a distinctive sign.⁵ A typical workday consisted of nine hours spent extracting sand or breaking and transporting stone; in winter, there was also the task of removing snow from the main roads. A quota of breaking 2 cubic meters (almost 71 cubic feet) of stone per day was set for each group of three Jews, along with instructions that productivity be carefully checked and maintained by force, if necessary.⁶ The Jewish prisoners worked six days a week.

Housing was poor, and the inmates slept directly on the floor or on makeshift beds in overcrowded rooms. There were rudimentary infirmaries for Jews, always staffed by Jewish doctors. Regarding food, the Army General Staff (Report No. 1871, July 1, 1942) required that the same amount of money (*alocație*) be spent on food for Jewish workers as for regular soldiers (35 lei), but it went without saying that the soldiers' well-being was prioritized over everyone else's. The commander's report also indicated that the number of meals containing meat

increased from four to eight per week and that, in addition to the daily morning cup of coffee, Jewish workers also received “50–100 grams [1.8 to 3.6 ounces] of pork lard.”⁷ Unskilled labor fetched a meager 2 lei/day (a soldier’s pay). Receiving money or food in the camp through intermediaries soon became illegal, as did bartering with the local population, who were instructed to avoid all contact with the Jews or risk deportation to Transnistria.⁸ Mail was usually censored. Eventually receiving a sum of money (less than 3,000 lei per month) through the post office was permitted, but not packages.⁹

In November 1942, forced labor productivity decreased substantially due to the lack of warm clothing and shoes, which had deteriorated after months of hard work. Many Jews had not brought winter clothes with them. Telegrams and reports sent between company commanders and the military centers described the Jewish workers as “barefooted and without clothes” and that “the majority of them are not equipped for winter and are therefore unproductive.”¹⁰ The appearance in the city of 65 Jews returning from forced labor for a two-week rest was described by the authorities who recruited them as “entirely deplorable, being dressed for the most part in recycled clothing, and for some the clothing is reduced to rags hanging on the body; likewise the footwear.”¹¹

Debate ensued over who was responsible for providing adequate clothing for the Jewish prisoners. The Army General Staff solicited the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) to provide winter clothes for the Jewish laborers. CER replied that it was unable to help the Jews in the labor brigades because the use of “animal skins is blocked.” The National Defense Ministry further denied the General Staff’s request to sell used military clothes to the Jews, stating that “everything is recycled for the army.” When Marshal Ion Antonescu was asked whether Jews in forced labor units should be released from duties in winter, he replied that the Jews were “not to be released; the matter concerns the Central Bureau.”¹² The General Staff’s final decision, in the words of Colonel I. Lovinescu to the 3rd Roads Battalion, was that “Jews will be taken out to work regardless of the condition of their equipment, since it is the responsibility of every Jew to be adequately dressed.”¹³

Accidents were common, as was the aggravation of existing illnesses due to the demanding, stressful labor. Army medical teams periodically inspected the battalion members, selecting those unable to work due to illness. Those needing immediate medical attention were sent to the nearest military hospital for (re)diagnosis. To minimize state spending, Jewish hospitals took in Jewish patients for treatment.¹⁴

Dozens of Jewish workers in the 3rd Roads Battalion were declared “deserters” after failing to report back from the rest period. Some had good reasons for delaying their return (illness) or reported to the wrong unit, but once labeled as such in the scripts, they faced severe punishment. According to Decree Law 59 of February 2, 1943, a Jewish “deserter” was tried by a military court and could expect to spend between three months and two years in prison. In wartime, execution and confiscation of private property were legislated.¹⁵ Most com-

monly, however, Jewish “deserters” were deported to camps in Transnistria, as was the case for a group of 11 Jews from the 3rd Roads Battalion.¹⁶ Various companies of the battalion continued to exist and hold Jewish laborers until early 1944.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews conscripted as forced laborers in the 3rd Roads Battalion are available at AMAN, and at USHMMA in microform as RG-25.011M, microfiche *01 to *14*19. For statistical figures and graphic illustrations concerning forced labor for Jews in the eastern part of Romania, see RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 252–255. VHA holds testimonies in Russian and Hebrew from surviving Jews deported to Transnistria from the communes where the 3rd Roads Battalion later established its subcamps. An outline of the 3rd Roads Battalion’s equipment, personnel (military as well as requisitioned), and forced laborers (Jews, Soviet POWs) is available at RG-54.00M (ANRM), reel 10, fond 706, opis 1, delo 520, pp. 34–35; and RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 45, file 7257.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For their age, names, profession, and address, see these tables: USHMMA, RG-25.011*13*02 (AMAN), pp. 25–35 (and verso); and see pp. 14–15, on the same microfiche, for the arrival of the first group of Jews.

2. Report No. 3698, December 17, 1942, and the subsequent tables showing the camp distributions, USHMMA, RG-20.011M*04, pp. 128–130. The arrival of 100 Jews from Bacău is stated in telegram No. 949593, February 28, 1943, of the V Territorial Corps, USHMMA, RG-25.011*09M, p. 363. Statistical figures for March 1943 can be found at RG-25.011*10M, pp. 400–411.

3. For the names of the Jews undertaking forced labor in the 3rd Roads Battalion see various name lists in USHMMA, RG-25.011*08M, p. 325; RG-25.011*09, p. 381; RG-25.011*11M, pp. 450–452, 459–467, 471–489; and RG-25.011*12M, pp. 491–498.

4. See Maior Radu Spânu’s confidential report No. 272 to the Army General Staff (Transportation Section), February 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*05, pp. 162–163.

5. Correspondence sent by the second commandant of the IV Army Corps, General de divizie Hugo Schwab, November 15, 1942, to the 3rd Roads Battalion, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*02M, p. 29; for depositing money, see RG-25.011*13*05, p. 33.

6. Note No. 12.979, January 13, 1943, informing 3rd Roads Company of these instructions for the 50 Jews sent them from the 1st Roads Company, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*05, p. 191.

7. Commandant Radu Spânu’s confidential report No. 269 to the IV Territorial Command, January 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*05, pp. 160–161.

8. Public announcements distributed in the local press, USHMMA, RG-25.011*13*02M, pp. 60–61.

9. The Army General Staff approved the sending of money to Jews in exterior forced labor units on November 23, 1942, Order No. 513392 of Colonel I. Antonescu, chief of V Territorial Corps, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*03M, n.p.; instructions for holding food sent to the Jews: RG-25.011M*04, p. 118.

10. See telegrams and ensuing correspondence: USHMMA, RG-25.011M*05, pp. 171–176, in addition to Maior Radu Spănu's report No. 269, in the same collection, p. 162.

11. See report of the Putna Recruitment Center, transmitted by the 3rd Roads Battalion, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*04M, pp. 148–149.

12. Report of the Army General Staff, Section I, No. 936609, USHMMA, RG-25.011*06M, p. 204.

13. USHMMA, RG-25.011*06M, p. 203.

14. Order "Nr. 73.093," September 22, 1942, Army General Staff, USHMMA, RG-25.011*06M, p. 244; see also RG-25.011*13*02, pp. 238, 241, 246.

15. Articles 4–8, Decree-Law No. 59, February 2, 1943, *MonOf*, No. 28, part I, February 3, 1943. A copy of this law is found at USHMMA, RG-25.011*08M, pp. 340–341.

16. USHMMA, RG-25.011*13*05M, p. 98.

COȘARINȚI

Coșarinți, a village in the Copăigorod raion in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kosharyntsi, Ukraine), is situated along the Nemiya River. It is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. This village should not be confused with Kosharyntsy (Romanian: Coșarința) on the Pivdennyi Bug River in the Berșad raion, Balta județ. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,903 Jews in the Copăigorod raion, most of whom lived in the town of Copăigorod. It is unknown whether any Jews lived in Coșarinți (census data for the village are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Coșarinți and its surroundings in the second part of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The praetor in the Copăigorod raion was Ion Vodă. The village's name was romanianized from Kosharyntsy to Coșarinți (occasionally spelled Coșarineți or Cozarinți).

Little is known about the Coșarinți ghetto. What is certain is that the Jews deported to Coșarinți were originally from Bukovina (especially from Hotin, Lipcani, Briceni, and Noua-Suliță in the Hotin district) and northern Bessarabia. Local Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria do not appear to have been held in the Coșarinți ghetto. According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, 277 Jews were deported from Romania and were living in Coșarinți as of October 1942.¹ According to an estimate by Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), 50 percent of the deported Jews living in Moghilev towns and districts perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and disease, primarily typhus.² It can be assumed, then, that the number of Jews sent to Coșarinți in the deportations before that winter was significantly higher. In 1945, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (*Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiiia*, ChGK) found that, out of 800 Jews deported to Coșarinți, more than 700 perished there during 1941 and 1942.³

Relief in the form of medicines arrived for the Jews held in Coșarinți in the fall of 1942; the medicines were sent by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER). The same institution sent additional aid in the summer of 1943.⁴ Although these supplies were insufficient to meet the community's real needs, they did provide for some of its many necessities. Barter and begging were essential means of survival in the ghetto, in addition to whatever work opportunities the deportees could find with the locals in the village (provided they remained undetected by the guards). The Romanian administration in Copăigorod selected Jews from the camp for forced labor in agriculture and forestry.⁵ It also sent a handful of men to Varvarovca in the Oceacov județ, in the southern part of Transnistria, as forced laborers for the bridge-building operation at Nicolaev (today: Varvariivka, Ukraine). The Organisation Todt-Einsatzgruppe Russland Süd ran the operation and controlled the forced laborers. Conditions in Varvarovca were extremely rough: some workers were shot for attempting to escape, others fell ill soon after their arrival, and a few died of exhaustion.⁶

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Coșarinți was 170, most likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, also without including the Ukrainian Jews, 168 Jews (167 from Bessarabia, 1 from Bukovina) were counted.⁷ In February 1944, the number of Jews who had been deported from Romania in the entire Copăigorod raion was 2,339, of which some (probably the same number as in September 1943) had been held in the Coșarinți ghetto.⁸

The Red Army recaptured Coșarinți at the end of March 1944, liberating the ghetto. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Coșarinți can be found in the following publications: "Kosharyntsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 470; "Kosharyntsy," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreistva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 169; "Kosharyntsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 177; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu*

Regime, 1940–1944, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, “The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive,” *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Coșarini can be found at USHMM, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002M). VHA holds 12 survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10, Problem 33, vol. 20, p. 281.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

3. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1239, p. 17.

4. See CER package sending receipt for Coșarini, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1565, p. 148.

5. VHA #43973, Simah Dagan testimony, May 6, 1998; VHA #18078, Bruryah Farber testimony, July 29, 1996; and VHA #12840, Israel’ Lerner testimony, March 27, 1996.

6. See September 1943 report by the OT-Einsatzgruppe Russland Süd to the Government of Transnistria, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1502, pp. 152–153.

7. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

8. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev județ, USHMM, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5 (see also p. 6 for population figures according to confessions).

COSĂUȚI

Cosăuți, a village in Soroca județ, in Bessarabia province, Romania (today: Republic of Moldova), is located 142 kilometers (88 miles) northeast of Chișinău and is situated alongside the right bank (Moldavian side) of the Dniester River. Cosăuți forest, located a few hundred meters away from the village itself, served as the site for a short-term transit camp for Jewish deportees entering Transnistria via Iampol. Army barges were assembled to transport people and luggage across the Dniester River at a crossing point near Cosăuți.

The Cosăuți camp site had no amenities of any kind, except an obsolete brick-firing facility. Small tents of bed

sheets, blankets, or tree branches were temporarily erected to provide shelter from rain and cold, but most deportees simply rested and slept on the ground under open sky. The little stream running nearby became a dumping ground for dead bodies, so its water was soon polluted. The site was not encircled with barbed wire, but gendarmes as well as military and civilian personnel based in the village and near the crossing point guarded the camp’s prisoners.

The administration of the site fell into the hands of officers from Soroca’s Gendarmes Legion. Colonel Teodor Meculescu, Bessarabia’s Inspector General of Gendarmes (based in Chișinău), temporarily appointed Căpitan Victor Ramadan to be in charge of receiving Jewish convoys arriving by foot from the Bessarabian and Bukovinian ghettos and to oversee their quick transfer across the Dniester River. Meculescu gave Ramadan a free hand to shoot any Jew who did not comply with his orders or was too tired to keep marching.

Thousands of Jews marched in convoys through the Cosăuți-Iampol crossing point between September 1941 and May 1942. In addition, more than 12,000 Jews from Bessarabia, who had entered Transnistria earlier via the Atachi-Moghilev crossing point (66 kilometers [41 miles] northeast of Cosăuți), were returned by the Germans to the Romanian side through Cosăuți on August 16, 1941.¹ They were immediately interned at the Vertujeni camp (today: Vertuieni, 29 kilometers [18 miles] southeast of Cosăuți) and were redeported six weeks later. The usual destinations for those entering Transnistria via the Cosăuți-Iampol crossing point were the camps at Obodovca and Balanovca in the Balta județ, but the deportees were sent to other places along that route as well.²

The first to be deported through Cosăuți were the 12,000 or so Jews from the Vertujeni ghetto. As instructed by Colonel Meculescu, the Vertujeni camp commandant—Colonel Vasile Agapie—sent these Jews away in groups of 1,600.³ A group of 1,500 Jews from Rădăuți (and surroundings) marched through Cosăuți to the Cosăuți-Iampol crossing point on their way to the Tzibulovca ghetto, near Bersad on October 15, 1941. Edineț’s Jews, some 2,500 people, also made a short stop in the Cosăuți forest before crossing into Transnistria on October 18, 1941. Marculești’s Jews marched in convoys of 1,000 to 2,000 people to Cosăuți at the end of October 1941, where they made a short stop. The last deportees to pass through Cosăuți were the remaining Jews of Chișinău, numbering around 500, in May 1942.

In addition to regulating the flow of the transfer of Jews into Transnistria, the short period of time (a few days) spent in the Cosăuți forest was intended to provide the Romanian administration time to extract any remaining valuables from the Jews and to erase their individual identities. In the transit camp, the adult population had to undergo body searches. Heads of families had to declare and deposit their family valuables with representatives of the Romanian National Bank (*Banca Națională a României*) who were on site, as well as to exchange their remaining money (Romanian currency, *lei*) for

Transnistrian rubles. Identity cards were then confiscated and burned.

Great brutalities were inflicted on the Jews interned in the Cosăuți camp. The gendarmes took advantage of the peoples' exhaustion and desperation, inflicting cruel beatings and even shooting any individual resisting the confiscation of private valuables. Anyone caught hiding valuables or money that was needed to barter in exchange for food or to purchase services or to bribe local authorities risked severe punishment. Unprovoked beatings occurred regularly at night. Rabbis were particularly maltreated. Virgins and young married women were raped in the camp, sometimes in sight of their parents or husbands. Occasionally, higher officers brought Jewish women back to their rooms in the village and raped them before sending them back to their families. Refusing to live with the shame, some of these victims committed suicide. Rainy and cold nights made many people ill, especially those already weakened by sickness, the elderly, and the young. The dead were unceremoniously and superficially buried in nearby ditches. The stench of decomposing bodies and the sight of corpses lying on both sides of the small road leading into the forest horrified subsequent convoys. All in all, thousands of Jews perished in the Cosăuți transit camp. The camp was closed at the end of 1942.

Colonel Teodor Meculescu was prosecuted by Romania's People's Tribunal on February 13, 1946. The court found Meculescu guilty of "exterminating the civilian population out of political reasons and racial hatred," which was a crime punishable by death or hard labor, according to Decree Law 312/1945 and Decree Law 81/1946. He received a term of imprisonment.⁴

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of Romanian Jews held at Cosăuți may be found in the following publications: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival*, and vol. 6: *War Crimes Trials* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască*, vol. 1, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003).

Primary sources attesting to the fate of Romanian Jews held at Cosăuți are available at USHMM, in records of the DAOO (RG-31.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and WJC (RG-25.051). For an outline of crossing points and destinations, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (especially p. 3). For a secret service police report attesting to

the return to Bessarabia of formerly deported Jews to Transnistria and their crossing back at Cosăuți, see RG-25.002M, reel 17, file 86/1941, p. 91. For a survivor's testimony, see Herman Vexner's account in RG-25.051 (Locality Vaslui, file 2D).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86/1941, p. 91.

2. See crossing points and destinations outlined in "Dare de Seamă asupra Organizării și Funcționării Serviciului Jandarmeriei în Transnistria," December 3, 1941, signed by Transnistria's Gendarmes Inspector, Colonel Marcel Petală, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (especially p. 3).

3. See a reprint of these instructions, including a hand-drawn map indicating the crossing point, "Instrucțiuni relative la evacuarea evreilor din lagărul Vertujeni-Soroca," Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 85–87.

4. See "Act de Acuzare," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 6: 210–111.

COVALIOVCA

Covaliovca (pre-1941: Kovaliovka; today: Kovalivka, Ukraine) is a town in Varvarovca raion, Ochacov județ, in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. After December 1942, it became part of the Berezovca județ, Landau raion. Covaliovca is located 116 kilometers (72 miles) north-east of Odessa, bordering the Bug River to the east.

According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 275 Jews living in the Varvarovca raion, representing 0.71 percent of its population (census data were not collected for Covaliovca). A June 1943 counting of Landau's population (Covaliovca's administrative center at that time) puts the total number at 9,959 people.¹ Of these, 1,811 lived in Covaliovca. This number, amounting to 441 families, was divided according to the inhabitants' ethnic identity—26 Romanians, 1,768 Ukrainians, 13 Russians, 2 Germans, and 2 Bulgarians—but did not count any "temporary" inhabitants, namely Poles, Jews, or Roma.²

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area around Covaliovca in August 1941. After a short period of German control, during which time Covaliovca was cleansed of its Jews, the Romanian civil administration assumed authority. Under Romanian administration, the spelling of the township's name was romanianized as Covaliovca (also appearing in documents as Covalevca or Covaleovca). Until December 1942, chief responsibility for Covaliovca belonged to Locotenent-colonel Vasile Gorsky, Ochacov's prefect; from January 1943, as part of Berezovca județ, its affairs were the responsibility of Berezovca's prefects: Colonel Constantin Loghin, who was succeeded by Sergeant TR Victor Petrenciu. The praetor in Landau raion, who was also responsible for Covaliovca, was Sergeant TR Nicolae Albu.

In the summer of 1942, the Romanian government deported Roma (Gypsies) from its territories to the Ochacov

and Berezovca județe in Transnistria. Roma deportees lived in colonies scattered throughout Berezovca's raions, including in Covaliovca. In October 1942, some 1,100 Roma were interned in Covaliovca; 54 indigenous households were evacuated from their homes to accommodate the Roma (an average of 20 Roma were placed in each house).

Even though only itinerant Roma and those accused of criminal acts were to be deported, in reality many settled, up-standing Roma citizens ended up being expelled. Among them were decorated veterans from World War I, active soldiers on leave, and families of soldiers enrolled in the Romanian Army.³ Repatriation efforts were made to correct the error, but for many they came too late; after the ordeal of deportation, many Roma simply did not have any documents left to prove their sedentary-life status, military past, or relationship to active soldiers. In his confidential report, Colonel Sandu Moldoveanu, the inspector in charge of examining Roma claims in the Covaliovca area and the head of the third of three commissions investigating the Roma situation in Transnistria, expressed great consternation that categories of Roma other than traveler and criminal Roma were deported.⁴ He condemned authorities in Old Romania for utter negligence in this matter and criticized local Transnistrian authorities for mistreating the deportees.⁵

The conditions in which the Roma lived in Transnistria were essentially unsurvivable, in line with Marshal Antonescu's tacit extermination policy. For Covaliovca's Roma, food allocations of 400 grams (14 ounces) of corn flour, 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of potatoes, and salt were provided only occasionally. Medical assistance was nonexistent in the early months following their resettlement. In desperation, the deportees resorted to theft and destruction of gardens and properties to procure food and warm their houses, infuriating the local population. Ukrainian villagers brutally beat Roma when caught stealing. Hundreds of Roma died of starvation and illness, especially from an epidemic of typhus, typhoid fever, and cold in the winter of 1942. In these circumstances, many Roma fled back to Romania or to other villages in the region in search of work and food; fugitives were hunted down, rearrested, deported again, and sometimes simply shot by the gendarmes.

In the spring of 1943, Covaliovca's Roma were put to work in agriculture and riverbank maintenance, but their presence was unwelcome everywhere. This was due to the general perception that Roma carried lice and that their presence contributed to local outbreaks of typhus. Food or payment for work was not regularly given, and many accumulated workdays for which they never saw any payment or food during harvest time.

After substantial efforts made by Dr. Aurel Juga, chief doctor in charge of Berezovca's medical services, the overall health of Landau's residents improved somewhat by October 1943. Medical supplies were made available to Covaliovca's medical office.⁶ A doctor was appointed by the name of Sergei Tumarchin.⁷ The displaced Roma fell within the medical office's sphere of responsibility, but locals and soldiers were

given priority. A Jewish doctor as part of his forced labor duties was sent to assist Dr. Tumarchin.

A level of skepticism is required when reading district-level medical reports, because these accounts rarely reflect the situation among the deportees or reflect it only obliquely. The November 1943 health report claims that no new cases of typhus or typhoid fever were recorded in Landau.⁸ According to a different report, 7,960 vaccines were administered by November 1, 1943 (whether the Roma were also counted as immunized is not indicated in the report).⁹ Similarly, township-level medical reports for Covaliovca for October and November 1943 claimed zero cases of typhus under the head rubric, "Typhus."¹⁰ This assertion came despite the fact that medicine was in short supply everywhere. Nicolae Aurel, Landau's praetor, requested that basic medical supplies (such as dressing bandages and medicine) be urgently sent from Berezovca Prefecture's medical service to the Covaliovca medical office, which had run out of them by December 1943.¹¹

According to the early 1943 count of displaced Jews in Transnistria, only one Jew lived in Covaliovca.¹² In all likelihood, this is the Jewish doctor who had been sent there earlier.

SOURCES For information about the fate of Roma deported to Covaliovca, see the following secondary sources: Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); for Soviet census data, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 55.

Primary sources depicting the fate of Roma deported to Covaliovca are available at USHMMA, in collections micro-filmed from DAOO, DAMO, and SRI (Romanian Information Service). Prefect Vasile Gorsky's account of Roma deportation to Ochacov provides excellent general information about the inhumane conditions in which Romanian Roma were arrested and transported to Transnistria: see "Memoriu," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 34, file 40010, vol. 59, pp. 113–122; for government efforts to remedy deportation mistakes, see USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 67, p. 24 (and verso); for medical notes reporting on the situation in the Berezovca județ, Landau raion, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 611, pp. 13, 62, 75, 128, 140, 156–157.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See "Situația Medico-Sanitară în Județul Berezovca de la 1 Ian.-1 Nov. 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 611, p. 62 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611).

2. See "Tabelul statistic de populația comunelor în acest raion pe naționalități și numărul fântânilor existente în Raion pe data de 26 Iunie 1943," signed by Vihrenco Nicolae, Berezovca hospital's sanitary agent, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 1.

3. See the SSI report, "Dare de Seamă din 5 Decembrie 1942. Asupra serviciului executat în județul Oceacov de la data de 19 Noembrie la 4 Decembrie 1942," reproduced in Achim, *Documente Privind Istoria Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 24–29.

4. See note "Nr. 48407 din 9 Decembrie 1942," of General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 67, p. 24 (and verso).

5. See Colonel Sandu Moldoveanu's secret memorandum, "Memoriu Nr. 63 din 21 Decembrie 1942," reprinted in Achim, *Documente Privind Istoria Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 59–64 (especially pp. 61–62).

6. See communication cosigned by Berezovca's prefect, Victor Petrenciuc, and Dr. Aurel Juga, Berezovca's chief doctor: "Nr. 36064, 16 Oct. 1943 Prefectura Jud. Berezovca Serviciul Sanitar Către Postul de Jandarmi Covaleovca Raion Landau," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 13.

7. See "Prefectura Jud. Berezovca, Serviciul Sanitar, Tabel de medicii localnici, repartizați pe circumscripții, precum urmează," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 128.

8. See "Prefectura Jud. Berezovca, Serviciul Medical, Dare de Seama," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 75.

9. See "Situația Medico-Sanitară în Județul Berezovca de la 1 Ian.-1 Nov. 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 62.

10. See "Pretura Landau, Prefectura Berezovca, Comuna Covalevca, Situația de mersul boalelor de la 1 Octombrie—31/X-1943 Anul," and "Pretura Landau, Prefectura Berezovca, Comuna Covalevca, Situația de mersul boalelor de la 1 Noembrie—30/XI-43 Anul," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, pp. 156–157.

11. See "Pretura Raionului Landau, Secția Ad-tiva, Nr. 4110 din 22 Decembrie 1943 Către Prefectura-Berezovca, Serv. Sanitar," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/611, p. 140.

12. See "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

CRĂCIUNEȘTI AND VULCAN/LPRS NO. 9

Crăciunești is a village near Băița commune, in the Hunedoara județ, in the southwestern part of Romania. Surrounded by Transylvania's Apuseni Mountains, Crăciunești is 15 kilometers (9 miles) north of Deva and 309 kilometers (192 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was established at Crăciunești in September 1941. The camp was known as LPRS No. 9 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*) and was created to house forced laborers working on the Romanian Railways Company (*Căile Ferate Române*, CFR) in Deva. At that time, the CFR was building a new railway connecting Deva to the gold mines around Brad.¹ The

construction project up to that point had depended on Jewish forced labor: 700 Jews had been conscripted from localities in the Hunedoara and Timiș județe to serve in forced labor brigades assigned to the CFR Brad-Deva construction site.² The first transport of Soviet prisoners arrived on September 18, 1941, in a train that stopped at Deva carrying approximately 1,000 POWs in 43 boxcars.³ After disembarking, the prisoners marched to the camp, 25 kilometers (14 miles) north of Deva. The camp was located on a hill that was 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) outside Crăciunești village, and it was surrounded by barbed wire.⁴ The camp commandant was Locotenent-colonel Nicolae Stavrescu; the commandant of the Hunedoara Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent-colonel Augustin Popa. The camp was under the direction of the VII Army Corps.

Except for officers, who were better dressed, the Soviet prisoners arrived in shabby clothes and worn boots. The barracks for lodging prisoners had not yet been built at the time of their arrival, so the prisoners dug holes into the hillside to build temporary shelters. A number of prisoners (40, according to one account) arrived gravely ill with dysentery. These sick prisoners were isolated in an underground room where shovels and pickaxes had been stored, but were removed to make space for the sick. A camp doctor administered some natural remedies, but without proper medicine some did not survive. There was no water source in the camp, so water had to be carried up in buckets from a stream at the bottom of the hill.

A few weeks after the POWs arrived in the camp, wooden barracks were built, but they were insufficient for the growing number of prisoners, as subsequent groups of POWs continued to arrive. The camp authorities, including the guards, lived in rented houses in the village. The lack of warm clothes and shoes was a major problem for the prisoners in the winter of 1941: the villagers remember them wearing paper wrapped around their feet (the so-called paper-shoes) for shoes and putting straw inside their thin clothes as insulation against the cold.

Poor nutrition and living conditions, coupled with the lack of hygiene, soon led to outbreaks of epidemics among the prisoners. The first epidemic was dysentery, caused by drinking contaminated water, and then typhus spread. Delousing and washing facilities arrived later in 1941, by which time the camp was infested with lice and fleas. Jewish doctors were requisitioned from the area to work as medical personnel, in addition to the army doctors (Drs. Titus Turcu and Ion Chirca). But until they received medicine and built a medical center, the doctors could do little to improve the prisoners' health, many of whom also suffered from starvation and tuberculosis. It was only after some of the camp doctors and guardsmen contracted typhus that the 7th Army command center finally allocated several barracks for a small camp hospital and a few mobile bathing cars and delousing ovens. A team of engineers from among the prisoners repaired the mobile bathing cars, and another team of nurses (including some of the prisoners) was created to work at the newly instituted hospital that could care for 100 patients.



Soviet POWs under guard in Crăciunești, after June 1941.
USHMM WS #10996, COURTESY OF SERVICIUL ROMAN DE INFORMATII.

This notable improvement was substantially diminished by Commandant Stavrescu's inhumane attitude toward the prisoners. He appropriated substantial amounts of food and wood sent especially for the prisoners and halved their bread portions. He misused funds from the camp budget by refusing to pay for services (like transporting wood) rendered to the camp by hired villagers. In addition, he introduced and applied physical beatings (lashes) of prisoners and soldiers alike. For these and other reasons, he was denounced by officers under his command in a letter sent to the Army General Staff in Bucharest. Subsequently, Stavrescu was disciplined for his actions in April–May 1942 and was removed from office immediately. Almost 800 Soviet POWs died under his watch, their bodies buried unceremoniously in a mass grave.⁵

The new camp commandant showed more compassion to the prisoners. He even allowed the wife of one ill prisoner to come and care for him in the camp. He brought a priest to the camp so the dead could be buried with some honor. A small choir was formed from among the prisoners who were able to learn or improve their Romanian (some of the prisoners were from Bukovina and Bessarabia). On a few occasions, the choir sang in the local Orthodox church.

Work at the railway was physically demanding, because most of it was done only with shovels, pickaxes, and wheelbarrows. The construction site stretched for 35 kilometers (22

miles) in mountainous terrain, with the prisoners working all along its route. They were divided into labor companies (*companii de lucru*), which formed subcamps of the main camp at Crăciunești. Three subcamps were based in Luncoiu de Jos, one in Vălișoara, and one subcamp for ranked prisoners at Luncoiu de Sus (this last subcamp had fewer restrictions and better food, and it was guarded by unarmed soldiers). The treatment of prisoners in the subcamps was similar to that in the main camp: harsher during Stavrescu's tenure and better thereafter.

In August 1942, LPRS No. 9 relocated from Crăciunești to Vulcan, on the Jiu River valley, more than 62 kilometers (39 miles) southeast of Deva. A few old buildings and warehouses, including a few barracks, formerly belonging to a farm, were repurposed as housing for the prisoners. The Vulcan camp could hold up to 1,500 prisoners. At the new locations, most prisoners worked in the coal mines, although some were allocated as manual laborers to area businesses (Creditul Carbonifer, Societatea Petroșani, Societatea Titan-Nădrag-Călan) and factories (tile, steel, wood) throughout the Hunedoara județ (in places such as Lupeni, Hunedoara, Brad, Călan, Reșița, and Câmpu lui Neag). From its inception, LPRS No. 9 Vulcan had two subcamps—Lupeni (today: Jiu-Paroseni), where ranked Soviet prisoners were also held, and Petroșani (today: Jieț)—both only a few kilometers away from Vulcan. Smaller contin-

gents of Soviet POWs (up to 300) arrived in the area from other camps in Romania (LPRS No. 3 Independența-Galați, LPRS No. 7 Bălți, and LPRS No. 2 Vaslui); in addition, a group of Soviet POWs was brought from Germany.⁶ Estimates regarding the number of prisoners held in LPRS No. 9 Vulcan and its subcamps vary, but a number between 2,600 and 3,000 is probably correct.

In the new location, prisoner treatment improved especially from 1943 onward, but not everywhere. Although some prisoners received meals containing meat (four times a week) and fruit and enjoyed certain privileges (leaving the camp with guards for social events), many continued to live in filthy conditions, resulting in illnesses and death. A few hundred more prisoners died from November 1942 to April 1944, their bodies buried (usually with military honors) in local church cemeteries. Some prisoners attempted to escape from their work places, but were usually caught sooner or later.⁷

Even after August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides and entered the war against Germany and its allies, the Soviet POWs in the Vulcan camp and subcamps continued to work as before until mid-October of that year. On October 16, 1944, all Soviet POWs throughout the Hunedoara județ were gathered at the Deva train station, with cold food for five days. They were then transported to Craiova to begin the (difficult) process of repatriation under the command of Soviet authorities.

In January 1945, the Bucharest People's Tribunal issued an arrest order for Stavrescu for war crimes, eventually convicting and sentencing him to many years of hard labor for inhumane treatment applied to the Soviet POWs in the Crăciunești camp.⁸

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Soviet POWs held in LPRS No. 9 can be found in the following publications: Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997) (Șiperco's volume includes a group photo displaying Soviet POWs from Crăciunești camp at work, guarded by Romanian authorities); Dan-Simion Grecu, "Lagăre pentru prizonieri sovietici în județul Hunedoara (1941–1944)," *Buletinul Cercului de Studii al Istoriei Poștale din Ardeal, Banat și Bucovina*, 13/3 (2010), available at <http://hunedoara.omgforum.net/t765-detasamentele-de-munca-pentru-evrei-din-judetul-hunedoara-1941-1943>; and Ion Chirca, "Lagărul de prizonieri Nr. 9 Crăciunești," *Magazin Istoric* 2 (1997).

Primary sources documenting the experience of Soviet POWs in Crăciunești are available at ANR-H, available in microform at USHMMA as RG-25.063M. Archival records can also be found at TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, including in the same fond and opis, delo 1636, 1637, 1638; additional documents are available in the same collection and fond, opis 18004, delo 918 and delo 921. RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, delo 17 and delo 18 also contain files of Soviet POWs transferred to Camp No. 9 from other Soviet POW camps in Romania. Regarding forced labor brigades for Jews in the area of LPRS No. 9 for Soviet POWs, see RG-25.063M (ANR-H), particularly reel 2, file 3; reel 3, files 106, 125; reel 5, files 89, 113; and reel 6, file 12.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Note, USHMMA, RG-25.063M (ANR-H), reel 3, file 125, n.p.
2. See map of forced labor brigades for Jews, assigned to the area Brad-Deva: USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 254–255.
3. Deva Police information report, USHMMA, RG-25.063M, reel 3, file 125, n.p.
4. "Crăciunești," USHMMPA, WS #10995.
5. The victims' names, along with dates and places of their burials, appear in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 415–498.
6. Deva Police reports, USHMMA, RG-25.063M, reel 4, file 28, 1942, pp. 133, 204, 229.
7. See reports from local authorities for the Hunedoara Gendarmes Legion, USHMMA, RG-25.063M, reel 11, file 24, pp. 35, 44, 111.
8. Arrest order, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 5, p. 5.

CRAIOVA

The city of Craiova, in Dolj județ in southwestern Romania, is located more than 183 kilometers (almost 114 miles) west of Bucharest. According to the 1930 census Craiova had 2,274 Jewish residents comprising 4 percent of the city's population.

After the German and Romanian military offensive against the Soviet Union started on June 22, 1941, thousands of Jews in Bucharest, Bukovina, Dorohoi, and Moldava were put on trains and sent to camps in Romania, including in Craiova and Târgu Jiu. The Jews deported from Dorohoi were all males ranging in age from 18 and 60 years old.¹ According to survivor Lorentz Flitman, there were also some women and children in the camp.²

The internment camp at Craiova consisted of a local high school (lyceum) guarded by the gendarmerie.³ From Craiova most of the deportees were returned to their districts of origin by the fall of 1941, where the Romanian authorities required that they live in the urban center closest to their original homes. The property of Jews living in rural areas was "romanianized" effective June 21, 1941, according to an order issued by Marshal Ion Antonescu. By the summer of 1942, some of the Jews who had been interned in Craiova were deported to Transnistria.⁴

SOURCES Further information about the Craiova camp and Jewish life can be found in Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and "Craiova," Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 281.

Primary source material documenting the Craiova internment camp can be found at FUCER, available at USHMMA as RG-25.021M (reel 97). VHA holds two testimonies from Jewish survivors of the Craiova camp: Lorentz Flitman

(#50000) and Emmanuel-Paul Cleinerman (#32404). The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from the Craiova camp; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

Cristina Bejan

NOTES

1. ITS, 1.2.7.24, folder 55, Doc. No. 82207255.
2. VHA #50000, Lorentz Flitman testimony, August 5, 1999.
3. VHA #32404, Emmanuel-Paul Cleinerman testimony, June 11, 1997.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Bracha Moscovici, Doc. No. 53668875.

CRASNA

Crasna, the center of the Krasnoe raion in the Moghilev județ in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Krasne, Ukraine), lies 67 kilometers (42 miles) north-east of Moghilev-Podolsk.

The German and Romanian armies captured the village on July 18, 1941, four weeks after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During those weeks, some of the Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were drafted into the Red Army. Approximately 350 Jews stayed in place. The Romanian civil administration assumed control of the area at the beginning of September 1941. The praetor in the Krasnoe raion was Nicolae Coman. The name of the village and raion was romanianized from Krasnoe to Crasna (occasionally spelled Crasnoe).

In the fall of 1941, a ghetto was established in Crasna. In September 1942, some of the Jews from the liquidated camp in the village of Scazinț (Skazinets) near Moghilev-Podolsk were placed in this ghetto.¹ Life inside the ghetto was characterized by endless restrictions (including on physical movement), overcrowding, and forced labor. The Jews survived by bartering, begging, and doing jobs for the villagers; a few villagers went even further to help the persecuted Jews by hiding them in their houses and looking after them.²

In January 1943, the leader of the Crasna ghetto, Salo Bayer, met with representatives of the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER), which visited Transnistria with the permission of the Romanian government. The delegation learned of the presence of 995 Jews in the ghetto: 665 Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania (100 of whom were from Dorohoi) and 330 local Ukrainian Jews. The following information was also reported at that time: there was one hospital in the ghetto, with a capacity of 14 beds, and a defunct bathhouse; typhus had already struck ghetto residents; 8 to 15 people were crowded into one room in the houses of the local Jews; state-owned workshops (*atelieri*) had been created in the ghetto for the following trades: tailors, shoemakers, hairdressers, carpenters, smiths, and mechanics; and those working in the workshops were being fed ade-

quately. The delegation donated the sum of 1,500 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, German-issued scrip) to set up a cafeteria large enough to feed at least 350 people each day and to repair the bathhouse.³

By March 1943, the number of Jews in the Crasna ghetto was 274, not counting the Ukrainian Jews. On September 1, 1943, even after some of the Jews had been sent away to work in June 1943, the number still increased to 282 Jews (10 from Bessarabia and 272 from Bukovina) in the ghetto, not counting the Ukrainian Jews.⁴

The repatriation of the Jews deported from Romania began in December 1943, beginning with the Jews from the Dorohoi district, orphaned children, and a few other categories. A number of Jews from the Crasna ghetto left at that time; most, however, returned home only after the Red Army recaptured the village in March 1944, freeing those still there.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Crasna ghetto during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: “Crasnoie (Krasnoye),” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ba-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem: 1969), 1: 507; “Krasnoye (I),” 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: 674; I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Crasna ghetto are available at USHMM, collections RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1252; RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 23, fond 2966, opis 2, delo 691: lists of specialist prisoners of the ghetto; RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1180 (and in the following delos: 1359, 1362–1366, 1369, 1370, 1179, 1400,

1403, 1407, 1412: lists of prisoners of a ghetto). VHA holds 125 testimonies in seven languages from survivors who spent various periods of time in the ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 283.
2. VHA #41100, Petro Bachek testimony, February 19, 1998; VHA #16137, Moritz Horn testimony, June 4, 1996.
3. Cf. postvisit report of delegation leader, Fred Șaraga, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 115–116.
4. For the March 1943 census, see Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 census, see Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

CRASNEANCA

Crasneanca, a village in the Crivoi Ozero raion, Golta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Krasnen'ke, Ukraine), is located near the Bug River. It lies 41 kilometers (26 miles) northwest of Golta (today: Pervomais'k) and 188 kilometers (117 miles) northwest of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area in August 1941, and the Romanian civil administration took control of it a month later. Under this administration the village's name was romanianized from Krasnenkoe to Crasneanca (also Cransnencoe, Krasnenchi, and Crasnei). The Golta județ prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and Aristide Pădure was the deputy prefect. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Maior Romulus Ambrus. The praetor in the Crivoi Ozero raion was Elizeu Rozorea.

The regime of Ion Antonescu deported Roma (Gypsies) from Romania to Transnistria between June and September 1942. Antonescu began with the “nomadic,” as opposed to “sedentary,” and the “delinquent” (convicted) Roma, but also included those without stable employment from any category. The Antonescu regime routinely characterized the Roma as “parasitic and unruly elements” and painted their deportation as an act of cleansing the nation of its “anti-social” factions. Great secrecy surrounded the murderous intent of the Roma deportation, which only the highest authorities knew about.¹ The mayors, prefects, and police, unaware of the destructive plan, deceived the Roma by telling them that they were being “resettled” to Transnistria where they would receive houses with farmland.²

Nomadic (but also some sedentary) Roma were gathered from all over Romania and concentrated in larger towns in June 1942, forming convoys (or caravans) heading to Transnistria. The Roma, traveling in their horse-drawn wagons, journeyed for weeks to their assigned “settlement” (deportation) area in the Golta județ. During this journey they received little or no food and so were forced to buy provisions with their own money. One of the main crossing points into Transnistria reg-

ularly used by the Roma was at Tighina, sometimes spoken of today as Bender, near Tiraspol.

After a three-month ordeal in the Moldavca transit camp, located in the Domanovca raion (today: Kozubivka, near Domanivka, Ukraine), 4,200 Roma were marched to Crasneanca, in the northern part of the Golta județ (90 kilometers [56 miles] northwest of Moldavca). Because Golta's prefect confiscated horses and carts from the Roma, the local Romanian authorities recruited wagons from the area to transport some of the luggage, but most people went on foot, carrying by hand whatever possessions they could take with them. The forced march lasted several days.

The camp in Crasneanca, also called a “colony,” was based in a small forest in a field halfway between Crasneanca and the village of Oniscova (today: Onyskove), both near the Bug River. It consisted of 500 huts (*bordeie*) that were fully or partly underground and covered with branches. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp.³ The huts, fewer than needed to accommodate the Roma, were rudimentary and totally unfit for winter habitation, lacking windows, chimneys, electricity, running water, and furniture. To these poor conditions others were added, namely the absence of medical care and the rarity of small rations of food (cornmeal and potatoes) that the Roma received.

The conditions inside the camp were thus quite inadequate, especially when taking into account the frigid temperatures of the winter of 1942. As a result, countless died of cold and disease, primarily typhus. Hundreds of frozen bodies that lay scattered all over the field were collected in the spring of 1943 and buried in mass graves, in preparation for planting season and to prevent the local populace from becoming exposed to disease. Extreme hunger drove the destitute Roma to cannibalism, feeding on the corpses of deceased family members.⁴ Those who still had money hidden away were cheated by Romanian gendarmes, who exchanged their Romanian currency at inflated rates or sold them illegally obtained salt and meat at excessive prices.⁵

In the summer of 1943, the Roma colony was divided into smaller groups; about half went to cut wood in Sluserevo forest, and others were dispersed to five villages for agricultural work—Sirova (831), Secretarca (130), Stanislavci (325), Buri-lova (399), and Oniscova (263)—all in the Crivoi Ozero raion. They lived in huts and barns, feeding on small fish and clams caught in the Bug River and its tributaries, or any animal they could find, including cows, horses, and dogs—living or dead. Women went through the villages bartering their goods down to their last shred of clothing and begging for food. Those few who worked received a little food for themselves in exchange for their labor.

The workers and their families returned to Crasneanca in November 1943. They were housed in a large cowshed in the Crasneanca *kolkhoz* (state collective farm), again in primitive, filthy, and crowded conditions. In the depth of winter in 1943, the Roma remained without food, some partly naked, succumbing to another round of epidemics. Cases of cannibalism were reported once more.⁶

In March 1944, the Golta administration left the area, abandoning the Roma. The retreating German soldiers marched the Roma from Crasneanca westward, in the direction of the Dniester River, and shot those unable to keep up. The deportees were driven to Crivoi Ozero and from there to the Liubașevca (today: Lyubashivca) train station, amid Soviet aerial bombing and artillery fire. More Roma died along the shore of the Dniester River, succumbing to cold temperatures as they waited to cross over in fishing boats.

The Red Army captured Crasneanca at the beginning of April 1944. The Bucharest People's Court tried and sentenced Isopescu, Pădure, and Ambrus to life in prison for mistreating the Roma in Golta.⁷

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Romanian Roma deported to Crasneanca can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Roma from the Crasneanca camp are available at USHMM, collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). For a film documenting the deportation of the Roma from Romania to Transnistria, as well as their ordeal and return, see *Valea Plângerii (The Valley of Sighs)*, DVD, directed by Mihai Andrei Leaha, Andrei Crișan, and Iulia-Elena Hossu (Cluj: Institutul Pentru Studiarea Minorităților Naționale, in collaboration with Triba Film, 2013). Under RG-50, USHMM holds oral history interviews about the deportation to Transnistria of the Roma from Romania.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See General Inspector of Gendarmes, Colonel C. Tobescu's deportation plan of the nomadic Roma from Romania, May 31, 1942, reprinted in Achim, ed., *Documente*, 1: 19–22.

2. For an account of deception of the Roma, see USHMM, RG-50.421*0003, Vasile Gheorghe, oral history interview, August 28, 1995; USHMM, RG-50.421*0001, Ion Caldarar, oral history interview, August 15, 1995.

3. See Praetor Rozorea's report, USHMM, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 57, p. 234.

4. Various Roma survivors attest to participating in such acts or witnessing others taking part: *Valea Plângerii (The Valley of Sighs)*, chapter "1942 The Deportation of Nomadic Roma," minutes 12–13.

5. Praetor Rozorea's camp inspection report on November 26, 1942, USHMM, RG-31.004M, microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 67, p. 29.

6. See a survivor attesting to eating her dead brother, in *Valea Plângerii*, chapter "1942 The Deportation of Nomadic Roma," minute 31.

7. See USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 116–117, 119, 136–137, 140.

CRIJOPOL

Crijopol (pre-1941: Kryzhopol'; today: Kryzhopil'), a raion center in the Juguastu (pre-1941: Zhuguastu) județ, in the northeastern part of Transnistria, is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-northeast of Iampol. Juguastu lies between the Moghilev and Râbnița județe. The 1939 Soviet census registered 1,400 Jews living in the town, representing 37.1 percent of the town's population. According to the 1939 census, there were a total of 1,704 Jews in the entire raion.

German and Romanian forces occupied Crijopol on July 22, 1941. In the weeks preceding their arrival, a few Jews had evacuated eastward into the Soviet Union, and men eligible for military service had been conscripted into the Red Army.

From July to August 1941, a German military commandant's office controlled the town. In September 1941, the Romanian civil administration took over and romanianized its name to Crijopol and the name of the județ to Juguastu. Ivan Parașciuc was appointed Crijopol's prefect, and the raion's praetor was Teodor Haidau. The prefect warned the Jews about the deportation plans of the occupying authorities and was dismissed after six months. Colonel Ștefan S. Gheorghiadă and N. Ciugureanu served jointly as prefects of Juguastu in 1943.

During the first few days of occupation, German soldiers killed 14 Jews and burned down some Jewish homes. In the autumn of 1941, all the remaining Jews in the town were moved into a separate district, an area between Budgos and Bath Streets, with several families assigned to each house. This area constituted the Crijopol ghetto, which was formally created in the summer of 1942 when some Jews from Romania were deported there as well.

While in the ghetto, Jews were used for various kinds of forced labor, from cleaning the cesspit and sweeping the streets to loading wood onto freight trains. On October 2, 1942, 700 Jews selected from the city of Moghilev and its județ were sent to the forest of Crijopol to cut down trees. They were housed in miserable conditions and were not given food. Poorly dressed for winter, many became very ill. They worked in temperatures reaching 35° C (22° F) and faced the constant danger of freezing to death.¹ By December 27, 1942, 14 men had died of exhaustion and cold, and many more were battling diseases, including typhus, jaundice, and dysentery. When the work detachment returned to Moghilev from Crijopol, 15 workers were unable to walk, their bellies bloated as a result of starvation.²

In February 1943, Simeon Frestecico was appointed a member of the Jewish Labor Bureau for Crijopol. In March 1943, two groups of 27 Jews from Crijopol were assigned to work on a military air base in Tiraspol, helping to build a runway.³ Others worked in workshops (*atelieri*) that were set up by Juguastu's prefecture on May 15, 1943. Azriel Brestecico presided over Crijopol's workshop, Tania Stucinscaia was the accountant, and Idasia Gherman worked as a cashier.⁴

With payment rarely consisting of more than a small daily ration of food or its monetary equivalent, money sent by friends and family members sustained the deportees. Such private

funds reached a few Jews from Romania in the Crijopol ghetto.⁵ Material support also arrived from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (CER) in the early months of 1943.⁶

Various censuses of Crijopol's Jews in 1943 gave similar results: around 1,200 local Ukrainian Jews and 74 Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews. The March 1943 count of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, requested by the delegation of the Relief Commission of CER (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare*) that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed 1,300 people, including the local Ukrainian Jews.⁷ A subsequent count of Jews deported from Romania on September 1, 1943, listed 74 Jews in Crijopol's ghetto. Of those, 23 Jews were from Bessarabia and 51 from Bukovina.⁸ The Red Army recaptured Crijopol in March 1944 and freed the Jews.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Crijopol during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: "Kryzhopol," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 409–410; "Kryzhopol," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 216–217; "Kryzhopol," 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: 684; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). For Soviet census information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 23, 48.

Primary sources documenting the experience of Crijopol's Jews can be gleaned from the reports of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of the Jews of Crijopol. They are in GARF, file 7021-54-1265; DAVINO (files r2988-2-1, r2988-3-81, 84, 86); in DAOO (file r2255-1-1156, 1360, 1365, 1370); and YVA. At USHMMA, records of DAOO may be consulted for receipts of private funds sent to Romanian Jews held at Crijopol in RG-31.004M, reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1c, delo 1310, p. 202. For a list of Jews from the Crijopol raion sent to the military air base in Tiraspol, see RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 32, file 23, p. 111. For a survivor's testimony, see Georgiy Tabachnikov, *Vestnik: Vypusk 4. Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi; Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev* (Chernovtsy: Prut, 1995), pp. 61–63.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov

NOTES

1. See note "2 October 1942," Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 284.

2. See note "27 December 1942," *ibid.*, 3b: 289.

3. See "Tabel de evreii din Raionul Crijopol Jud. Jugastru care urmează să fie trimiși în conformitate cu ord. Direcțiunii Muncii din Guvernământul Transnistriei Nr. 82900/1943, în Corpul Aierian Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 32, file 23, p. 111, but see also the accompanying correspondence, pp. 105–111 (USHMMA, RG-31.001M/32/23).

4. See the letter, "Pretura Raionului Crijopol, 28 Iulie 1943, Deciziunea Nr. 11," USHMMA, RG-31.011M/32/23, p. 632.

5. See "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Jabocrici (gara Crijopol, Jud. Jugastru)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1c, delo 1310, p. 202.

6. See the letter addressed by the Bureau's president Dr. N. Gingold to the Crijopol's prefect, February 20, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.011M/32/23, p. 91.

7. See "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348.

8. See "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

CRIVOI OZERO

Crivoi Ozero (pre-1941: Krivoye-Ozero) is located some 152 kilometers (94 miles) northeast of Chișinău. According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 3,917 Jews in the town, representing about 94 percent of the total population. In 1939, the Jewish community decreased to 1,447 (about 16 percent of the population). The decline in the number of Jews by almost 2,500 from 1927 to 1938 was due primarily to the resettlement of Jews in other cities and regions. Before World War II, many Jews worked in cooperatives or workshops and in a butter factory. There was a Yiddish school with 300 pupils, a library with a large Yiddish collection, and a Jewish *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) with 180 members.

The Germans occupied Crivoi Ozero on August 3, 1941. In the weeks preceding their arrival, a few Jews evacuated eastward farther into the Soviet Union, and men eligible for military service were conscripted into the Red Army. From October 1941 to March 1944, the town was a raion center in the Golta județ of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, having previously been a county seat. The Romanian administration romanianized the spelling to Crivoi Ozero (also spelled Crivoi-Oziero). Crivoi Ozero's military praetor was Elizeu Rozorea, and the local Gendarmes Legion commander was N. Constantinescu.

The first anti-Jewish German-perpetrated "Aktion" in Crivoi Ozero took place on September 5, 1941, when 42 Jews were arrested and shot.¹ Soon after that, those Jews remaining in the village were placed in a ghetto. In early November 1941, 1,500 Jews from Bessarabia were brought to Crivoi Ozero at the order of Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, the prefect of the Golta județ.² Isopescu retained some of the craftsmen among them to rebuild and renovate public buildings in Golta,

but the rest were soon transferred to the Bogdanovca death camp where, alongside thousands of Ukrainian Jews, all were murdered through starvation, shooting, and being burnt alive.³ The Crivoi Ozero ghetto was liquidated on January 1, 1942, when 186 Jews were shot in the cemetery,⁴ but it reopened as Bessarabian and Moldovan Jews arrived in 1942. Jews from Romania's Old Kingdom (Regat), from Bucharest and Pitești, were among them.

Deportees worked on farms; in tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, tinsmithing, rope making, and hairdressing workshops—the so-called *atelieri*—and in a medical office, at restaurants, in the local hospital, and in various local Romanian administrative offices.⁵ On July 8, 1943, there were 120 Jews working in these places.⁶ Generally, they were paid in food, although there were cases when monetary payment was made.⁷ In February 1942, 16 Jewish craftsmen were requested from the Bogdanovca camp to restore and renovate public buildings in Crivoi Ozero.

Typhus outbreaks in the ghetto threatened to infect the local population and the army. A Jewish physician, Samuil Herșcovici, who served in the Crivoi Ozero hospital, treated the Ukrainian population in the area from the autumn of 1942 onward. Ana Zaidel, a local Jew, was also a doctor in Crivoi Ozero.

On September 1, 1943, there were 106 Bessarabian Jews in the ghetto, in addition to local Jews.⁸

In October 1942, some 4,000 Roma (Gypsies) deportees from Romania were sent to the Crivoi Ozero raion. The same month, Prefect Isopescu ordered them to be dispersed in small groups throughout the Golta județ and to be fed half the regular amount of food that other people received, until work was found for them. Three hundred forty-two Roma were listed as being 20 to 40 years old and were slated to be used as agricultural workers.⁹ However, finding work for them appeared to be an insurmountable problem for local authorities. Very few were employed in agriculture, so many Roma, lacking food, shelter, and clothes (especially winter clothes), resorted to thieving, robbery, and even killing. This greatly disturbed the locals, who saw them as a social plague brought on by the Romanians.¹⁰ Infested with lice and typhus, marginalized Roma posed a health risk to the local communities as well. Occasionally, medical staff from the Crivoi Ozero hospital were dispatched to various villages in the județ where nomadic Roma were settled, such as Krasmenca village, to disinfect against lice.¹¹ The effort was inadequate to the scale of the problem, so their suffering and death rates increased as a result of typhus and related illness.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Crivoi Ozero during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: “Crivoje-Ozero,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivassdam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem:Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 507; “Krivoye Ozero,” in Herman Branover et al., eds., *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Eststvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2005), 5: 204–205; “Krivoye Ozero,” in Shmuel Spec-

tor and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 684; “Krivoye Ozero,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 2006); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003). For a study of Romanian Gypsies during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, vols. 1–2 (Bucharest: Editura Eiciclopedică, 2004).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Crivoi Ozero can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-69-80), DAOO, DAMO, and YVA. At USHMM, records of the DAMO contain correspondence about Jews and Roma between Prefect Isopescu and the Government of Transnistria, as well as between Isopescu and the military prosecutors in charge of Golta's raions: for example, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66 and opis 1, delo 77. Lists and tables of Jews employed in various workshops in Crivoi Ozero may also be found in the same collection, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 460, pp. 192–194; opis 1, delo 373, pp. 19–22. For a table of payments owed to Jews in Crivoi Ozero, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 460, pp. 298–299. For a table of the names of Roma, aged 20 to 40, placed in Crivoi Ozero to work, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 74–79. Additional material on Crivoi Ozero may be found in DAOO, copied to USHMM as RG-31.004M. Published primary sources may be found in Ancel, “The Romanian Campaigns of Mass Murder in Transnistria, 1941–1942,” in Randolph L. Braham ed., *The Destruction of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews during the Antonescu Era* (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1997), pp. 87–133.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-69-80, p. 74.
2. Personal report from Prefect Isopescu of Golta to the administration, concerning the Bogdanovca camp, USHMM, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66, p. 151 (USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/66, p. 151), reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 588.
3. Report of Golta's Prefect, LTC Modest Isopescu, to Governor of Transnistria, Prof. Alexianu on November 13, 1941, USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/66, p. 151 (and verso), republished in Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942, The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, p. 113.
4. GARF, 7021-69-80, p. 76.
5. See “Tabel I al evreilor pe categorii de profesii,” March 23, 1943, issued by praetor Elizeu Rozorea, USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/460, pp. 192–194.
6. See “Tabel nominal model Nr. 1 de utilizarea evreilor din Transnistria, Crivoi-Ozero,” July 8, 1943, USHMM, RG-31.008M/2179/1/373, pp. 19–22.
7. See “Tabel nominal de evreii din Ghettourile Raionului Crivoi-Ozero încadrați pentru salarizare în condițiunile lo-

calnicilor,” USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/460, pp. 298–299 (but see also p. 297).

8. “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

9. See “Tabel nominal de Țigani plasati în raza Sectorului de Jandarmi Crivoi-Ozero în vârstă de 20-40 ani,” USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 74–79.

10. See letter “Guvernământul Civil al Transnistriei, Prefectura Jud. Golta, Serviciul Administrativ, Către Guvernământul Transnistriei, Dir. Ad-ției și Personalului, Odessa, 23 Iunie 1943, Golta,” USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/77, p. 111, reprinted in Achim ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor*, 2: 217–218.

11. See the correspondence between the medical chief of Crivoi Ozero hospital and the medical bureau in Golta, December 1, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO)/2178/1/460, p. 2.

CRUȘINOVCA

Crușinovca (today: Krushynivka, Ukraine) is a township in Berșad raion, Balta județ, in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, located 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Balta on the banks of the Bug River. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 274 Jews lived in the Berșad raion; some evacuated with the retreating Red Army in July 1941. A Romanian census from April 1943 put the total population of Crușinovca at 2,008 persons, of whom there were 1,639 Ukrainians, 67 Jews, and 302 Roma.¹ A subsequent count, in January 1944, listed the resident population of Crușinovca without deportees at 1,658 people (728 men and 930 women), consisting of 1,651 Ukrainians and 7 Russians.²

The German and Romanian armies occupied Berșad in August 1941. The Romanian administration took control of the Berșad area in September 1941, after a short period of German rule during which the local Jews were rounded up and placed in a building on a *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) used for a camp (*lagăr*). The new administration romanianized the town's name from Krushynovka to Crușinovca and placed its affairs under the directorate of the Balta Prefecture. The prefect in the Balta județ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and his deputy prefect was Alexandru Cojocar. The praetor in Berșad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu, who was succeeded by Florin Bunea. The successive acting chiefs of Berșad's gendarmes post (*post de jandarmi*) were Plutonier Dumitru Bulatu, Plutonier Ion Năstase, and Subofițer (noncommissioned officer) Covila Covata Serghie.

In addition to the local Jewish population, Bessarabian and Bukovinian deportees arriving in convoys in Berșad and Obodovca were also redirected and held at Crușinovca (27 kilometers, or 17 miles, northeast of Obodovca) from the winter of 1941 to the spring of 1944. Of the 350 persons imprisoned in the camp, 275 died of hunger and disease (mostly typhus) in the bitterly cold winter of 1941. A census taken between July 1942 and April 1943 put the number of Jews in Crușinovca at 60—13 men, 26 women, and 21 children.³

Evidence is too scant to allow even a basic reconstruction of the prisoners' daily lives in the Crușinovca camp. The chief of the Crușinovca Jewish colony (*colonie*) was Mendel Finștein.⁴ The doctor for the Crușinovca area was Vladimir Borisov, a 24-year-old medical student at the Nalchik College of Medicine.⁵

The late November 1941 typhus outbreak in the area is well documented. Spreading from the Berșad and Obodovca raions to Balta, it affected the local population and gendarmes. In his letter to the Transnistrian Government's Health Service, Prefect Nica explained that the epidemic resulted from the “cruel fate [*soarta crudă*] that has befallen my county [*județul meu*] to have been chosen to shelter in the northern districts [*raioane*] around 30,000 Jews (20,000 in Berșad, and 10,000 in Obodovca), our enemies who in the beginning fought us with arms and now spread illness and death through typhus.”⁶ In the same report he requested that Balta's Jews be sent farther north and that the 2,500 prisoners of war (POWs) slated for Balta be sent elsewhere, so as to avoid spreading the disease.

Nica repeatedly blamed the Jews for what happened to “his” county. Following an inspection visit to Berșad on December 7, 1941—where 275 cases of typhus (11 in Crușinovca) were recorded among the local Ukrainian population—the prefect wrote that “the bringing of Kikes [in Romanian, *Jidani*, a pejorative term for Jew] from Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria in these raions without prior delousing [*deparazițai și desinfecțai*]” caused the typhus outbreak.⁷ Maior Dr. Gheorghe Filipaș and Dr. Vera Decuseară, chiefs of Balta's Medical Service, accompanied the prefect during his visit. Together, they laid out strict orders for combating the epidemic. Isolating Jews from the rest of the population, separating the infected from the healthy population, setting up communal showers, and closing down markets and schools were among the instructions given.

In March 1943, 302 deported Roma were transferred to Crușinovca and were situated on the outskirts of town. They were sent there to work as skilled and unskilled laborers in agriculture and as gatherers of recyclable materials (paper, metal, and animal products). However, many lacked shoes and warm clothes for outside work. In addition, there were no food provisions for them. Lacking basic necessities, they were destined to perish. Seeing that the Roma were not useful to the Berșad raion's economy, Praetor Florin Bunea characterized them as a “burden too heavy to bear” and asked the prefect for further instructions, meanwhile leaving them completely on their own.⁸ The praetor's failed attempts to keep the Roma working in the spring and summer months of 1943 led to onerous measures imposed by the Romanians, and some Roma resorted to running away or thievery to survive. He blamed the Roma for being fugitives, bandits, and lazy, refusing to work the land allotted them and preferring instead to steal from the raion's fields of corn, cabbage, and potatoes.⁹

The reality differed from such stereotypes. Although some Roma resorted to theft and deserted their workplaces, most tried to make a living in Crușinovca. By the autumn of 1943, seeing that their living conditions were likely to remain

extremely harsh and their food insufficient, especially over the approaching winter months, and deprived of their traditional carts and horses (which had been stolen on their arrival in Transnistria) that could offer some hope of employment, Roma sought independent work in other raions. Risking their lives, many tried to reenter Romania or at least to move farther inland to enjoy a better life, only to be rearrested and redeported.

On life in Crușinovca under the occupation, a Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report concluded as follows:

While the Romanian authorities were in the village of Krushinovka, from 25 July 1941 to 14 March 1944, severe, inhumane conditions for civilians were created by representatives of the Romanian government; 275 innocent people died from systematic torture, with those suspected of something being isolated in a special room [camp]. For the camps there have been set aside temporary premises [piggsties] without windows and doors and no heating. Persons in the detention centers [in the camp] were absolutely not allowed any food, [and] not allowed any contact with the surrounding population who tried to help them. People of Jewish nationality were in these camps/prisons.¹⁰

SOURCES Information about the fate of Crușinovca's Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: "Krushinovka," in A. Kruglov, *The Catastrophe of Ukrainian Jews, 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 176; "Krushinovka," in *Rosiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 216; and "Krushinovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 482; for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; for general discussions, see Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (pt. 1) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); for Roma during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Archival sources documenting the fate of Crușinovca's Jews and Roma during the Holocaust are available at USHMMA, in the records of DAOO (RG-31.004) and GARF (RG-22.002M). For population figures in the Berșad raion, including the Jewish population, see RG-31.004, reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, pp. 11, 23–26, 42; reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 675, p. 17; and reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 695, p. 144 (and verso); for members of Balta's Jewish Labor Bureau and

local Jewish committees, see in the same collection reel 16, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso); for the Romanian authorities' formal correspondence regarding the situation of Roma in Crușinovca, see in the same collection reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 672, pp. 20 (and verso), 27 (and verso), and 28 (and verso). A fragmentary ChGK report can be found in RG-22.002M, reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 43.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Tabel de numărul populației ce compune raionul Berșad," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/17/2358/1/711, with page).
2. "Situația populației din Raionul Berșad pe naționalități și categorii," RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/675, n.p.
3. See "Numărul evreilor din Jud. Balta pe raioane," RG-31.004M/17/2358/1/717, p. 42.
4. See "Tabel de membrii Biroului de organiz. a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta și a Comitetelor evreiești din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," RG-31.004M/16/2242/1/1562, p. 72 (and verso).
5. See "Serviciul Sanitar al Județului Balta, Tabel Nominal al Medicilor Incadrați în Organizarea Sanitară a Județului Balta," RG-31.004M/17/2358/1/717, pp. 23–26 (esp. p. 25).
6. See "Prefectura Județului Balta Către Guvernământul Transnistriei, Dir. Sanitară," December 5, 1941, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/695, p. 144 (and verso).
7. See "Proces Verbal, Astăzi 7 Decembrie 1941," RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/695, pp. 142–143.
8. See "Pretura Raionului Berșad Nr. 1293 Către Prefectura Județului Balta, Biroul Muncii," March 18, 1943, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/672, p. 28, reproduced in Achim, *Documente Privind Istoria Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2: 151–152.
9. See "Pretura Raionului Berșad Nr. 5762 Către Prefectura Județului Balta," January 18, 1944, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/672, p. 27, reproduced in Achim, *Documente Privind Istoria Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2: 425–426 (but see also 2: 402–403).
10. ChGK report, April 13, 1945, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 43.

CUCAVCA

Cucavca (pre-1941 and today: Kukavka) is located in the Moghilev-Podolsk raion, Moghilev județ, as part of the Romanian governorship of Transnistria. Cucavca is about 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Moghilev-Podolsk. German forces occupied the village on July 19, 1941. From September 1941 to March 1944, Romanian authorities administered the village after renaming it Cucavca.

A ghetto was created in Cucavca in late 1941 to hold several hundred Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who had been deported to Transnistria by the Romanian authorities. The ghetto's conditions are difficult to reconstruct in the absence of survivors' testimonies or other evidence, but it can be safely assumed that extreme cold, hunger, and typhus epidemics, which ravaged the Moghilev-Podolsk raion in the winter of

1941–1942, took their toll on the Cucavca ghetto as well. It is also highly probable that Jews detained in this ghetto undertook forced labor, as was common in most, if not all, of the Jewish ghettos in Transnistria. Financial records (lists and receipts of money transfers and collections) indicate that money from relatives and friends in Romania reached the ghetto from as early as December 1942.¹ Private funds for deportees continued to arrive well into the spring of 1943.² The funds for deportees in Cucavca were managed by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER). Once sent to Transnistria, it was the responsibility of local Jewish officials to oversee the distribution of these funds. Both the president of the Jewish Council for the Moghilev județ, Ingeneer Siegfried Jägendorf, and the Chief of Payments Bureau, Max Schulsinger, closely monitored money allocation for the Cucavca ghetto in 1942–1943.

The ghetto appears in various lists created by the Romanian administration and CER. In addition to sending out private funds, CER sent financial and material aid in the spring of 1943 to the Jews housed in Cucavca. The number of survivors in the spring of 1943, when life in the ghettos throughout Transnistria improved, was 238 Jews. This figure probably also includes members of the local Ukrainian Jewish population.³ On September 1, 1943, there remained 184 Jews in the ghetto, most likely excluding local Jews.⁴

SOURCES General information about the ghetto of Cucavca can be found in the following publications: “Cucavca,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds. *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-‘ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-‘olam ha-sbeniyah*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); and “Kykabka,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2004), 5: 230. Statistical information can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (București: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources at the USHMM archive contain mostly financial information. For receipts of money transfers, dated 1943, see the following records in USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO): reel 12, fond 2255, opis 1, 1400, n.p.; and opis 1, 1403, n.p.; for a list of financial transfers to Cucavca from late 1942, see reel 10, fond 2253, opis 1, 1179, n.p.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See “Borderou Nr. 259 asupra plăților efectuate în Județul Moghilev în ziua de 22 Decembrie 1942 în orașul Moghilev,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 10, fond 2252, opis 1, 1179, n.p.; USHMMA, RG-31.004M/10/2252/1, 1179, n.p.

2. See “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Kukavka (Jud. Moghilev),”

dated January 27, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/12/2255/1, 1400, n.p.; “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Cucavca (Jud. Moghilev),” March 8, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/12/2255/1, 1400, n.p.; and, finally, “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Kukavca (Jud. Moghilev),” April 17, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/12/2255/1, 1403, n.p.

3. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

4. See “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

CUZMINȚI

Cuzminți, a village in the Balki raion in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kuz'myntsi, Ukraine), is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) north-northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. A handful of Jews lived in Cuzminți in 1939 (census data for this village were not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Cuzminți in the second part of July 1941. After a short period of German military occupation, during which time the local Jews were persecuted, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. However, the presence of German authorities in and around Cuzminți continued well after the transfer of authority.¹ The praetor in the Balki raion was Ștefan Tăutu. The village's name was romanianized from Kuzmintsy to Cuzminți (also occasionally spelled Cuzminț or Cuzmineț), and the raion became known as Balchi.

The Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in the summer of 1941 arrived in Cuzminți in October and November 1941. The majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk, before being marched farther northeast toward the Bug River. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route to the deportation site, adding substantially to their misery. Once in Cuzminți, the deportees were placed on the grounds of the local *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) in its dilapidated structures. It was there that they spent the first winter, which proved deadly for many. In the spring of 1942, the survivors were allowed to move into the village and rent rooms, located along a few streets in an area designated as a ghetto. Multiple families shared a single room.²

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, 175 Jews deported from Romania were living in Cuzminți in October 1942.³ According to an estimate by Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Moghilev Jewish Council, 50 percent of the deported Jews in the Moghilev

district perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus. It can be assumed, then, that the number of Jews in Cuzminți at the end of the 1941 deportations was probably close to 350 or more.⁴ Indeed, it is claimed that, because of extreme cold and hunger, some 250 Jews perished in the ghetto.⁵

Life in the guarded ghetto was filled with restrictions. Leaving the ghetto without permission was severely punished. Wearing the yellow star became obligatory. All able-bodied men were taken to forced labor, in agriculture as well as providing personal services to authorities. Bribery and barter became essential means of survival. The Romanian local administration, which was their employer, owed them payment for their work, but such payment was delayed (if paid at all).⁶

The Cuzminți ghetto housed both Ukrainian Jews deported from other parts of Transnistria and Jews deported from Romania. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 128 (80 from Bessarabia and 48 from Bukovina) Jews in the ghetto.⁷ The repatriation of Jews deported from Romania began at the end of 1943, first with the Jews originally from Dorohoi and the Regat, along with orphaned children and a few other special categories of Jews (for example, former state functionaries, World War I veterans, and widows). A few adult Jews and a few orphaned children from the Cuzminți ghetto qualified for this early return. The rest remained in place. The ghetto was liberated by the Red Army at the end of March 1944. Some Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, whereas others made the dangerous journey back to Romania.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Cuzminți can be found in the following publications: “Cuzminți,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kebilot: Roman-yah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivadam ve-ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 499; “Kuzmintsy,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossphen, 2009), p. 491; “Kuzmintsy,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainiskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 178; “Kuzmintsy,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2004), 5: 229; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene,

1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, “The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive,” *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Cuzminți can be found at USHMM, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). Of special interest is collection GARF (RG-22.002M), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1273, which covers atrocities committed against the Jews in the Bar region of Ukraine. Lists containing the names of some of the Jews held in the Cuzminți ghetto are available at YVA, as DAVINO, fond 2988, opis 3, delo 84, pp. 183–189. VHA holds eight survivor testimonies in three languages (Spanish, Russian, and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #50033, Aleksei Brik testimony, October 10, 1998.
2. VHA #17037, Nunia Coga testimony, July 9, 1996.
3. USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10, Problem 33, vol. 20, p. 281.
4. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265). The deaths of many due to typhus are also attested by the VHA #39976, ‘Evgenyah Grosman testimony, January 13, 1998; and VHA #45991, Sarah Shapir’a testimony, July 6, 1998.
5. “Kuzmintsy,” in Altman, *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 491.
6. VHA #39976.
7. For the September 1943 census, see “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

DEREBCHIN

Derebchin (pre-1941, Derebchin; today: Derebchyn, Ukraine) is located some 58 kilometers (36 miles) north of Iampol in the Șargorod raion, Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. German and Romanian forces occupied the village on July 22, 1941. In the weeks preceding their arrival, some Jews were able to relocate eastward, and others were drafted into the Red Army. After a brief period of German rule, the village’s administration was handed over to the Romanian army, which governed from September 1941 to March 1944 and romanianized its name to Derebchin.

A ghetto was established in the village in the summer of 1941 before the local Jewish population was shot by the German soldiers. On June 30, 1942, some Jews from Bukovina and

Bessarabia, who had been deported to Șargorod by the Romanian authorities as early as November 1941, were resettled in Derebchin.¹ Among the Jewish women moved to the Derebchin ghetto were widows of fallen Jewish soldiers who had served in the Romanian Army in World War I.² Marcus Hofer was the chief of the ghetto.

Most of the Jews in Derebchin worked in a local factory before it was shut down. After the factory's closure, there was no work left for them to do. Private sums of money sent by family and friends that reached those deported to Derebchin were extremely vital to survival, in the absence of work earnings.³ However, only a few received money from home, so most endured long periods of hunger, which led to various illnesses.

According to the records of Fred Șaraga, a key member of the delegation from the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER), which visited Transnistria with the permission of the Romanian government in January 1943, there were 200 Jews in the ghetto at that time. (A figure of 285 Jews appeared in the March 1943 count.⁴) The delegation left a sum of 500 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, German-issued scrip) to start a ghetto canteen where free food was offered to the poorest, the sick, children, and the elderly.⁵

On September 1, 1943, there were 307 people living in the ghetto (3 from Bessarabia and 304 from Bukovina).⁶ On January 20, 1944, the Germans murdered nine Jewish deportees and two local Jews; others were robbed and tortured.⁷ On March 11, another 11 Jews were shot dead.⁸ Later that month, the ghetto was closed.

SOURCES Information about the life and persecution of Jews in Derebchin may be found in the following publications: "Derebchin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 378; "Derebchin," in Gary Mokotoff et al., eds., *Where We Once Walked: A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002), p. 77; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee; published in association with USHMM, 2000). Information about the massacre of Derebchin's Jews in the summer of 1941 is available at www.iajsjewishcemeteryproject.org/ukraine/derebchin.html. This information needs further corroboration.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Derebchin can be found in the following archive: GARF (7021-54-1256). USHMM holds the records of DAOO with dispositions of payments for Jews from the government's account: RG-31.004M, reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1504, n.p.; in the same records, a list of Jewish widows of Romania's battles during World War I deported to Derebchin may also be found in

reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 292. Fred Șaraga's report on Derebchin may be consulted at USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 131–132.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See entry "30 Iunie 1942," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 276.
2. See "Tabel nominal de evreicele, care sunt văduve de războiu, aflate în ghetourile din raza acestei legiuni," USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 292 (USHMM, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, p. 292).
3. See list "Cu onoare vă rugăm să binevoiți a dispune să se plătească în contul Guvernământului, următoarele sume în R.K.K.S, evreilor indicați mai jos și să ni se trimită chitanțele de predarea sumelor, pentru a se ordona suma pe seama acelei Prefecturi și da descărcare," dated May 25, 1942, USHMM, RG-31.004M/5/2242/1/1504, n.p.
4. See "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.
5. See Fred Șaraga's final report, "Raportul Oficial al Comisiunii Evreiești care a fost în Transnistria," USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 131–132.
6. "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.
7. See entry "20 Ianuarie 1944," in *ibid.*, 3b: 305.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1256, p. 111.

DJURIN

Djurin (today: Dzhuryn, Ukraine), a village in Șargorod raion, Moghilev județ, in the northwestern area of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) north of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,027 Jews living in Djurin, representing almost 19 percent of the population.

German forces occupied the village on July 22, 1941, one month after the joint German-Romanian invasion of the USSR. During the intervening time, a few Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service had been drafted into the Red Army. Around 800 Jews remained under the occupation.

In the first few days of the war, Djurin was subjected to bombardment, in which about a dozen people were wounded or killed. The synagogue was damaged as well. During this time the village peasants robbed a warehouse and Jewish shops in the village. Immediately after the German occupation of the village, the Jews were ordered to mark their homes with the Star of David and to wear a special armband. On the holiday of Rosh Hashanah (or possibly on Yom Kippur)—that is, at some point in late September 1941—the Germans and Romanians, together with members of the Ukrainian police, burst into the synagogue and beat those who were praying.

The Romanian administration took control of Djurin in the fall of 1941, romanianizing the name of the village from Dzhurin to Djurin. It established a ghetto incorporating Jewish-owned houses from the upper part of the village. Around 3,500 Jews were deported to Djurin from Bukovina (from places such as Vizhnitsa, Khotin, Radauts, and Suchava), as well as from small Bessarabian towns near Khotin. Among those deported was Rabbi Barukh Khager of Vizhnitsa. Following local Rabbi Gershel Koralnik's instructions, the Jews of Djurin took the deportees into their homes; around 1,000 people, for whom there were not enough rooms, were housed in the synagogue and in people's barns and warehouses. Bukovinian Jews were generally more prosperous and well educated than the local Jews. Around 120 of the wealthier Bukovinian families settled outside the ghetto in private homes, after bribing the occupation leadership. The first year in Djurin was very difficult; everyone, wealthy or not, fought against hunger, extreme cold in the winter of 1941, and poor sanitary conditions. Some did not survive.

A Jewish Council for Djurin was organized in the spring of 1942. Max Rosenstrauch, an attorney from Suchava (a city in southern Bukovina), was appointed its chairman. His deputy—and the real manager of the ghetto—was Moses Katz. The Council imposed taxes on income derived by Jews from crafts and trade, as well as on private monies received from Romania. A Jewish police force of 20 men was formed, along with a court. The ghetto founded a hospital with 56 beds, a staff of 2 doctors and 3 nurses, a medical center for consultations, and a pharmacy. Resettled Jewish doctors ran the hospital, and their skilled work substantially lowered the mortality rate from the typhus epidemic that broke out in the ghetto in 1942. Still, in the absence of medication, typhus claimed 400 lives.

With the help of bribes, the ghetto leaders softened many restrictions and even avoided further deportations to the Bug. A food kitchen for the poor, started by Rabbi Barukh Hager, functioned in the ghetto, serving one warm meal each day.

The Romanian authorities deployed Djurin's Jews in agriculture and road building. In the summer of 1942, some 500 Jews worked in the fields, for which they were entitled to receive 20 train wagons of grains; instead they received only one wagon. From June to September 1942, they also worked on paving the Murafa-Iaroshinca Road. Until February 1943, they also undertook various public works. Payment received, in the form of barley and peas, represented hardly 20 percent of what they were owed.¹ Some fortunate families received money and packages (clothes, shoes, and other personal items) from friends and family remaining behind in Romania, which aided in their survival.² However, packages were occasionally intercepted, and some goods were stolen from them.³

Between May and September 1943, four former students who had been working in the ghetto hospital published a handwritten newspaper, *Courier*, in Romanian (*Curier*) and German (*Kurier*). When the occupation authorities learned about this, the Jewish Council quickly ordered the publication to cease.

In January 1943, a delegation from the Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Comis-*

iunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România, CER) visited the ghetto in Djurin, as well as ghettos in other localities in Transnistria. The delegation found 4,050 Jews in the ghetto: 3,053 Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews, and 997 Ukrainian Jews. (A smaller number of 2,930 Jews was provided in the March 1943 count; the discrepancy may reflect a change in the number of Bessarabian and Bukovinian deportees only).⁴ There were also 249 orphan children, of whom 51 children had lost both parents, 155 were without fathers, and 43 were without mothers. No orphanage was formed; instead the orphans were housed with families that received aid in exchange for caring for them. The delegation donated a sum of 5,000 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, German-issued scrip) to support social projects.⁵

In May 1943, 150 Jews from Djurin were sent away to work on the bridge across the Bug River at Trihati.⁶ Among them were sick people, suffering from various diseases, such as tuberculosis and epilepsy.⁷ They worked 14 to 15 hours per day, receiving only one meal per day and 200 grams of bread as payment.

On September 1, 1943, the ghetto held 2,871 Jews (381 from Bessarabia and 2,490 from Bukovina), not counting the local Jews.⁸

The Red Army liberated Djurin on March 19, 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Djurin during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Martin Hass, "Djurin," in Hugo Gold, ed., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina* (Tel Aviv: "Olamenu," 1962), p. 76; "Djurin," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Roman-yah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivas-dam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 421; Wulf Rosenstock, "Die Chronik von Dschurin: Aufzeichnungen aus einem rumänisch-deutschen Lager," *DHV* (1998): 40–86; "Dzhurin," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 351; and "Dzhurin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 381; for Soviet census data, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; for other historical information, see Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Djurin can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1256); DAVINO; DAOO (r2255-1-1180, 1359, 1360, 1362–

1366, 1369–1372, 1374–1377, 1400, 1403, 1407, 1408, 1412; r2264-1-8, 15); and YVA. At USHMMA, records of private funds and packages sent from Romania to friends and relatives deported to Djurin can be found in RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 118; reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1494, p. 170; and reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 130. For a list of ill Jews from Djurin assigned to bridge building in Trihati across the Bug River, see in the same collection reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1502, p. 244. Fred Șaraga's report on Djurin can be found at USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 130–131. Mirjam Korber's diary, reflecting her experience as a young Romanian Jew deported to Djurin, is available at USHMMA, Acc. No. 2010.93.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See "Biroul Muncii Evreești al Raionului Șargorod, Situația zilelor de muncă prestată de coloniile evreești ale Raionului (orașului) Șargorod, până la 30 Aprilie 1943 (plătite în alimente la valoarea de 1-2 RKKS de persoană pe zi)," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 381–382.

2. For money, see "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Djurin (jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 118; and "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Djurin (jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1494, p. 170 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1494/170); for parcels, see "Tabel nominal asupra predării efectelor trimise de către Oficiul Județean al Evreilor Cernăuți pentru evreii din Djurin cu borderoul Nr. 4," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 130 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15/130).

3. See legal declaration of goods found missing from packages made between the chief of Djurin ghetto and the chief of Gendarme's local office: "Proces Verbal," dated November 19, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/8/108–109.

4. See "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

5. See Fred Șaraga's final report, "Raportul Oficial al Comisiunii Evreiești care a fost în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 130–131.

6. See entry "7 Mai 1943," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 294.

7. See "Firma de Constructii in Beton S.A., Podul Bug de la Trichaty, Lucratorii evrei inapți pentru lucru," dated August 11, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1502/244.

8. "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

DOAGA

Doaga is a village in the Putna județ (today: Vrancea județ), in the province of Moldavia, in eastern Romania near the Siret River. It is 181 kilometers (113 miles) northeast of Bucharest, 150 kilometers (93 miles) south of Iași, and 180 kilometers (112 miles) southwest of Chișinău. Administered by the 5th Pioneer

Regiment and later the 6th Roads Battalion, the camp was subsequently incorporated into the 1st Rear Area Command. A complement of 32 officers, 41 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 501 soldiers was assigned to the camp.¹ The camp's administrative center was originally based near the camp, in Băltăreți village (today: this area is near or incorporated into the village of Satu Nou). Officers (and occasionally Jewish medical staff) were quartered in the nearby commune of Cosmești.

A labor camp for Jews existed in Doaga from late 1940 or early 1941. The first Jewish forced laborers built the camp from scratch, after digging partially in-ground huts as shelter.² Over the next months, a number of large barracks—25 meters (82 feet) long and designed to hold 100 people—were built, in addition to storage halls and lavatories. The barracks were overcrowded, poorly lit, very drafty, and unhygienic. Periodically, new contingents of freshly drafted laborers arrived that exceeded the camp's capacity, and so they had to be placed outside the camp in barracks belonging to other institutions. This situation persisted well into 1944.³ Workers slept in their own clothes on the ground, atop straw and paper covered with blankets; later on, some slept on wooden, tiered beds. In addition to a barbed-wire fence surrounding the camp, elevated watchtowers marked the camp's corners. Machine guns and mobile searchlights were mounted on each watchtower. A group of armed soldiers guarded the camp and patrolled its fences, preventing anyone from approaching the fence. Near the camp for Jews was another camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). This camp was heavily guarded by Ukrainian soldiers dressed in German uniforms and was run completely by the German authorities.

The Jews were brought to the Doaga camp from all over the Old Kingdom of Romania. The number of Jews in the camp varied greatly over the course of its existence. Between 1940 and 1941, thousands of Jews stayed temporarily in the camp on their way to labor camps belonging to other military and civilian institutions. Estimates for this period are as high as 20,000 or 25,000 Jews, but much smaller numbers, somewhere in the region of 2,500, were typical for the later period from 1942 to 1944.⁴ Because of the hard labor involved, the Doaga camp deployed only able-bodied men between the ages of 20 and 40. According to the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), there were 1,697 Jews in the camp on August 23, 1944, but the number fluctuated, as in previous years. The forced laborers included professionals and both skilled (*meseriași*) and unskilled (*salabori*) laborers.⁵

The camp internees worked in a concrete plant in Doaga that exploited the Siret Valley's rich sandy deposits. The association with the factory gave Doaga its alternative camp name, the Concrete Beams Brigade (*Detășamentul de Grinzi Beton*). Jews and Soviet POWs provided cheap labor, producing prefabricated concrete products needed for the war effort. Freight trains transported raw materials and products to and from Doaga. On these trains' arrivals, the forced laborers were immediately dispatched, day or night, to unload or load them.

The camp had a small infirmary to which several Jews with medical training were assigned. Large ovens existed for delousing, but their effectiveness in combating lice was reduced because most laborers lacked a second change of clothes and the barracks were not disinfected. Fortunately there were no deaths from epidemics. However, fatal work accidents were common.⁶

The labor was rough: mixing, carrying, and pouring cement; loading, unloading, and moving heavy concrete beams and cement bags; and gathering and transporting gravel from the Siret River. Those failing to meet work quotas received lashes with a leather belt on their backs. The Jewish forced laborers were routinely threatened with beating and insulted to make them work faster.⁷ A sergeant named Codrescu was notorious for hitting forced laborers with a shovel. Work began at 6:00 A.M. and lasted nine hours, with extended hours in summer (and occasional night shifts), six days a week. Jewish cooks prepared the forced laborers' rations, which consisted of soup and bread or cornmeal once a day. In 1944, these rations were supplemented by tea and a second slice of bread in the morning and evening. Additional supplies from personal funds, local Jewish relief offices, and, occasionally, friendly villagers eased the usual hunger.

Some cultural life existed in the camp. An orchestra consisting of a few instruments (violin, guitar, accordion, and flute) performed music. The Jews composed songs parodying the forced laborers' experience at Doaga: "In Doaga, in Doaga we have our beating / Yet beating from heaven is broken / The guard lashes your bottom / If you're caught lazing around / [second stanza] Doaga, Doaga what a site! / I work without ceasing, but do not despair / Should I one day a baron become / The Concrete Beams Brigade / I shall never forget."⁸ Other songs spoke of the Jews' resilience: "We are Jewish workers, hoivei, hoivei / And we work like lions, hoivei, hoivei."⁹ The Jews also quietly observed the High Holidays.

Escapes occurred, but such attempts always carried the risk of being shot. Often a fugitive would board a freight train at Doaga and hide until reaching the nearest town or city, such as Focșani or Galați. After reaching an outside contact and resting a short while, he would sneak back to camp, bringing what he got from the outside, such as money or letters. If caught reentering, the fugitive faced 25 lashes on his naked buttocks. Although painful and humiliating, it was preferable to being listed as a deserter, which brought the risk of court-martial.¹⁰

In February 1944, the MSM issued recruitment instructions that targeted new groups of Jews for forced labor in the Doaga camp: younger adults (18 to 19 years old), Jews from among those whose permits had been previously canceled by a review commission, and others fit only for light work. Army recruitment centers in Covurlui, Tecuci, Putna, Tutova, Vaslui, and Fălciu, and even as far away as Bucharest, drafted Jews for the Doaga camp. The new Jews were housed in isolated buildings or huts, away from locals, and were instructed to bring with them warm clothes, a blanket, a pillow, a bowl, and a spoon. Regarding compensation, MSM's order was typically

vague: "the rights (payment) of the Jews will be covered through the care of the superior directorate and the Corps Command, according to future orders that will be issued."¹¹ This practice translated either into nonpayment or payment of an insignificant amount (2 lei per day).

On August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides and entered the war against Nazi Germany and its allies, the Doaga camp officers fled, leaving a few soldiers at their posts. Some camp authorities had tacitly encouraged their Jewish assistants to escape even earlier, but most of the Jews walked out when the officers fled.¹² A few days later, amid bombing raids, the Red Army freed the remaining forced laborers at Doaga. In the ensuing chaos, some workers seized a low-ranking camp official. In survivor testimony, the identity and fate of that official remain unclear.¹³

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Doaga camp are Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jewish forced laborers held in the Doaga camp are available at USHMM, records AMAN (RG-25.003M). Graphic representation of the national system of forced labor for Jews is available as RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86. VHA contains 12 testimonies (in five languages) from Jewish survivors of the Doaga camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. General overview of labor camps for Jews on August 23, 1944: "Situația generală a detașamentelor de evrei," USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 272, file 4575, p. 376.

2. VHA #16852, Allen Feig testimony, June 30, 1996.

3. See the report following the camp inspection by General de brigadă Gheorge Mosiu, chief of MSM, CGE, July 3, 1944, USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 311, file 801, pp. 188 (and verso).

4. VHA #16852.

5. "Situația generală a detașamentelor de evrei," August 23, 1944, USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 272, file 4575, p. 376. Additional figures (and name lists) derived from databases assembled by army territorial centers surrounding Doaga are scattered among various archival collections. See, for instance, RG-25.003M, reel 311, file 801, pp. 126; file 1181, pp. 84, 88 (name list); reel 312, file 1188, pp. 201–206, 265; file 1219, p. 46 (name list), 122; file 1223, p. 46.

6. See interview with Doaga camp survivor, Ștefan Ardelean, November 6, 2008, available at www.inshr-ew.ro/media/interviuri/interviu-ardenean-stefan.

7. VHA #50196, Bica Bercovici testimony, September 22, 1999.

8. VHA #34710, Israel Feldman testimony, October 28, 1997.

9. VHA #50196.
10. VHA #34710; and VHA #16852.
11. See retransmitted excerpts from MSM Order No. 439507, February 18, 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 311, file 801, pp. 149–150.
12. VHA #13075, Hugo Garin testimony, March 12, 1996; and VHA #21884, Lucian Herdan Seuger testimony, November 18, 1996.
13. USHMMA, RG-50.030*0071, William Farkas testimony, April 27, 1990.

DOMANOVCA

Domanovca, the Domanovca raion capital in the Golta județ (pre-1941: Domanevka; today: Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated near the Bug River. It is located 131 kilometers (81 miles) north of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 369 Jews living in Domanovca, representing 16.9 percent of the township's population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Domanovca on August 5, 1941, and the town was then annexed to Romania's part of Transnistria in September 1941. The Romanian civil administration took over in October 1941, with the appointment of gendarme Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu as Golta's prefect. The town's name was romanianized as Domanovca (variously, Domanivca and Domaniovca). Isopescu appointed former Siguranța (Romanian Secret Police) officer Aristide Pădure as deputy in charge of Jewish affairs; Nicolae S. Ursu succeeded Pădure. Căpitan Romulus Ambruș commanded Golta's Gendarmes Legion. Corneliu Ciureanu headed Golta's labor deployment, and Locotenent Ion Ștefănescu was Golta's police chief. Domanovca's police chief was Mihail Kazachevici. Vasile Mănescu was Domanovca's praetor, whereas Locotenent Petre Găletaru was Domanovca's gendarme commander. The decisions of these functionaries directly affected the treatment of the Jews and Roma (Gypsies) in Golta's raions.

After the mistreatment of the local Ukrainian Jewish population by the German authorities, convoys of deported Jews from Bessarabia (including Chișinău) and southern Transnistria (including Odessa) streamed into Domanovca starting in late October and early November 1941. Many had been robbed and abused en route by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian and German militias. A temporary camp (*lagăr*) was created in Domanovca out of the facilities (cowsheds) of several impoverished *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* (collective state farms). In addition, houses on Lenin Street, the local synagogue, and several other buildings held Jews. Although the area was not fenced in, Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen stood guard. By early December 1941, the camp exceeded its capacity many times over. Overcrowding spawned typhus and dysentery that, coupled with severe malnutrition and cold temperatures, killed many Jews and endangered locals and military personnel. On January 10, 1942, on the pretext of containing epidemics and protecting the army against infection, Isopescu ordered the

murder of the 18,000 Jews held at the Domanovca camp, an order forwarded by Pădure to Găletaru and Kazachevici for implementation. The victims were first robbed of their valuables. Then they were shot in groups of 200 or more, a process which lasted until March 18, 1942. The bodies were burned and buried in a ravine near the Bug River, a few kilometers from the camp.

Subsequent Jewish convoys from Romania and Transnistria arrived in Domanovca. The Jewish camp's leaders set aside a small building for an orphanage and another for a prison. From mid-1942 to mid-1943, able-bodied and skilled Jews worked on several raion *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*.¹ There were 261 Jewish heads of household in the Domanovca gendarmes sector and 67 Jews "ready for work" (*apti pentru muncă*) in August 1943.²

Isopescu laid down strict "instructions" for Jewish labor deployment, ordering all Jews to display the Star of David on their front and back.³ Jewish workers received daily rations in exchange for German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS), according to Ordinance 23 of November 11, 1941.⁴ Given the typhus threat, the Romanian administration deployed local and Romanian Jewish medical teams to control the disease.⁵ A Domanovca hospital where Jewish doctors worked deloused local non-Jews.⁶

The interests of Golta's Jews were represented by the Jewish Leadership Committee for all Jews in the Golta județ (*Comitetul de conducere al tuturor evreilor in Județul Golta*). Its members were Alfred Follender, Avram Creștinu, Aladar Brauch, Avram Lupescu, and Ițic Cohn. With the exception of Cohn, the same leaders also formed the county's Jewish labor committee (to which Aldred Blumental was added).⁷ Some of Domanovca's Jews received private aid from family members still in Romania.⁸ The Romanian Red Cross delivered mail to Domanovca's Jewish committee in November 1943.⁹

In August 1942, more than 8,000 deported Roma from Romania were placed in the Domanovca raion. Of these, 478 were placed in Domanovca township, of which 191 were able-bodied Roma between 20 and 40 years of age.¹⁰ Living conditions and food allocations deteriorated in the summer of 1943, because the Romanian authorities lacked the funds and means to feed the deportees, leading to many deaths from starvation and disease. Although some Roma worked as unskilled agricultural laborers, unemployment was rampant. Without a constant source of income (even those working waited months for pay), many Roma fled or resorted to theft and fraud. Among Domanovca's Jewish and Roma deportees were decorated and/or wounded veterans of World War I; in some cases, family members of Roma deportees were active and decorated soldiers fighting at that time on the Eastern Front.¹¹

According to the September 1943 count, there were 124 Jews in Domanovca (120 from Bessarabia and 4 from Bukovina), not counting local Jews.¹² Domanovca was liberated in March 1944.

In April and May 1945, the People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried Isopescu, Pădure, Mănescu, Ambruș, and Golta's Jewish

leader Creștinu for crimes against Jews, Roma, and the local population. All were sentenced to many years of hard labor.¹³

SOURCES Information about the fate of Domanovca's Jews and Roma can be found in the following publications: "Domanevka," 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: 321; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004). For the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), 53.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Domanovca's Jews and Roma can be found in microform at USHMM, from collections at DAOO (RG-31.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and DAMO (RG-31.008M). For lists of deported Jews living and working in Domanovca, see RG-31.008M, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 32, 41–42, 111–113; for Isopescu's instructions regarding the treatment of Jews in Golta, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, p. 12; for names of Jewish leaders in Golta, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, p. 103, and delo 368, p. 4; for deported Roma living and working in Domanovca, see in the same collection fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 1–4, 80–83; for decorated and veteran Jews and Roma interned in Domanovca camp, see in the same collection, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 368, pp. 188, 210; and in RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1921, pp. 294–295. For the indictment and sentencing of members of the Romanian administration and their collaborators in Golta, see RG-25.004M, reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 95, 115–119; and in the same collection reel 95, file 20372, vol. 1, pp. 2–3.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Tabel de evreii între vârsta de 20 și 40 de ani—Domaniovca," USHMM, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 111–113 (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 111–113).

2. "Tabel nominal de evreii pe cap de familie de pe raza sectorului Jand. Domanovca," USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 41–42 (and verso; see also p. 40); and "Tabel nominal de evreii apti pentru muncă din Transnistria, Basarabia și Bucovina din raza Sect. Jand. Domanovca," USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, p. 32 (and verso).

3. "Instrucțiuni referitor la reglementarea muncii, locuinței și circulației jidanilor din ghetourile orașului Golta," secret communication, March 29, 1943, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, p. 12 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2178/1/77, p. 12).

4. "Pretura Raionului Domanovca către Prefectura Jud. Golta, Serviciul Finanțe," April–May 1943, USHMM, RG-31.004M/10/2255/1/1150, pp. 46, 61; for pay increases, see the official exchange between Golta's City Hall and Golta's Prefecture office, September 3, 1943, USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, p. 73.

5. "Tabel [de] Medici Evrei Disponibili în Județul Golta," USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, p. 184 (and verso, document page).

6. USHMM, RG-31.004M/2178/1/423, p. 3.

7. "Tabel nominal al evreilor specialiști repartizați la Comitetul de conducere al tuturor evreilor în Jud. Golta," USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/77, p. 103; and Avram Creștinu's and Alfred Follender's joint letter addressed to Golta's Gendarmes' Commandant, USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, p. 4.

8. "Tabel de remiterile făcute Evreilor din Romania evacuați în Transnistria și aflați la Domaniovca," USHMM, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1359, p. 503; see also RG-31.008M/2178/1/457, pp. 245, 246, 251.

9. USHMM, "Comitetul Evreesc Domanovca," RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, pp. 171–172.

10. "Tabel nominal de țigani pe familii de pe raza sectorului Domanovca," USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 1–4; "Tabel nominal de țigani plasați în raza Sectorului Jandarmi Domanovca în vârstă de 20–40 ani," USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 80–83.

11. "Evrei invalizi și decorați din războaiele, pensionarii și funcționari de Stat," USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, p. 188, and "Tabel nominal de evreii invalizi, văduve, clasați pentru merite speciale sau fapte de arme din războiul României," USHMM, RG-31.008M/2178/1/368, p. 210 (also p. 137); for Roma, see Caporal Dumitru Neagu's letter, reprinted in Achim, *Documente Privind Istoria Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 1: 264–265, and "Tablou de tiganii mobilizați și invalizi de razboi, a caror familii au fost evacuate în Transnistria," USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1921, pp. 294–295.

12. "Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina—Situția la 1 Septembrie 1943," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

13. "Actul de Acuzare," USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 95, 115–119 (USHMM, RG-25.004M/19/40011/2, pp. 115–119); and USHMM, RG-25.004M/95/20372/1, pp. 2–3.

DORNEȘTI AND CALAFAT/LPRS NO. 6

Dornești, a small town in the Radauți județ, in northeastern Romania (today: Dornești, Suceava județ), is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) south of Cernăuți and 143 kilometers (89 miles) northwest of Iași.

After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jewish population of Dornești,

numbering between 100 and 120 people, was moved to Radăuți and deported to Transnistria in July 1941. A camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was established in Dornești at the beginning of August 1941 or shortly thereafter. It was formally known as prisoner camp LPRS No. 6 Dornești (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici Nr. 6, Dornești*). The camp fell under the authority of the IV Territorial Command and was run by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM).

Little information has survived about the camp conditions. It can be estimated that very soon after it was established, the number of Soviet POWs in the Dornești camp reached 1,000 people, although by the late spring of 1942, it held close to 3,752 prisoners.¹ In August 1941, some 680 prisoners were transported from the camp by train to the POW camp at Țândărei near Giurgeni (Ialomița județ), in the southern part of Romania, the forerunner of LPRS No. 1 Slobozia. Forty soldiers escorted the prisoners, commanded by Sublocotenent Aristide Cocarla from the Dornești camp. The prisoners were sent to Țândărei for rail work.²

Some of the remaining prisoners in the Dornești camp performed seasonal work in various localities in the region. A typhus epidemic erupted at the Dornești camp in November 1941, causing multiple fatalities over the next few months. The epidemic was eventually controlled when the prisoners were deloused on a steambath train that arrived at the Dornești train station. Also in November 1941, Căpitan Zaharie Fărtăi, an Orthodox military priest attached to the Radăuți military garrison, visited the camp offering religious services and spiritual assistance to the prisoners.³

By the fall of 1942 the entire camp was moved to Calafat in the Dolj județ, in the southern part of Romania. Calafat is on the Danube River, 490 kilometers (305 miles) southwest of Dornești and 250 kilometers (155 miles) southwest of Bucharest. The move was part of MSM's strategic plan in March 1942 to amass large numbers of Soviet prisoners, some 13,500 of the 20,000 held in camps at that point, in the fertile regions of the Regat to provide cheap agricultural labor for state-owned and private farms and estates; the remaining prisoners were to be allocated for rail and road building, forestry, and mining.⁴ After the move to Calafat, the Dornești camp shut down, and LPRS No. 6 Calafat was created. Colonel Popovici commanded the Calafat camp, which fell within the jurisdiction of the I Territorial Command.

The living conditions inside the Calafat camp were difficult for the Soviet POWs, particularly in 1942 and 1943. The lack of hygiene, adequate food, and appropriate shelter, as well as the absence of real medical attention, including treatment for battle wounds, all led to the death of 397 prisoners (3 officers, 3 NCOs, and 391 troops).⁵ Especially difficult were the winter months of 1942, when the mortality rate peaked. The dead were buried in the Calafat cemetery (as they had been in the Dornești cemetery earlier). A simple Orthodox chapel was built inside the camp, where religious services were organized periodically by a priest who spoke Russian. Soviet officers (colonels, majors, captains, lieuten-

ants) from among the prisoners, who were already housed apart from regular troops, were later moved from the Calafat camp to LPRS No. 17 Timișoara, probably because of the latter camp's better facilities.

According to MSM's regulations, all hired prisoners were to be fed and provided with soap within a budget allocation similar to that provided to an active soldier in the Romanian Army. The responsibility for these provisions and for paying a small sum for each day of work rested with employers, whether they were state-owned companies or factories, the army, or a private enterprise. Whether and how much was paid to the Soviet POWs from the Calafat camp working in agriculture in the Dolj județ is unknown.

At the request of the governors of Bessarabia and Bukovina, the prisoners originally from those provinces were released from the camp beginning in 1942; their numbers in the Calafat camp reached into the hundreds.⁶ In smaller numbers, additional groups of prisoners were released from the camp (as well as from all other camps for Soviet POWs in Romania), namely the terminally ill, those unable to work, or officers originally from Romanian-occupied Transnistria. In 1944, among the medical staff allocated to the Calafat camp were two Jewish doctors.⁷

After August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in the war, the prisoners were transported to the Slobozia Camp No. 1 for Soviet POWs. This move was done to prevent the prisoners from falling into the hands of the Wehrmacht. The prisoners were handed over to the Soviet authorities in the High Allied Command (*Înaltul Comandament Aliat*) in September 1944. According to a statistical report prepared by the Prisoner Section in the Romanian War Ministry for the Allied Control Commission in November 1944, the number of prisoners in the Calafat camp in August 1944 was 4,635. These prisoners were handed over without formalities, the Soviet authorities apparently refusing to sign for them. The Calafat camp was closed in September 1944.

SOURCES For further information about the fate of the Soviet POWs held in the Dornești and Calafat camps (LPRS No. 6), see Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945): Dicționar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), especially pp. 329–341; Gheorghe Nicolescu et al., *Preoți în Tranșee, 1941–1944* (Bucharest: Europa Nova, 1998); Vasile Popa, “Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1945),” available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; and Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Șiperco, “1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România . . . și Crucea Roșie Internațională,” *MagIs* 2 (1997): 7–16; on prisoner repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, “Repatrierea Prizonierilor Aparținând Națiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944,” available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituire-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the involvement of the ICRC and CRR in assisting Soviet POWs in Romania, see Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americiani și sovietici*,

deportații evrei din Transnistria și emigrarea evreilor (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Dornești and Calafat camps (LPRS No. 6) are available at USHMMA, collection AMAN (RG-25.003M). Collection RG-38.001M (Sss, fond 6), contains the postwar trial and conviction of a former Soviet POW held in the Calafat camp (as well as in other camps in Romania, such as Independența, Slobozia, and Timișoara). Further evidence about the two camps can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003 and opis 977528; and in RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, which contains prisoner registration forms or death certificates. VHA contains one testimony by Semen Shpits (in Russian), a former Soviet POW from the Calafat camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. The names of 3,752 Soviet prisoners in the Dornești camp appear in a searchable database based on Soviet archives (RGVA, TsAMO) at www.obd-memorial.ru/.

2. Telegram, August 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), Fond Command Railway Detachments, file 21, pp. 31–32.

3. See his report to ICM, reprinted in Nicolescu et al., *Preoți în Tranșee*, p. 1 (doc. 1).

4. See MSM's prisoner distribution plan for labor, March 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMMC), reel 6, file 174, p. 99.

5. List of deceased Soviet soldiers in Romanian camps, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2. Because the list does not appear to distinguish between Dornești and Calafat, it is possible that the figure given includes the prisoners who died in Dornești.

6. See the name lists of camp prisoners released, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 129, pp. 2105, 2162, 2166.

7. List of Jews allocated to forced labor in exterior detachments, May 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 312, file 1223, p. 46.

DOROHOI

The seat of the Dorohoi județ, the city of Dorohoi is in the northeastern part of Romania (today: Botoșani județ). Located along the Jijia River, it is 126 kilometers (78 miles) northwest of Iași and 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Cernăuți. According to the Romanian census of April 6, 1941, the Dorohoi județ had a Jewish population of 12,764 (of a total population of 239,999), whereas the city itself had 5,389 Jews (of a total population of 15,555). From 1941 to 1944, the city and județ were the site of small, temporary detention centers for Jews in preparation for their deportation to Transnistria.

In 1938, the Dorohoi județ was attached to the Bukovina province, having historically belonged to the Old Kingdom of Romania. The governor of Bukovina was General de divizie Corneliu Calotescu (1941–1942), who was succeeded by General de corp de armată Cornel Drăgălina (1943–1944). The Dorohoi prefect was Colonel Ion Barcan, and Dorohoi's mayor was Ion Pascu. The commandant of the Dorohoi Legion of

Gendarmes was Maior Victor Isăceanu. The chiefs of the Dorohoi police were Gheorghe Pamfil and Mircea Luță, both commissars.

Following the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, the withdrawal of the Romanian armies from Bessarabia and Bukovina in June 1940 triggered a pogrom against the Jews of Dorohoi. The Jews were accused of allegedly harassing and even shooting at the retreating Romanian garrisons. The first set of reprisals occurred on July 1, 1940, a day after the arrival of Romanian troops in the city's vicinity. Fifty-three dead bodies were counted, in addition to many wounded civilians and those whose bodies were buried immediately after being murdered; many Jewish properties and business were plundered by soldiers and civilians alike.¹

In June 1941, just days before the German-Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, the Romanian Interior Ministry transmitted General Ion Antonescu's order that all Jewish men aged 16 to 60 living in rural localities between the Siret and Prut Rivers be interned in the Târgu Jiu concentration camp; the elderly, women, and children were to be relocated to the main city in the județ. This dire measure was applied, and even surpassed, in the Dorohoi județ. Consequently, and contrary to the ministerial ordinance, almost all the men (ages 18 to 60) from Dorohoi city, including their Jewish leaders, were deported to the concentration camps in Târgu Jiu and Craiova. Furthermore, all the Jews (men, women, and children) from the smaller towns of Darabani and Siret in Dorohoi județ, approximately 3,800 Jews in total, were deported to the same camps: men went to Târgu Jiu and Craiova, whereas women and children were sent to the Calafat camp. This, too, was done in breach of the named ordinance. Finally, all the Jews from the smaller towns of Săveni, Mihăileni, and Rădăuți-Prut in the Dorohoi județ, approximately 4,000 people, were deported as follows: most of the men were transported to the Târgu Jiu camp, whereas some men and all the women and children were taken to the city of Dorohoi. The transports to the camps in southern Romania, as well as the treatment of the Jews interned therein, were heartless, involving poor and crowded living conditions, inadequate meals, and, when introduced, demanding labor quotas.²

The Jews concentrated in the city of Dorohoi—local residents as well as others from the județ's rural communities—in late June and early July 1941 were not placed in a camp or a ghetto as such. Instead they were crammed into a few buildings (the synagogue, school, hospital, and elderly home) belonging to the local Jewish community. In addition, some Jews moved in with their relatives, whereas others occupied whatever vacated apartments they could find.³

A strict regime was imposed on all the Jews living in the city, the old as well as the new residents. They were not permitted to leave their houses except for only one hour (from 8 to 9 A.M.) during daylight hours. At night, a curfew between 8 P.M. to 7 A.M. forbade the Jews to be out between those hours. A month later, in August 1941, the Romanian Army General Headquarters (*Marele Cartier General*, MCG) relayed the presidency of the Council of Ministers' decision that all

Jews in Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Bukovina had to wear a yellow star.⁴ The Dorohoi Jewish community took on itself the responsibility to provide some relief for the displaced Jews. This gesture was done at great sacrifice, because most of the newly arrived Jews had very few possessions with them, having left their own homes in a rush and being permitted to take with them only a rucksack.

Some of the Jewish men who were sent to the Târgu Jiu and Craiova camps returned to Dorohoi city in late August or early September 1941; others were retained for forced labor in other districts until late November or early December. In November 1941, while these workers were away, deportations to Transnistria from Dorohoi began. The first to be deported were the rural Jews from the județ. Numbering somewhere between 2,000 and 3,000 people, they left on November 7. Subsequent transports on November 10 and 14 (two transports on the latter day) carried off the city's Jews and those remaining from other localities. In all, 9,367 Jews were deported that November.⁵ All transports left from the Dorohoi railroad station, in the direction of Atachi-Moghilev-Podolsk, the main crossing point into Transnistria. Before their departure, the Jews were searched for valuables and forced to exchange money into Transnistria's valueless currency, the *Reichskreditkassenschein* (RKKS). Some Jews managed to remain in the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto, whereas many others were pushed deeper into the Moghilev and Balta județe.

For various reasons, 2,256 Jews from Dorohoi city were not deported. Among them were 820 men who at the time of the deportation were working on forced labor detachments in the Brăila județ. Their families (wives, children, and parents), however, were deported in their absence. Of the remaining population at the end of 1941, an additional 450 (mostly men) were deported to Transnistria on June 14, 1942. Most members of the new group were the forced laborers who had been working in other locations than in Dorohoi during the 1941 deportations. After being collected at night from their homes by gendarmes and deposited in a transit camp set up in the Dorohoi synagogue, they too were transported in freight cars, in humiliating, crowded, and unsanitary conditions. This transport passed through Cernăuți, picking up other, allegedly unproductive and subversive Jews, on its way to Moghilev-Podolsk. Another 45 Jews from Dorohoi suspected of communist activity were sent to the Târgu Jiu camp in July 1942 and then to the Vapniarca concentration camp in September 1942. After each deportation, Jewish homes and property were ransacked and/or became state property.

Before, in between, and after the waves of deportation, many Jewish residents were conscripted into forced (day) labor. The October 1941 survey of forced labor for Jews shows that, in Dorohoi, 1,580 Jews were "at work." The same survey indicates that 1,721 Jews were "exempt and/or pending clarification," whereas an additional 53 Jewish intellectuals were also "available" for work.⁶

The Jews of Dorohoi were among the first to be repatriated from Transnistria. A first group of 1,500 people were repatri-

ated on December 20, 1943, via Moghilev-Podolsk, after being deloused and cared for by the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER). Another 4,500 were gradually repatriated by late January 1944. Of the total number of Jews deported (9,862), some 3,800 perished in Transnistria.

The Red Army occupied Dorohoi in April 1944, and although some Jewish returnees remained under Soviet occupation, others retreated farther inside Romania.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Dorohoi can be found in "Dorohoi," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 323–324; "Dorohoi," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ba-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivusdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah*. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 104–110; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 3: *The Regat and Southern Transylvania, 1941–1942*, and vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 1 (part 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Felicia Carmelly, *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria* (Scarborough: Abbeyfield Publishers, 1997); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Dorohoi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Marcu Rozen, *Evreii din Dorohoi în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial* (Bucharest: Matrix, 2000); and Alex M. Stoenescu, *Armata, Mareșalul și Evreii: cazurile Dorohoi, București, Iași, Odessa* (Bucharest: RAO International, 1998). For a memorial book, see Shlomo David, ed., *Generații de iudaism și sionism: Dorohoi, Săveni, Mihăileni, Darabani, Herța, Rădăuți-Prut*, 5 vols. (Jerusalem: Kiryat Bialik, 1992–2000). For a collection of documents regarding the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews of Dorohoi are available at USHMM, records ANR (RG-25.002M), SRI (RG-25.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and DAOO (RG-31.004M). A list containing the names of those Jews whose families were deported to Transnistria while they were undertaking forced labor in exterior detachments is available in CER (RG-25.016M, reel 17, file 308). VHA holds 81 video testimonies (in seven languages) from Dorohoi survivors of the Holocaust. The ITS archive

contains information about Dorohoi's Jews and their fate during the Holocaust in the CNI cards. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See, for example, the testimony of Constantin Romanescu, April 13, 2004, USHMMA, RG-50.573*0012.

2. Confidential report for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Information Service, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 18–19.

3. See David Wasserman testimony, December 15, 1993, USHMMA, RG-50.030*0276, and the testimony of Simon Meer, July 7, 2008, available online at <http://www.inshr-ew.ro/media/interviuri/interviu-simon-meer>.

4. Order 3303, August 7, 1941, MCG, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 35, file 40010, vol. 114, p. 202. Testimony of Constantin Romanescu, April 13, 2004, USHMMA, RG-50.573*0012.

5. Calotescu's report to the Military Cabinet of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, April 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, pp. 130–131.

6. The survey is shown graphically in "Schița cu situația evreilor din fiecare județ la 1 Oct. 1941," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 254.

DUBĂSARI

Dubăsari (pre-1941: Dubossary), the capital of the Dubossary județ, is located some 34 kilometers (21 miles) northeast of Chișinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 2,198 Jews in the town, a decline of 1,432 from the 1926 census that was caused primarily by resettlement to other areas.

German forces occupied Dubăsari on July 27, 1941. In the wake of the German advance, some Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were drafted into the Red Army. Around 1,500 Jews remained at the beginning of the occupation.

In August 1941, a German military commandant assumed charge of the town.

In September 1941, the Romanian administration took over control of the town and romanianized its name to Dubăsari. The headquarters of the Romanian Gendarmes Legion, in charge of guarding the border between Romania (Bessarabia) and Transnistria, was established in the town. Aleksandr Demenchuk became the mayor (*primar*), and Fedor Kontsevich his deputy. The police chief was Ivan Vitez. Demenchuk ordered Vitez to round up all of the Jews remaining in the town and to place them in a ghetto, for which two streets were allocated. Jews from surrounding localities were also placed in this ghetto. They were required to wear the yellow star and forbidden to leave the boundaries of the ghetto.¹ The ghetto was guarded by Romanian soldiers.

At the end of August 1941, 25 troops from Einsatzkommando 12, part of Einsatzgruppe D, arrived in Dubăsari.² In the course of its month-long stay, the detachment shot Jews almost daily. With the support of the Romanian authorities, in mid-September 1941, SS-Obersturmführer Max Drexel ordered the shooting of at least 1,500 Jewish men, women, and children, who at that time were concentrated in a ghetto. The victims consisted of local Jewish families, as well as some Jews who had come voluntarily or had been brought forcibly from the nearby villages.

In preparation for the massacre, Ukrainian militia and laborers from surrounding villages dug seven burial pits in a field near a former tobacco factory on the outskirts of town. On the eve of the shooting, Drexel, through Mayor Demenchuk, misled the Jews, claiming that they would be resettled the following day. Shootings started early in the morning and concluded around 1 p.m. Standing on the embankment, the firing squad shot the victims in the back.³ Mayor Demenchuk described these events in his trial testimony in 1944:

On September 12, 1941, at 5:00 a.m., about 2,500 Jews were herded by the punitive detachment, the Romanian Gendarmerie, and the local police into the courtyard of the tobacco factory in Dubossary. Among them were men, women, old people, and even many infants . . . When I came into the courtyard of the tobacco factory, where the Jews were, the punitive detachment was separating the men from the women and children, and there was terrible shouting and weeping. After the men were taken aside, the women were left in the courtyard of the tobacco factory, under heavy police guard, while all the men were led to the east edge of town toward the vineyards, where graves had been prepared in advance. About 100 meters [328 feet] from the graves where the shooting was to take place, all the Jews were ordered to sit down. Then the commandant, V. Kelleer [Walter Kehrer], and the police counted off 20 people, led them to the ditches, made them undress and kneel in front of the pit, and in the presence of all the others shot them.⁴

Soon after the mass shooting, around September 20, 1941, at least 1,000 other Jewish men, women, and children were shot and buried in four other pits dug in the same field. Members of Einsatzkommando 12 and their civilian assistants had brought the Jews on foot to Dubăsari from Krasnye Okna and Kotovsk. On arrival, they were locked up in the barracks of the former tobacco factory. The shootings were carried out in the same way as the first mass shooting.⁵ Other shootings took place in other locations in Dubăsari, such as near the central hospital.⁶ In total, around 5,000 Jews were shot in September and early October 1941. Other reports suggested a much higher figure of from 6,000 to 8,000.⁷

A Jewish underground organization, led by Yankl Guzanyskiy, was active in Dubăsari between late August and early

September 1941. Guzanyatskiy's organization was credited with damaging the bridge across the Dniester River in Dubăsari, blowing up an arms depot, hanging a Ukrainian traitor of Jews, and assassinating the German town commandant named Kraft.

Due to Dubăsari's logistical importance because of its proximity to the Dniester River, Romanian authorities tried to contain epidemics that spread in the town and its surroundings. Jewish doctors and pharmacists were brought to town to care for the local population and the Romanian administration.⁸ Funds distributed by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor în România*, CER) to deportees in Transnistria were sent to Dubăsari in July 1942 to be allocated among county ghettos. Dubăsari did not figure in the aid list from March 1943, probably because its Jewish ghetto was liquidated, or its Jewish population was dispersed elsewhere, or both.⁹

In September 1, 1943, there were only 11 Jews from Bukovina in Dubăsari.¹⁰ However, in that same month, a large number of Jews from various places in Transnistria were brought to the town to repair the strategically important road from Dubăsari to Grigoriopol.¹¹ They worked 14 to 16 hours a day. Anyone trying to run away was killed on the spot. The food received was a mixture of corn flour and straw. Owing to the inhumane working and living conditions, many died of illness, especially typhus.

The town was liberated on April 12, 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Dubăsari during the Holocaust may be found in the following publications: Moshe ben Yaakov Feldman, *In Memory of the 18,500 Martyrs Who Died for the Sanctification of G-d's Name at the Hands of the Murderous Nazis in the Town of Dubassar by the Dniester, near Bessarabia, Transnistria. 1943–44* (New York: N.P., 1946); Y. Rubin, ed., *Sefer Zikaron; Dubossary Memorial Book* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Dubossary in Argentina and Israel, 1965); "Dubasari," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyab shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sbo'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 418–419; A. M. Moskaleva, *Dubossarskaia tragediia* (Dubossary: N.P., 1996); "Dubesar," in *Rossiiskaya Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 412; "Dubossary," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Cam-*

paigns, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003). For an account of Jewish resistance in Dubăsari, see R. Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe* (London: Paul Elek, 1974), p. 272.

Primary documentation regarding the Dubăsari ghetto and the extermination of Jews in the town may be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-96-96), ANRM, and YVA. For lists of Jewish doctors and forced laborers used in Dubăsari, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1561, n.p., and opis 1, 1562, n.p.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Concluding argument in Demenchuk's prosecution in April 14, 1944, ANRM, "O zverstvakh fashistov v gody vremennoi nemetsko-rumynskoi okkupatsii 1941–1944 gg. po Dubossarskomu raionu Moldavskoi SSR."
2. StA-Münc, Signatur Sta. 35280. For the verdict, see *JuNS-V*, vol. 40, Verfahren 816.
3. "Members of an Einsatzkommando shoot Jews in a field in Dubossary, Moldova," USHMMPA, WS #58605 (Courtesy of IWM).
4. Concluding argument in Demenchuk's prosecution in April 14, 1944, GARF, 7021-148-32, pp. 8–10; published in *V-IZ* 8 (1991): 70–71.
5. GARF, 7021-69-84, p. 363.
6. Testimony of Dr. Nuta Feldman of Iassy, reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 425–426.
7. A ChGK document, March 22, 1945, reprinted in I. E. Levit et al., eds., *Moldavskaia SSR v Velikoi Otechestvennoi voine Sovetskogo Soiuza 1941–1945. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov v dvukh tomakh. Tom 2. V tylu vruga* (Kishinev: Știința, 1975), pp. 75–76.
8. "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflați în Județul Dubăsari," signed by Dubăsari prefect, Colonel Alexandru Batcu, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1562, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1562, n.p.). See also Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 426.
9. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.
10. "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.
11. See documents dated October 3, 1943: "Tabel nominal Nr. 1 de utilizare a evreilor din Transnistria (Jud. Dubăsari)," and "Situația Md.2 Utilizarea evreilor în Transnistria (Jud. Dubăsari)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1, 1561, n.p.

EDINEȚI

Edineți, a town in the Hotin județ, in Bukovina province, in the northeastern part of Romania (today: Edineț, Edineț raion, Moldova), is 102 kilometers (63 miles) east of Cernăuți. In 1930 there were 5,341 Jews in Edineți, representing 90 percent

of the town's total population. The town came under Soviet administration from June 1940 to June 1941. During that time, some of Edineț's wealthiest Jews were robbed of their possessions and deported to Siberia, along with some Zionists.¹ After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some Jews retreated with the Red Army and others fled to larger towns, but most stayed in place.

The Romanian Army occupied Edineț (Ediniți, Ediniț, Edineț) on July 6, 1941. Maior Traian Drăgulescu was the commandant of the Hotin Gendarmes Legion, whereas the praetor in Edineț was Panait Margoș. The prefect of Hotin județ was Joe Gherman, who was succeeded by Colonel Virgil Popovici. The first Romanian soldiers to enter Edineț denigrated the Jews and incited the local population to mistreat them. The locals ransacked Jewish homes, injuring some people, and killing 500 Jews (including alleged communist sympathizers). The corpses were buried in three communal graves. Other shootings of Jews from nearby villages occurred over the next few days. Shortly after the Romanian occupation began, the Jews who remained were ordered to assemble in one place, taking whatever they could carry, for deportation to Transnistria.² The crowd was divided into convoys, which marched in several directions (Atachi, Rezina, and Secureni). The members of each convoy paid for a few wagons in which to carry the elderly, the young, and some luggage.

In early August 1941, the Germans temporarily suspended the deportations of Jews from Romania into Transnistria and returned thousands who had already crossed into that area. The German decision set off a domino effect that resulted in massive overcrowding at the crossing points on the western shore of the Dniester River. On August 8, 1941, some 27,849 Jews were held in an open field between Secureni and Atachi, where they were not given any provisions. These Jews came from villages and small towns near Cernăuți, Storojineț, Rădăuți, and Briceni. On August 11, 1941, a transit camp was established at Edineț. Half the Jews held in the Secureni camp (some 20,852 people) were transferred to the Edineț camp to relieve the overcrowding in the former camp.³ On August 25, there were 11,762 Jews held in the Edineț camp; on September 1, there were 12,248.

The commandant of the Edineț camp was Locotenent Victor Popovici, assisted by two officers, Valerian Bălea and Cocuz Andrei. The first camp guards consisted of 6 gendarmes and 50 pre-military recruits. The recruits committed numerous thefts, rapes, and other violent deeds. Later three platoons of gendarmes from the 60th Police Company (commanded by Căpitan Augustin Roșca) arrived to replace the recruits.⁴ The camp encompassed an area of five streets, encircled by barbed wire. Houses inside the camp, which had belonged to local Jews, had been bombed and looted earlier in the war, so most people lived outdoors among ruins. The deportees lived in crowded conditions, deprived of access to food and water. Bribery permitted a few of them to leave the site for a few hours in search for food. Leaving the camp without permission brought severe punishment, if caught.⁵

The first few weeks of internment were extremely difficult. The deportees lived in abject misery and poverty. An effort to delouse the camp was made at one point, but its effect was insignificant. A majority of the deportees had been on the road for weeks and had bartered many of their possessions along the way. Additional muggings and extortions occurred while in the camp. The Hotin prefecture provided 1,500 loaves of bread free of charge, while also selling an additional 1,500 loaves for money. The bread that was for sale became stale in the bakery because people did not have money to buy it. Gherman allotted 1,600 kilograms of sugar, 550 liters of oil, 550 kilograms of flour, and 120 kilograms of salt for camp needs. These staples were distributed free of charge, but hardly improved conditions.⁶

The camp was organized according to the regions where the deportees came from, and groups elected their own representatives. Ion Frankel became the chief camp representative. Scarlet fever, dysentery, and typhoid fever erupted in the camp. One house was transformed into an infirmary, staffed by 15 prisoner doctors; however, without any medicine, the infirmary was little more than a space to die in.⁷ Four to five people died daily from illnesses, exhaustion, and malnutrition. The camp had serious problems with drinking water. Accessible water was not clean, so in the first days of the camp's existence approximately 85 percent of the children died of thirst.⁸ About 600 Jewish men, some in poor health and others without shoes, worked for a few weeks on a road connecting Lăpușna to Cernăuți. They received two bowls of vegetable soup per day and a small payment.⁹ A few deportees received small sums of money from relatives who had not been deported. The Federation of Jewish Communities also sent sums of money for food and other necessities in the camp.¹⁰

In early October 1941, Popovici was ordered to evacuate the camp; he also was given an oral order from his superiors decreeing that anyone unable to keep up and complete the march was to be shot and buried along the way. Holes were dug in advance of the deportations, which began on October 10 and concluded on October 18. The very sick from the infirmary were shot as soon as they reached the first hole outside Edineț. Four convoys left the camp in the direction of Coșăuți and Atachi on the Dniester River, which are 75 kilometers (46 miles) and 48 kilometers (30 miles), respectively, from the camp. Plutonier Amarandei led the first convoy, Plutonier Victor Panait the second, Andrei Cocuz the third, and Valerian Bălea the fourth. Wagons to transport the luggage, along with the elderly and the young, were provided. Each convoy journeyed for almost a week or longer in agonizing conditions to reach the Dniester.

After it was relocated into a theological seminary, the Edineț camp became a penal camp from 1942 to 1943. Hundreds of undeported Jews from Bukovina were interned in the camp for alleged violations of civil orders, acts of corruption, and evasion from forced labor. The Jewish community in Cernăuți funded the prisoners' care.¹¹ Forty-five Soviet citizens from Romania (spouses of Romanian citizens from the

Soviet Union, their children, or workers brought by the Soviets to Bukovina) were interned in Edineți, being considered suspect.¹²

In May 1942 a forced labor detachment for Jews was formed. Called the “Edineți Work Detachment” (*Detașamentul de lucru Edineți*), the Jewish labor unit was attached to the 7th Roads Battalion stationed in Edineți.¹³ Some of the Dorohoi Jews from the work detachment were deported to Transnistria shortly after being drafted, whereas others were moved to another labor detachment in Bârlad (Tutova județ).¹⁴ The remaining Jews undertook manual labor for an extensive period of time, surpassing the legal requirement; they faced many hardships.¹⁵

The Red Army recaptured the town of Edineți in the spring of 1944. Some of Transnistria’s survivors from Edineți were repatriated at that time. In 1945, the People’s Courts in Bucharest and Cluj tried former officers who ordered and carried out the deportations from Edineți. After years of imprisonment awaiting trial, Victor Popovici, along with his two aides, were acquitted of any criminal charges. Their superiors, however, received prison sentences.¹⁶

SOURCES More information on the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Edineți camp can be found in the following publications: “Edineți,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 354–355; “Edintsy,” in I. A. Altman, ed. *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 295–296; “Edinet,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2011), 4: 425; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For information on the forced labor detachment, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013), pp. 224–226.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews held in the Edineți camp are available at USHMMA, in collections DACkO (RG-31.006M); SRI (RG-25.004M); AMAN (RG-25.003M); AJDC (RG-68.066M, reel 57, GIV/27-1B, List 66); and ANR-PCMCM (RG-25.013M). A report of the Military Cabinet for Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria regarding the situation in the Edineți camp is available at RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 9, fond 325, opis 1, delo 246. Trial records pertaining to the Edineți camp personnel can be found at USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1; and reel 123, file 21227, vol. 1. VHA holds 98

testimonies, in seven languages, from Jewish survivors who were held in the Edineți camp or who passed through the town on the way to other camps.

Ovidiu Creangă and Diana Dumitru

NOTES

1. VHA #00523, Freda Rosenblatt testimony, January 10, 1995.
2. VHA #17148, Brana (“Baka”) Sternberg testimony, July 16, 1996.
3. Reports “Nr. 528,” “Nr. 862,” “Nr. 619,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 36, 40, 46, respectively.
4. Report on the situation of camps and ghettos in Bessarabia and Bukovina prepared for General de divizie Ioan Topor, the Great Praetor of Romania, September 4, 1941, “Situția de numărul lagărelor de evrei aflate în Bessarabia și Bucovina,” reproduced in *ibid.*, 5: 74.
5. VHA #47707, Liviu Beris testimony, November 29, 1998.
6. See schedule of fund allocations and other assistance from the prefect’s office, USHMMA, RG-25.004 (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1, pp. 142, 163, 190, 192.
7. Report of the Hotin Gendarmes Legion, August 28, 1941, retransmitted by Colonel I. Măneacă, Bukovina’s chief gendarmes inspector, to the office of the Great Praetor. Document reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 70.
8. *Ibid.*, 6: 157.
9. Măneacă’s report to the office of the Great Praetor, reproduced in *ibid.*, 5: 70.
10. See W. Filderman’s letter addressed to the president of the Council of Ministers in Bucharest, August 28, 1941, document Nr. 68, reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 116–117. See also receipts of remittances sent to individual Jews in the camp, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 9, fond 325, opis 1, delo 242.
11. See lists of names and accompanying correspondence requiring the județ-level Jewish Office to pay the camp for their care: USHMMA, RG-31.006M, reel 2, fond 307, opis 1, delo 13, pp. 286–291, 544–547, 795–814; reel 27, fond 307, opis 3, delo 76.
12. For a list of their names and place of origin, see “Tabel nominal de supușii U.R.S.S. ce urmează a fi trimiși în lagărul Edineț conform ordinului Guvernământului No. 507 din 6 Septembrie 1942,” USHMMA, RG-31.006M, reel 22, fond 38, opis 6, delo 79, pp. 1–2.
13. Instructions from MSM to the Head of State’s Military Cabinet, May 2, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (ANR, PC-MCM), reel 22, file 1, pp. 396–398.
14. “Tabel nominal de evreii ce sunt lipsă la Detașamentul de lucru Edineți,” USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 84, file 87, pp. 33–34 (and verso).
15. See letter addressed by Tina Rottenberg, mother of one of the Jews enlisted in the 7th Roads Battalion, to the Commandant of the IV Territorial Corps (Corpul IV Teritorial), USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 53, file 7267, p. 335; see also other requests, p. 421.
16. See court depositions and declarations, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 123, file 21227, vol. 1, condemnation verdict on p. 292; reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1, pp. 1–8; for Gherman’s file, see pp. 139–167 in the same file and volume.

GALAȚI

Galați, the central city of the Covurlui județ, in southeastern Romania (today: Galați, Galați județ), is located at the confluence of the Siret and Danube Rivers. The city lies 188 kilometers (117 miles) northeast of Bucharest and 196 kilometers (122 miles) south of Iași. According to the 1941 census, there were 13,511 Jews in Galați, representing 14 percent of the city's total population; in May 1942, the total number of Jews stood at 12,946.

A pogrom occurred in Galați at the end of June 1940, just days after the Soviet annexation of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. Some 300 Jews, wishing to return to Bessarabia via Galați, were shot near the train station and buried in a mass grave by Romanian authorities. Shortly after the German and Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Jewish men between 18 and 60 years of age from Galați and nearby villages were gathered together to do forced labor. Their number reached approximately 3,700. Held for two days in the city's movie theater, they were then marched to Filești, a Galați suburb, where a holding camp was created. Gendarmes guarded the camp. Later, a number of the internees suspected of being communists were sent to the camp for political prisoners in Târgu Jiu.

On July 2, 1941, 3,305 internees were moved from the holding camp in Filești and placed in 19 makeshift camps in the city, ranging from synagogues and Jewish schools to private Jewish houses. Although each holding site carried the name "camp" (*lagăr*), each was actually a subcamp of the Galați camp. The Galați Command of Jewish Internment Camps (*Comandamentul Lagărelor de Internați Evrei Galați*) was created to coordinate them. Locotenent-colonel Mihai Popiști, who was succeeded by Maior Constantin Ștefănescu Drăgănești, headed the command post. The Covurlui Prefecture, headed by Colonel Dumitru Goțescu, had authority over the camp until August 21, 1941, after which time it went to the III Territorial Command (*Comandamentul III Teritorial*).

A few categories of Jews were released from the camp—men over age 50, foreign nationals and those who were stateless, and those already requisitioned by the state—totaling 781 people. The following subcamps held the remaining 2,706 Jews at the beginning of September 1941: Jewish Community High School (268 Jews); Max Nordau Cultural Society (141); Gottesman School (252); Light School (176); Vocational School (127); Schmierer School (413); Great Synagogue (182); Craftsmen's Synagogue (329); Blacksmiths' Synagogue (175); Dorian House (133); Schachter House (45); and the following private houses: Cohn (79); Rosenberg (58); Bercivici (36); Rothstein (58); Secuianu (64); Schteinberg (31); Brandes (48); and Deleanu (91). A contingent of 178 gendarmes guarded the camp.¹

Living conditions varied in each subcamp, although overcrowding, strict supervision, and scarce food supplies characterized all of them. A subcamp chief, appointed among the Jews, was assigned to each site. Each day, teams of approximately 50 internees were escorted under guard to various public institutions (including those doing work for the army)

for forced labor. Work began at 6 A.M. and concluded at 6 P.M. The Galați Jewish community was tasked with feeding and caring for the internees. The internees' families brought additional food and clothing according to their means.

Maior Drăgănești, the camp commandant, permitted a number of "exemplary" internees with skills in demand (smiths, painters, plumbers, electricians) to return home after work (i.e., a "day camp"). The measure was implemented in the middle of September 1941. Some 192 Jews, allocated to 30 institutions (especially military institutions and hospitals) inside the city, benefited from this measure. They reported to the command in the morning and in the evening for the roll call. Another 120 Jewish tradesmen and industrialists were released at that time because of exemption permits. The internees' release from captivity came in response to the Romanian Army's and the city's demand for some of the buildings in which the internees were held. Although the measure improved the circumstances for those selected, the strict supervision of all Jews continued as before. A detention center for "suspect" Jews existed in the Galați camp, perhaps in the Bercivici house. The Romanian Security Services (*Siguranța*) determined who was confined in this center: anyone not doing his or her part of forced labor was also placed there. Thirty-six Jews were being held in this detention center on September 21, 1941; they were deported to Transnistria in September 1942.

In addition to interior brigades that worked within the city, a number of brigades were deployed outside the city. While deployed, the Jews in these exterior brigades lived in substandard accommodations (huts, barracks, and isolated buildings) provided by the employing authorities; were fed mostly from their own money and/or the food provided by the Galați Jewish community; and were usually guarded by gendarmes. The Jews of Galați in the exterior brigades worked for the Romanian Railways Company (*Căile Ferate Române*, or CFR), repairing or maintaining tracks in places such as Focșani, Făurei, and Foltești; they also worked for military units and war factories.² On September 21, 1941, the situation of Jewish forced labor in Galați looked as follows: 720 Jews in exterior brigades; 412 "intellectual" Jews (accountants, graphic designers, dentists, and engineers) not yet assigned and held in the subcamps; 526 Jews retained for unskilled local needs (of them 247 were skilled workers but were not in demand); and 715 "unfit" Jews (i.e., sick, disabled, or unable to work).³

The Galați camp closed in December 1941, when all the forced laborers were released from the subcamps. The measure was counteracted by the arrest every 15 days of 20 well-to-do Jews, who were then held hostage by the police. The hostages were to be shot if the Jews fled the city or obstructed forced labor plans. Forced labor in the interior (sleeping at home) and exterior brigades began again in the spring of 1942 and continued until August 1944. Many of Galați's Jews were sent to work in the Embankment Detachment No. 100 (*Detasamentul Evrei Nr. 100, Diguri*), a forced labor unit fortifying the Siret River banks in villages such as Vadul-Roșca, Suraia, Ciușlea, and Străjescu (all in the Putna județ), as well as in

Cotul-Lung, Vădeni, and Voinești (Brăila județ). Attempts to house the Jews in private homes of those towns met fierce opposition on the part of the local (civilian) authorities, leading in most cases to the holding of the Jews in makeshift, unhygienic barracks.⁴

In December 1942, the regime of Ion Antonescu outlawed all Christian religious minorities in Romania. Throughout 1943, a number of Pentecostals, Brethren, Inochentists (millenarians deemed heretical by the Orthodox Church), and Old Calendar Believers (*Stiliști*) from the Covurlui județ were arrested and tried for their faith by the Galați Military Tribunal. Those sentenced to prison were held in the Galați Central Penitentiary (*Penitenciarul Central Galați*).

Repatriation from Transnistria of Jews originally from Galați took place at the end of 1943. On August 23, 1944, Romania switched sides in the war. Contingents of the German Army and Einsatzgruppe G arriving from the east burned Galați, including the Jewish buildings, during their retreat.⁵

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jews of Galați can be found in the following publications: “Galați,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 414–415; “Galați,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-‘olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 90–99; Laura Ioana Degeratu, “Documente inedite cu privire la situația evreilor din orașul Galați în timpul celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial,” *SfePo* 177:1 (2014): 96–107; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. I (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). Additional information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Față de Cultele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews of Galați are available at USHMM, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M and RG-25.022M), ANR-G (RG-25.030M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ACMEOR (RG-68.029M), WJC-R (RG-25.051), and CNSAS (RG-25.084M). German prosecution records from BA-L, collection B 162, concerning the activities of the Einsatzgruppe G in southern Transnistria and Romania are available in digital form at USHMM, RG-14.101M. Germanized as Galatz, the Galați investigation can be found in file AR 3.077/64 1964–1966. Under RG-50,

USHMM also holds oral history interviews by witnesses and victims of the Galați forced labor camps. VHA holds 53 testimonies (in 10 languages) by Jewish survivors from Galați.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 326, file 931, p. 404.
2. For a list of locations where exterior brigades of Jews worked, see USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18844.
3. Maior Ștefănescu-Dragănești’s report, USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 326, file 931, p. 288 (and verso).
4. See two such complaints, USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 209, file 3724, p. 777; and reel 103, file 4190, p. 509 (and verso).
5. USHMM, RG-50.030*0125, Beatrice Leibovich Lazar, oral history interview, November 16, 1990.

GOLTA

Golta (today: Pervomais’k, Ukraine), the center of the Golta raion and județ, is located along the western banks of the Bug River in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. It lies approximately 76 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Ananiev. In 1919, Golta merged with the towns of Olviopol and Bogopol on the left bank of the Bug River to form Pervomaysk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 6,087 Jews living in the town.

German forces occupied Pervomaysk on August 3, 1941. From August to October 1941, a German military commandant’s office governed the town. On October 28, 1941, it was divided into two parts, one German and one Romanian. Romanian authorities administered the part of Pervomaysk located on the right, western bank of the Bug River and restored its old name, Golta. In November 1941, Golta became the administrative center of the Golta județ, which had previously been at Crivoi Ozero. From October 1941 until February 1944 Golta județ’s prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu. Isopescu’s deputy was Aristide Pădure, and Maior Romulus Ambrus commanded the Gendarme Legion. Under Romanian rule, the city of Golta had three Jewish ghettos, a Jewish forced labor camp, and at least two camps for Roma (Gypsies).

Jews on the German side of Pervomaysk (left bank of the Bug River) were shot in late 1941. Convoys of Ukrainian and Bessarabian Jews streamed toward various districts in Golta about the same time. A few hundred skilled Jews were recruited to rebuild Golta and were concentrated in a ghetto, but most deportees were directed toward Bogdanovca and Domanevca, in the Golta județ, where they were murdered. In mid-1942, several hundred Jews from Romania’s Old Kingdom, Bessarabia, and Bukovina were deported to Golta. On arrival, those Jews deemed unfit for work (the elderly, women, and children) were sent to Acmețetca, where most starved to death, while unskilled Jews fit for work were assigned to agricultural tasks in Golta. Skilled craftsmen of various trades, along with intel-

lectuals, were moved into the newly created ghettos and used as cheap labor in Golta's factories, workshops, administration offices, and the hospital.¹ Alfred Follender and his deputy Avram Creștinu, both Romanian Jews from Bucharest, headed the ghetto committee.

In late 1942 and early 1943, there were 488 Jews in Golta's two ghettos (the third was created later) and in the forced labor camp (sometimes called Ghetto III, even though it was more like a detention center for Jews accused of various infractions than a ghetto). In March 1943, more Jews were transferred to other camps in the Golta județ, including the infamous Acmețetca and Bogdanovca ghettos.² The latter was the site where thousands of Ukrainian Jews had been burned alive or shot a year earlier by German, Ukrainian, and Romanian soldiers. Some were sent to work in Ovidiopol, near Odessa.³ By October 1943 there were 299 Jews in Golta. These people were distributed among Golta's ghettos and the labor camp as follows: 105 Jews were in Ghetto I, 68 Jews were in Ghetto II, 17 Jews were in the newly created Ghetto III, and 109 Jews were detained in the forced labor camp. Of that total number, as of September 1, 1943, there were 54 Jews from Bukovina and 18 from Bessarabia; the rest were probably Ukrainian Jews.⁴

According to Prefect Isopescu's instructions, the movement of Jews outside the ghetto, even for work reasons, was possible only with his written permission, and every Jew was required to wear two white Stars of David (one pinned to the chest, the other on the back). In addition, only those who worked received food, and those needing medical treatment for more than eight days were considered unfit to work and were to be sent to Acmețetca, where living conditions were much worse.⁵

Unskilled workers received one German scrip mark (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) per day and skilled laborers received two marks, but they mostly got food for the amount earned. The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews, through its Aid Department (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Ajutorare*, CER) listed Golta among its distribution sites, later sending money and material aid there.⁶ Money sent by deportees' family members or friends also reached Golta's ghettos via CER.⁷ Food distribution to the Jewish inmates (*arestații*) in the labor camp was erratic. Sometimes weeks passed before food supplies were given out; other times, supplies of potatoes, beans, peas, salt, and oil were distributed almost daily.⁸ Not being allowed to receive parcels, many Jews had nothing to wear but rags, their clothes having been worn off under heavy labor. Although some Jews died of hunger and disease, most of the deportees miraculously survived.

Roma deportees from Romania were also placed in a labor camp in Golta. There were some 9,000 Roma in Golta județ by mid-1943. By and large, their living conditions and food allocations were significantly worse than in the Jewish ghettos. Starvation, unemployment, and lack of clothing forced many Roma to escape the camp and resort to theft and fraud, causing great consternation among the local population. A camp for Roma fugitives was set up in Golta in late November 1943, where more than 400 Roma were interned.⁹ The Red Army liberated Golta in March 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Golta during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 21; "Pervomaysk (III)," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Dennis Deletant, "Ghetto Experience in Golta, Transnistria, 1942–1944," *HGS* 18-1 (Spring 2004), pp. 1–26; and Matatias Carp (ed.), *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947). For more in-depth studies of life in Golta, see Dennis Deletant, "Aspects of the Ghetto Experience in Eastern Transnistria: The Ghettos and Labor Camp in the Town of Golta," in *Ghettos 1939–1945: New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival; Symposium Presentations* (Washington, DC: CAHS, USHMM, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a study of Romanian Gypsies during the Holocaust, see Viorel Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), and Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Golta can be found at USHMM in the following collections: GARF (7021-69-82); DAOO (files r2388-1-16, 1150, 1360, 1368, 1400, 1403, 1407, 1408: lists of prisoners of the ghettos); and YVA. At USHMM, records of the DAOO and DAMO may be consulted for lists of Jewish deportees (skilled, unskilled, women, children), food allocations, and rules governing Golta's ghettos and camps: for instance, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, 49a, n.p.; and reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, 1501, n.p.; RG-31.008 (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, pp. 7–8, 16, 18, and delo 369, p. 95; fond 2084, opis 2, delo 728, n.p., and in the same record group, Acc. No. 1996.A.0155. For a survivor's testimony, see David Cervinski ("I Saw the Acmețetca Death Camp"), available at www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/c/carmelly-felicia/cervinski-david.html.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See "Tabel nominal de meseriași din Lagărul No. 1 Golta, fără familie" and "Tabel nominal al evreilor meseriași din Ghetoul No. 2, Golta, fără familie," USHMM, RG-31.008 (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 77, pp. 7–8 (USHMM, RG-31.008/2178/1/77/7–8). See also "Tabel nominal de toții Evreii aflați în Ghetoul No. 1 repartizați după categorii," RG-31.008/2178/1/77/18, and "Tabel nominal al evreilor din Ghetoul No. 2, Golta," USHMM, RG-31.008/2178/1/77/16.

2. See "Tabel de evreii din lagărul și ghetourile din orașul Golta care pleacă la Ahmecetca," USHMMA, RG-31.008, Acc. No. 1996.A.0155.

3. See "Tabel nominal de evreii trimiși la Leg. Jd. Ovidiopol de Leg. Jd. Golta cu ordin Nr. 1053 din 4-V-1943 pe baza ord. Guvernământului Transnistria Nr. 390 30-I-1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, 49a, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1, 49a, n.p.).

4. See "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

5. See "Instrucțiuni referitor la reglementarea muncii, locuinței și circulației jidanilor din ghetourile orașului Golta," dated March 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/77/13.

6. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347–348.

7. See "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Golta (Jud. Golta)," USHMMA, RG-31.004/4/2242/1, 1501, n.p.

8. See "Extras de alimente și produsele consumate de arestații din acest lagăr în cursul lunii Martie 1943," and "Tabel nominal după livretul de ord. al arestaților din acest lagăr pe luna Ianuarie 1943. Zilele în care au fost hrăniți arestații," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2084/2/728, n.p.

9. See "Legiunea de Jandarmi Golta către Prefectura Județului Golta. Raport în legătură cu țiganii internați în lagărul de muncă Golta, aflați în situația de a muri de foame," dated November 22, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369/95, reproduced in Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor*, 2: 379.

GOLTA/LPRS AND LABOR CAMPS

Golta (today: Pervomais'k, Ukraine), the center of the Golta raion and județ, is located along the western banks of the Bug River in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. It lies approximately 76 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Ananiev. Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu was the Golta prefect, assisted by Aristide Pădure. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ambrus Romulus. The praetor in Golta raion was Liviu Bica. The director of the Agricultural Office (*Serviciul Agricol*) for the Golta județ was an engineer, Grigore Andonianț.

Throughout 1942 and into 1943, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) from the Tiraspol camp, LPRS No. 5, were brought to Golta to work on the state's farms (*sovkhozes*) and forests. The Golta subcamp was initially formed inside the Golta gendarmes garrison, where a warehouse was transformed into a temporary holding place before being subdivided into smaller camps (*secții*) where prisoners went to work. The buildings where prisoners lived were supposed to be encircled by a barbed-wire fence, but not all were. The employment of prisoners was contractual, and the contracts were made between the camp commandant and a județ prefect (or a representative from the prefect's office).¹ The contracts usually indicated the

type of work involved, the number of prisoners required, the number of gendarmes allocated to guard the prisoners, and the labor remuneration. In addition, they also stipulated each party's responsibility regarding the prisoners' food, maintenance, and transport.

On July 15, 1942, Golta's prefect, Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, in conjunction with the Golta Agricultural Office, hired 800 Soviet POWs, who also came from the Tiraspol camp. A group of 80 gendarmes, supervised by 1 officer and 2 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), guarded the prisoners. Of these POWs, 250 prisoners, guarded by 22 gendarmes and 1 NCO, were sent to the Bukovina farm, and the same number of prisoners, guarded by 23 gendarmes and 1 NCO, to the Marshal Antonescu farm (both farms were in the Domanovca raion, Golta județ). Three hundred prisoners, guarded by 35 gendarmes and 1 officer, were sent to the Savrani forest (in the Balta județ) and were employed there until March 1943. A subsequent group of 185 Soviet POWs, consisting of 167 regular workers and 18 specialist workers, was hired from November 1942 to March 1943, and again from March to May 1943, to work in Golta's other sovkhozes, as follows: 76, guarded by 16 gendarmes, worked on the Bukovina farm; 54, guarded by 7 gendarmes and 1 NCO, worked on the Ardeal farm; and 52, guarded by 10 gendarmes and 1 NCO, worked on the Bessarabia farm.²

Payment was established at 120 lei (or 2 *Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS [German-issued scrip]) per day, but the rate went up in March 1943 and covered labor (a charge known as "work indemnity"), meals ("food indemnity"), tobacco, and soap ("tobacco and cleaning indemnity") expenses. In addition, working prisoners were entitled to 150 lei (or 2.25 RKKS) per month as a form of payment for basic necessities (hardly enough to buy two loaves of bread), while the earned income was to be received at the end of the month or at the termination of the contract. Due to delays in payments from employers to the main Tiraspol camp, the prisoners rarely received their salary. Working hours were set from 6 A.M. to 7 P.M. in summer (with a shorter workday in winter), including a one-hour lunch break and some additional free time on Wednesdays and Sundays for personal hygiene (such as laundry). Workdays were Monday to Saturday (or on Sunday as well, during harvest time, for example). In a rare gesture of kindness, the hiring authorities ordered that each prisoner be given a half-roll of sponge cake (*cozonac*) for Easter in April 1943.³ The return of contracted Soviet POWs from the Golta subcamp to the main camp in Tiraspol occurred in May 1943. The farms where prisoners worked provided bread and sheep cheese as cold rations during this transport, which were distributed in small portions to each prisoner.⁴

Cases of mistreatment of prisoners at the hands of their employers or guards were common, partly because the Tiraspol camp provided new healthier prisoners to replace ill prisoners (a practice that was eventually stopped by the Army General Staff).⁵ The commandant of all prisoner camps in Romania, Colonel Ion Stănculescu, reported on his early 1943 visit to Transnistria, when he found 285 Soviet POWs in the Golta

subcamp, that “all war prisoners . . . are dressed acceptably and are helped a great deal by the locals with food.”⁶ This remark belied the fact that prisoners were poorly dressed and hungry.

In addition to the Golta subcamp for Soviet POWs, there existed in Golta a labor camp (*Lagărul de Muncă*) for civilians. This camp was under the direct administration of the Golta Praetor's Office (*Pretura*). It was located near the rail bridge in Golta in the building of a former munitions factory that had briefly become a prison camp under the Soviet administration. In March 1943, the camp had 133 Ukrainian detainees (118 from Bukovina and 15 from Bessarabia) who were interned for illegally crossing the border. A group of 13 gendarmes from the Golta Gendarmes Legion, under the supervision of one sergeant and one sergeant-in-training, guarded the camp. On days when menu instructions were followed, prisoners received 300 grams (10.6 ounces) of bread, 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of beans, and 400 grams (14.1 ounces) of potatoes per day.⁷

The Red Army liberated Golta in March 1944.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the fate of Soviet POWs in the Golta subcamp are available at USHMMA, in collection DAMO (RG-31.008M). For statistical figures for the largest Soviet POW camps in Transnistria, see Ion Stănculescu's report, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 599; for a more detailed account of camps, see Iliescu's report, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79/1943, pp. 408–419; and for a report on the capture of Soviet POWs in the Odessa oblast' who were subsequently escorted to Tiraspol and other camps inside Romania, see YVA, M-33/325, p. 9. Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See correspondence No. 1511/May 15, 1943, of the commandant of Tiraspol LPRS No. 5 requesting that the Golta prefecture not use Soviet POWs without first signing a contract with the camp. The letter also stipulates that a minimum of eight prisoners must be employed for a contract to be issued, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, file M-39/85, p. 303.

2. See “Contract,” August 16, 1942, signed by Tiraspol LPRS No. 5 commandant Maior Nicolae Grosu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20, pp. 5–7; (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, pp. 5–7); see another contract, “Contract,” November 1, 1942, signed by Tiraspol LPRS No. 5 commandant Maior Ioan Lăzăroiu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20; and also “Contract,” March 1, 1943, signed by Tiraspol LPRS No. 5 commandant Locotenent-colonel Constantin Manoliu, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 32 (and verso).

3. See communication “Nr. 677,” USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 33.

4. See “Prefectura Județului Golta către fermele Bucovina, Ardealul, Basarabia,” May 17, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 41, and “Sublagarul Prizonieri Ferma Bucovina către Prefectura Județului Golta,” May 15, 1943, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 42 (and verso).

5. Army General Staff, Prisoner Section, Decision No. 659.466/March 12, 1943, concerning Tiraspol Camp LPRS No. 5, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 24.

6. Stănculescu report, “Raport în legătură cu situația prizonierilor de război aflați în Transnistria,” USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 599.

7. See camp description, “Lagărul de muncă din Golta,” USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79/1943, pp. 413, 419.

GORAI

Gorai (today: Horai, Ukraine), a village in Copaigorod raion in the Moghilev județ in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, lies 33 kilometers (21 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Copaigorod raion had 1,903 Jews, representing 4.8 percent of its total population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Gorai on July 29, 1941. After a brief period of German rule, the Romanian authorities administered the village until March 1944. In October 1941, the Romanian authorities established a ghetto in the village for Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews deported to Transnistria. Around 200 Jews were placed in the ghetto, about half of whom died in the frigid winter of 1941, primarily due to hunger, cold, and illness. The most devastating illness was typhus, which spread easily given the crowded and squalid living conditions. In addition to dying from these causes, there were also shootings. Three Jews from Bessarabia were shot.¹

Not much is known about the operation of the Gorai ghetto, particularly in the year 1942. A few documents attest to private funds being sent to a few Jews in the ghetto in May 1943. Such support, which came from deportees' friends and family in Romania, was channeled through the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) and distributed by the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM) to named recipients throughout the ghettos in the Moghilev județ.² Similar Jewish Councils served each of Transnistria's eight județe.

The March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, which was requested by the delegation of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (CER, *Secțiunea de Asistență*) that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed 83 Jews in Gorai. It is not clear if Ukrainian Jews were included in this figure.³ A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, again lists 83 Jews (all from Bukovina) remaining in the ghetto.⁴ The Red Army recaptured Gorai in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information on Jews deported to Gorai can be found in the following sources: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). For census information, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR*

1939 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47.

Primary sources regarding the extermination of the Jews of Gorai can be found in the following collections at USHMMA: GARF (7021-54-1244), DAVINO, and YVA. At USHMMA, payment receipts indicating the names of senders and recipients can be consulted in the DAOO collection, at RG-31.004M, reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, 1177, p. 202.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-54-1239, p. 25.
2. See "Borderou Nr. 151 asupra plăților ce s-au efectuat la data de 13.V. 1943 la Gorai," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, 1177, p. 202.
3. See "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.
4. See "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

GORDIEVCA

Gordievca (pre-1941: Gordievka; today: Hordiivka), a town in the Trostineț raion, Tulcin județ in the far eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated near the Bug River. It is located 32 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,731 Jews in the Trostineț raion, representing 4.06 percent of the population (census data are not available for Gordievca).

The German and Romanian armies captured Gordievca and its surroundings in late July/early August 1941. After a short period of German rule, authority was turned over to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941. The authorities romanianized the village's name as Gordievca and placed its affairs under the rule of Colonel Ion Lazăr, the first prefect of the Tulcin județ, and of the Trostineț raion's praetor, Constantin Alexandrescu. The commandant of Tulcin's Gendarmes Legion was Maior Victor Mihailovici, and the chief of Tulcin's Security Bureau (*Biroul de Siguranță*) was Locotenent Mircea Heroiu.

Immediately after his installation as prefect, Lazăr issued an ordinance, "Ordonanța Nr. 3," on September 22, 1941, calling for the establishment of ghettos and camps in the Tulcin județ for local Jews as well as for those arriving from Bessarabia. Two hundred and thirty Jews from Bessarabia were held in the Gordievca camp. Records do not specify what facility was used to hold these Jews, but most likely they were dilapidated *kolkhoz* (state farm) buildings. On November 17, 1941, Lazăr issued a new ordinance, "Ordonanța Nr. 6," severely restricting Jewish movement. It forbade any Jew from leaving the ghetto or camp without a permit. Depending on the distance needed to travel, permits were either issued by local authorities (for destinations within 20 kilometers [12.4 miles] from the

ghetto) or by the județ prefecture (for distances exceeding 20 kilometers from the ghetto). Any Jew found elsewhere without a leave permit and identity documents was considered a "communist courier" or a "spy" and subject to the laws of war. Moreover, police chiefs who did not report unauthorized residents were considered accessories to plotting against the Romanian state, which brought with it severe punishment.¹ Lazăr's actions reflected a wider practice regarding the "Jewish regime" that was eventually formalized in the 10 articles of the important ordinance, "Ordonanța Nr. 23," that Marshal Ion Antonescu issued through Transnistria's governor, Gheorghe Alexianu, on November 11, 1941.²

Extreme cold, combined with overcrowding, poor hygiene, and severe malnutrition, led to a typhus epidemic by December 1941. By January 1942, according to a Siguranța report, only 209 Jews remained in Gordievca. The extent of the typhus epidemic was so great that, according to the same report, Gordievca's Jews were not evacuated to the Pecioara-Rogozna area (on the Bug River) for deportation to the German side of Transnistria, as all other Jews in Tulcin județ were at that time. This was done as a precaution against the spread of disease to the local population and the troops stationed in the area, rather than for the benefit of the sick.³

Gordievca did not figure in the two general deportee counts that took place in 1943. According to the early count that followed the arranged visit to Transnistria's ghettos by a Romanian delegation of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) in January 1943, no Jews resided in the Trostineț raion.⁴ The September 1943 count, however, lists Trostineț as having 95 Bukovinian Jews, but does not mention Gordievca.⁵ The camp may have closed down at some point in 1942, after which its Jewish population was either transferred across the Bug, moved to other ghettos in Transnistria, or both.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Jews deported to Gordievca can be found in the following publications: "Gordievka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 329; "Gordievka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossen, 2009), p. 228; M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovani teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 46–47; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for the 1939 Soviet census, see

Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), 48.

Primary sources attesting to the mistreatment of deported Jews in Gordievca can be located at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and ANR (RG-25.002M). For Lazar's "Ordinance 6," see RG-31.004M, reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p.; for Alexianu's "Ordinance 23," see in the same collection, reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso); for a January 1942 information report issued by Tulcin's Security Bureau, see RG-25.002M, reel 15, file 134/1942, pp. 56 and 61.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See "Ordonanța Nr. 6," November 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1).

2. See "Ordonanța Nr. 23," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1, p. 268 (and verso).

3. See "Sinteza informativă pe luna Ianuarie 1942," composed February 2, 1942, by the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, Siguranța Bureau, Tulcin, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 15, file 134/1942, pp. 56, 61.

4. "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

5. "Suație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Suația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

GRABIVȚI

The village of Grabivți (pre-1941: Chervona, not to be confused with Chervonnoye), a part of the Copaiagorod raion in the Moghilev județ, in the northern region of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is some 47 kilometers (29 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. Occupied by German troops on July 20, 1941, it came under Romanian administration in September 1941. The village continued to be administered by Romanian authorities until March 1944.

It is unclear when, if ever, Jews settled in Grabivți before 1941. However, in November 1941, a ghetto (camp) was established in the village for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina. According to some sources, it is unlikely that these Jews were initially intended to be placed there. The destination of convoys of Jews passing through the area was in the area of Șmerinca, near the border with the *Reichskommissariat* of Ukraine, and the village of Cazaciovca, which was even closer to the border. When en route to the latter village, many deportees were deposited in various small localities, including Grabivți.

Makeshift wooden barracks near a large forest at the outskirts of the village were designated as the ghetto. Approximately 500 Jews were placed there. Their condition was deplorable after their long and tiring march from Bessarabia to

Moghilev, and then from Moghilev to Grabivți (the distance alone from Moghilev to Grabivți is approximately 50 kilometers [30 miles]). Crowded into these poorly fitted barracks, without food and warm clothes, around 300 of them died of typhus and cold in the harsh winter of 1941–1942.¹ Scarce information about the ghetto prevents an accurate description of the activities of those kept in Grabivți. The ghetto figures in various lists were composed by, and in collaboration with, the Romanian administration and the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER). CER sent aid to the Jews of Grabivți. There were 294 Jews there in the spring of 1943, when life in the ghettos improved everywhere in Transnistria.² On September 1, 1943, some 198 Jews from Bukovina still remained in the ghetto.³ The Red Army recaptured the area in the spring of 1944, freeing the remaining Jews.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Grabivți can be gleaned from these secondary sources: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003), pp. 71–73.

For primary sources, the following collections at USHMMA should be consulted: GARF (7021-54-1239), DAVINO, and YVA. One published testimony is found in *Vestnik: Vypusk 4 (chast' pervaiia); Liudi ostaiutsia liud'mi; Sviditel'stva uznikov fashistskikh lagerei-getto* (Chernivtsi, 1995).

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov

Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Testimony of Sarah Bidnaia, in *Vestnik*, pp. 114–115.

2. See "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.

3. See "Suație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Suația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

GROSDOVCA

Grosdovca (pre-1941: Grozdovka; today: Gvozdovka Vtoraya), a village in the Liubașevca raion, Golta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is about 133 kilometers (83 miles) northeast of Chișinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,021 Jews in the raion, representing a little over 3 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the village in August 1941. The Romanian authorities took over the administration of the village and romanianized its name as Grosdovca,

although it also appeared in Romanian documents as Gvoz-dovca, Vazdovca, or Vasdovka. From November 1941, the prefect in the Golta județ was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and the deputy prefect was Aristide S. Pădure. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent I. Ștefănescu. The Liubașevca (Ukrainian: Lyubashivka) raion's first praetor was Gheorghe Bobei, and his deputy was Dumitru Lupașcu.

Convoys of Romanian Jews deported from all over Bessarabia, including Chișinău and Bălți, that entered Transnistria via the Rezina-Rybnitsa crossing point were marched to Grosdovca in October 1941. Convoys of Ukrainian Jews from the Balta and Ananiev județe were also directed to Grosdovca later that month. The locality fell within the Crivoi Ozero area, which was one of the designated places for the deportation of Jews.¹ Having been mistreated along the way by their guards, the Jews were placed in a camp—the village's collective farm, or *kolkhoz*—under the command of a brutal, low-ranking (corporal) army soldier. Given the farm's small size and the convoys' large numbers, many Jews did not find a place inside its rooms and instead took shelter in basements, attics, and stables; some, not finding even that much shelter, stayed outside in the rain and cold. The number of deportees swelled to about 15,000 by late November, although by that time more than one-third had already died or were dying from cold, hunger, and illness.

A major typhus epidemic ensued. In a letter to Transnistria's government, dated November 13, 1941, the newly installed prefect Isopescu reported, "In Gvozdočka township, a Romanian-speaking township in Liubashevka raion, some 15,000 Jews were gathered, while in Krivoye-Ozero and Bogdanovka approximately 1,500. Typhus erupted among the Jews from Gvozdočka and some 8,000 perished, including those who died from hunger."² The acquiring of lice-infested clothes from detained Jews, bartered in exchange for food, also contributed to the spread of disease among villagers. Concern for the health of the local population and for the Romanian 20th Infantry Regiment (commanded by Colonel Ion Georgescu) that was stationed in Liubașevca and headquartered at Grosdovca prompted the prefect to relocate the Jews away from the area.

In November 1941, basic hygiene measures, including the burial of corpses, were implemented to disinfect Grosdovca and other villages in the Liubașevca raion. Local farmers and Romanian infantrymen under the command of Locotenent Gheorghe Moșoiu assisted in the cleanup operation, but the effort brought little lasting results because new convoys arrived in the area in January and February 1942. By January 31, 1942, the sanitary situation in Grosdovca alarmed Isopescu. He urged that "immediate measures be taken to combat and isolate the typhus disease" and requested that available mobile delousing units and sanitary agents from neighboring areas be recruited and deployed there immediately.³

The Jews held temporarily in the Grosdovca transit camp could not work and survived entirely on barter. In addition, many detainees were robbed of their money and precious items,

such as jewelry, foreign banknotes, and gold coins, by a band of Romanian deserters that operated for some weeks in an area unhindered by local authorities. The culprits were eventually apprehended and court-martialed.⁴ Local Jews trained in various professions were drafted into the Liubașevca camp where, as of January 1943, they worked as ironsmiths and tailors.⁵

The Grosdovca camp was closed in the early spring of 1942 after all the Jews who were kept there were sent to the Bogdanovca camp for further deportation across the Bug River (although most perished in Bogdanovca). In the March, June, and September 1943 counts of deported Jews to Transnistria, Grosdovca was no longer listed as a detention site.⁶

In May 1945, Bucharest's People's Tribunal tried Isopescu, Pădure, and Bobei for crimes committed against deported and local Jewish populations. All were convicted and sentenced to many years of hard labor.⁷

SOURCES More information about the fate of Jews deported to Grosdovca can be found in the following publications: "Gvozdočka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 201; "Gvozdočka," *Where We Once Walked-Revised Edition; A Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002), p. 123; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 2: *Documents 1–558* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53.

Primary sources about the fate of Grosdovca's Jews are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO, DAMO, and SRI. For assigned crossing points into Transnistria, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 45, delo 5, pp. 1–5; for Isopescu's letter to Transnistria's government, see RG-31.008 (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66, pp. 151–151b; and for trial records and verdicts, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 115–118, 136–137, 139.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Cf. "Dare de seamă asupra organizării și funcționării serviciului Jandarmeriei în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 45, delo 5, pp. 1–5 (esp. p. 5) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/1/2242/45/5).

2. "Către Guvernământul Transnistriei, Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.008 (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 66, pp. 151–151b (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/66). Letter reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 2: 316–317.

3. "Către echipa volantă sanitară," USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/5, p. 176, reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 2: 717.

4. "Către Curtea Marțială Tiraspol," December 23, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/12, pp. 203–204.

5. "Tabel de evreii din lagarul Liubasevca impartiti pe meserii si ocu [pații]," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2383/1/16, pp. 31–32 (and verso).

6. For the March 1943 count, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the June 1943 count, see "Situația numerică de evrei aflați pe raza județului Golta la data de 25 Iunie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.008/2178/423, p. 163; and for the September 1943 count, see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

7. See "Actul de Acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 115–118, 136–137, 139.

GROSULOVO

Grosulovo (pre-1941: Grossulovo; today: Velyka Mykhailivka), a village in the Grosulovo raion, Tiraspol județ, in the southwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is about 75 kilometers (47 miles) east of Chișinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 727 Jews in the raion and 522 Jews in the village of Grosulovo, the latter figure representing 41.5 percent of the village's total population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the village on August 7, 1941, and five days later, on August 12, soldiers shot 124 Jews, including 35 children, gathered in the local cemetery.¹ Romanian authorities took over the administration of the town in September 1941 and romanianized the town's name as Grosulovo (or Grosulova). The Romanians placed Grosulovo's affairs in the hands of Colonel Georgescu Pompiliu, Tiraspol's prefect, and his sub-prefect, Alexandru Smochină. The chief of Tiraspol's municipal police was Căpitan Ioan A. Ionescu, and the chief of Tiraspol județ's labor office was Fimareta Grigoriencu, whose deputy was Ioan Călin.

A camp was created in Grosulovo in the autumn of 1941 in the dilapidated building of a tobacco depot, which was situated in the town's central area. It held Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina, as well as local Ukrainian Jews. Most were soon sent eastward toward the Bug River, except for a small number of technical specialists who were assigned work duties in the town. The number of Jews in Tiraspol județ's camps and ghettos continued to drop, so that by April 1942, no more than 27 Jews (6 men, 18 women, and 3 children) were listed in official registers.² Among those who remained in Grosulovo were three Jewish accountants: David Litman, Moise (Mișu) Bartman, and Pavel Cornișteanu. They worked in the Grosulovo raion in places such as the wine factory, milk collection points, and an egg incubator; Lua Leibovici was a doctor working in the Grosulovo medical center (*dispensar*).³

According to the count of September 1, 1943, there were only two Jews from Bukovina left in Grosulovo.⁴ On Octo-

ber 14, 1943, some 450 (or 564, as in other reports) Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners from the Vapniarca camp (Jugastru județ) were moved to the Grosulovo camp (where approximately 200 Ukrainian prisoners were already held; they were subsequently moved to a different location).⁵ On October 20, 1943, a few dozen more Jewish deportees were brought to Grosulovo from the Slivina disciplinary camp. An infirmary was immediately set up to provide medical assistance to the sick, particularly those already sickened by the food (a type of poisonous pea) they had been served in the Vapniarca camp. The camp's administration allowed the inmates to organize some religious activities, as well as a theatrical performance in the winter of 1943.

As the Red Army approached the Bug River in the spring of 1944, some Romanian authorities wanted to relocate the inmates closer to the German side of Transnistria or to transfer them to the German authorities, but the Grosulovo's camp commandant (who was also Vapniarca's last camp commandant), Colonel Savin Motora, decided to evacuate the prisoners closer to the Romanian border instead. He charged the gendarmes escorting his prisoners to protect the convoy as they marched to Tiraspol and from there across the Dniester River into Bessarabia. When they were surprised by an armed group of Soviet deserters to the Nazis, called the "Vlassovs," Colonel Motora took lead of the convoy and ordered his gendarmes to draw nearer the prisoners to shield them from enemy fire. In 1983, Yad Vashem honored Motora as a Righteous Among the Nations for his actions on behalf of prisoners, both Jewish and non-Jewish, including members of persecuted religious minorities. On March 13, 1944, Grosulovo's prisoners reached Tighina. On March 31, 1944, they were transported to Bucharest and from there, on April 3, to the Târgu Jiu detention center—the place from which many had been deported to Transnistria two years earlier.

SOURCES Information about the fate of Grosulovo's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Grossulovo," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 463; "Grossulovo," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 248; Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, *Final Report* (Iași: Polirom, 2005); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Ihel Benditer, *Vapniarca: Lagărele Vapniarca și Grosulovo, închisoarea Rabnița, ghetourile Oglopol, Savrani, Tribudi, Crivoi-Ozero și Tribati* (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), 53.

Motora's listing as a Righteous Among the Nations can be found at www1.yadvashem.org/yv/en/righteous/pdf/virtual_wall/romania.pdf.

Primary sources about the fate of Grosulovo's Jews are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), GARF (RG-22.002M), and MAE-R (RG-25.006M). For the report of the Extraordinary State Commission to Investigate German-Fascist Crimes Committed on Soviet Territory, 1941–1945, see RG-22.002M, reel 6, fond 7021, opis 69, delo 83, p. 412; for statistical evidence regarding the number of Jews in Tiraspol județ, see RG-25.006M, reel 10, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 143 (and verso); and in the same collection, reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 589; for Jewish labor in Grosulovo, see RG-31.004M, reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1495, p. 120; and in the same collection, reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p.; and fond 2264, opis 1, delo 8, 86, and reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 61. See also survivor Ihel Benditer's testimony at www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/c/carmelly-felicia/benditer-ihel.html.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See "Report Nr. 362," USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 6, fond 7021, opis 69, delo 83, p. 412.

2. Cf. "Situația numerică a evreilor aflați neevacuați din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre și ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbați, femei și copii," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE-R), reel 10, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 143 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-25.006M/10/21/143 and verso).

3. See "Tabloul de repartizarea evreilor contabili la raioanele," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1495, p. 120, composed by Iuliu Dulfu, Tiraspol's financial advisor (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1495/120); "Tabel Model Nr. 1 de utilizarea evreilor din județul Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.; "Tabel nominal model 1 de utilizarea evreilor din județul Tiraspol în luna Dec. 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/8, p. 86; and "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflați în cuprinsul jud. Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 61.

4. See "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

5. See copy of "Situație numerică de evreii aflați în prezent în Transnistria, din cei evacuați din Basarabia, Bucovina, Județul Dorohoi și Vechiul Regat," USHMMA, RG-25.006M/11/21/589. This document states that the total number of 49,927 Jews deported to Transnistria as of November 15, 1943, does not include the 706 Jews found in the Grosulova camp.

HALCINȚI

Halcinți (today: Shevchenkove), a village in the Copeigorod raion in the Moghilev județ, is located in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. The village is 58 kilometers (36 miles) north-northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk.

According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,903 Jews in the Copeigorod raion, representing 4.8 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the Copeigorod area in late July 1941. A German military commandant's office governed until September 1941, when authority was transferred to the Romanian civil administration. Under this new administration, the village's name was romanianized from Halcintz to Halcinți (or, as it appears in some other sources, Galcinți or Golcinți), and its affairs were placed into the hands of four successive prefects: Colonel Constantin Dimitriu, Colonel Dr. Ioan Băleanu, Colonel Constantin Năsturaș, and Colonel Constantin Loghin (former prefect of Berezovca and Tulcin). The praetor in the Copeigorod raion was Ioan Vodă.

Deported Jews from Bukovina and Bessarabia were placed in the poorly constructed barracks of a dilapidated *kolkhoz* (state farm) near the village of Halcinți in the autumn of 1941. They had crossed into Transnistria at Moghilev and then had made a long journey walking south to Copeigorod and then farther to Halcinți. Living conditions in the barracks were appalling. The lack of basic hygiene facilities, coupled with the deportees' exhaustion and the absence of food, resulted in their dying very quickly from typhus and other illnesses. Left to fend for themselves (in accordance with Ordinance No. 23) and with work not readily available, deportees bartered their belongings in exchange for food.¹ Soon many, especially the poorest deportees, were penniless and without clothes.

Moises Katz, the former president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), related the following observation after visiting the camps and ghettos of the Moghilev județ in July 1943:

In the ghetto of Halcintz people ate the carcass of a horse which had been buried two meters deep. The authorities poured carbonic acid on it, yet they continued eating it. I obtained their promise that they would stop consuming this "aliment" and in return I gave them food, clothing, and money for starting a kitchen. I moved them out of the camp and placed them in the nearby village, and paid their rent for 3 months.²

The dreadful sight of Moghilev's Jewish deportees also impressed Ion Stănculescu, Mihai Antonescu's secretary (Mihai Antonescu was Romania's vice-president of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior). Stănculescu toured Moghilev's ghettos in January 1943. In his report he accurately described the desperate state of the ghettos, in which public toilets, baths, accommodations, food, clothing, shoes, and medication were missing or grossly inadequate. Stănculescu's concluding remarks described the general state of Moghilev's camps and ghettos and could have just as well applied to Halcinți's ghetto:

I ask myself, how anyone can think that these people are to fend for themselves, when they can't find any

work, when they can't get anything from their relatives and when the help from the [Jewish] Community is completely insufficient. There are many orphans in the ghettos whose parents have died of typhus and now roam through the ghetto begging. All urgently need food, medicine, clothing, underwear, shoes, straw, tools, bedding linens, and more humane living conditions.³

According to estimates of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER), there were 120 Jews in Halcinți in March 1943.⁴ The Romanian administration's September 1943 count of Romanian Jews deported to Transnistria found 124 Jews (119 from Bukovina and 5 from Bessarabia) in Halcinți.⁵ The Red Army recaptured Halcinți in the spring of 1944.

The People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried Colonel Loghin in 1945 for crimes against the Jewish and local populations, in accordance with Decree 312 of April 24, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources regarding the fate of Jews deported to Halcinți can be found in the following publications: Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 3: *Documents 559–1109* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania, *Final Report* (Iași: Polirom, 2005); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), 47.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews deported to Halcinți can be found at USHMMA, in collections RG-31.004M (DAOO) and RG-25.006M (AME).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. “Ordonanța Nr. 23,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, pp. 268 (and verso).
2. Katz memoir excerpted in “Mizeria în coloniile din Județul Moghilev,” in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 384.
3. “Raport în legătură cu situația evreilor aflați în ghetourile din Transnistria,” USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 22, pp. 594–598.
4. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.
5. See “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

HRINOVCA

Hrinovca (pre-1941: Khrenovka), a village in the Copaiagorod raion, Moghilev județ, in the northwestern part of Transnistria, is situated 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) south of Copaiagorod. This small village should not be confused with the eponymous villages located in the Ivano-Frankiv'ska and Vinnyts'ka oblasts.

German and Romanian forces occupied Hrinovca on July 20, 1941. After a brief period of German rule, Romanian authorities took over control of the village during the autumn of 1941, romanianizing its name as Hrinovca (also spelled Hrinivca or Hrinova in some documents).

In October 1941, the Romanian authorities established a ghetto in Hrinovca for Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jews deported to Transnistria. The ghetto contained approximately 200 to 250 Jews, of whom one-third died of hunger, cold, and illness (typhus) in the frigid winter of 1941.

The March 1943 count of deported Jews in Transnistrian ghettos, which was requested by the delegation of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) that visited Transnistria in January 1943, listed 241 people.¹ It is not clear whether this figure includes local Ukrainian Jews.

A subsequent count, on September 1, 1943, lists 183 Jews remaining in the ghetto, a number that does not include local Jews. Of the Jews in the ghetto, 1 was from Bessarabia and 182 from Bukovina.² The Red Army recaptured Hrinovca in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Hrinovca during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: “Hrinovca (Khrenovka),” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyab shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivsdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyab* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 441; “Krenovka (Hrinovca),” in Gary Mokotoff et al., eds., *Where Once We Walked: A Jewish Guide to the Jewish Communities Destroyed in the Holocaust* (Bergenfield, NJ: Avotaynu, 2002), p. 163; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Khrenovca can be found at USHMMA in the following collections: GARF (7021-54-1239), DAVINO, and YVA.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See “Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345.
2. See “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost

evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

HULIEVCA

Hulievca (today: Hulyaivka), a town in the Berezovca raion, Berezovca județ, in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 210 kilometers (130 miles) east of Chișinău. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 800 Jews in the Berezovca raion, representing 2.7 percent of its population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Berezovca and nearby towns on August 6, 1941. Immediately after the transfer of authority to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941, the name of the town was romanianized from Huliyeivka to Hulievca (or Gulaievca) and the name of the județ from Berezovka to Berezovca. Its affairs were placed in the hands of Berezovca's prefect, who from February 1942 was Colonel Leonida Popp, and of his deputy, Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. Dr. Victor Petrenciu became Berezovca's prefect in 1943. The chief of the Berezovca labor bureau was M. Ispravnicu, and the commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ioan Adrian Popescu, followed by Marin Ursuleanu. The praetor was Constantin Șerpuleț.

Deported Jews from the city of Odessa and its surroundings were placed in improvised camps in ethnic German (*Volks-deutsche*) villages in the Berezovca județ from December 1941 to April 1942. A large number of Jews from such convoys were placed on Hulievca's *kolkhoz* (state farm) in the winter of 1941–1942. They included not only Odessan Jews but also Jews from other parts of Ukraine and Bessarabia who retreated to Odessa, seeking a safe haven in the aftermath of the German-Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union.

Living conditions on the farm were primitive, and most of its buildings were missing windows, doors, and roofs. As a result, many died of cold, hunger, and sickness, especially typhus. There was no work available for the detainees in the middle of the winter, and the villagers were generally hostile to the Jews, seeing them as a source of infection and disease. They lived entirely on bartering their diminishing possessions.

On March 13, 1942, a group of 17 Nazi SS personnel from Kartaika (germanized as Kuhnersdorf) rounded up 650 Jews from the Hulievca camp and escorted them to a forested area on the town's outskirts, where they murdered them and then burned the corpses. Moments before they were shot, the victims were ordered to strip to their undergarments. Their belongings, including clothing, were subsequently transported to Kartaika, where they were distributed to the local population.¹

It is not clear whether the entire Jewish population held at Hulievca was murdered at that time. Of the 700 Jews who were still scattered in other localities in the Hulievca gendarmes sector, such as Dobra-Nadejda (today: Sofiivka), Zlataustovo (today: Zlatoustove), Marinovca (today: Mar'yanivka), and Zahariovca (today: Sakharove), 60 Jews were still alive in Hu-

lievca as of April 1, 1942.² They were watched by three civilian guards. The total number of Jews living in the Berezovca județ, however, steadily decreased, despite new convoys arriving from Odessa in May 1942 that were placed in Mostovoi.

There existed a Jewish labor committee in Berezovca. The members of this committee were Dr. Bruno Gross (president), assisted by Ifraim Fleischman, Rudolf Kirschen, Dr. Iancu Lazarovici (secretary), and Marcu Chireman.³

At the request of the Germans for Jewish laborers for road building projects across the Bug River, Prefect Popp sent some 3,000 Jews who had been gathered from all over the Berezovca județ in August 1942. It is highly possible that Hulievca's remaining Jews were rounded up and sent with the rest as laborers. Those too weak to work were killed immediately on arrival, and the rest were worked to death.

In March 1943, there were only three Jews in Hulievca, and there were none left by September 1943.⁴ The camp ceased to exist at some point between March and September 1943. This finding is consistent with others suggesting that Jewish deportees were not found south of the city of Berezovca after September 1943. The 66 Jews from the Berezovca județ listed in the September 1943 census lived in the northern towns and villages (Suha Balca, Vaselinevo, Mostovoi, and Covaliovcă).

In July 1945, the Bucharest's People's Tribunal prosecuted Berezovca's prefect, Leonida Popp, for criminal acts against deported Jews and sentenced him to hard labor in prison and the confiscation of his private property.⁵

SOURCES More information about the fate of Jews deported to Hulievca can be found in the following publications: “Guliavka,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 248; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 3: *Documents 559–1109* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews deported to Hulievca can be found at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), AMI (RG-25.002M), AME (RG-25.006M), and PCMCM (RG-25.013M). For members of the Jewish labor committee in Berezovca, see RG-31.004M, reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p., and in the same collection, reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 26, p. 62. For statistical figures resulting from censuses, see RG-25.006M, reel 10, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 143; and RG-25.002M, reel 16, file 134/1942, pp. 300–315. For a copy of the note stating the murder of 650 Jews in Hulievca, see RG-25.013M, reel 11, file 108, p. 296. For a list of German townships in the Berezovca

județ, see RG-31.004M, reel 2, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1087, p. 144. For the prefect's indictment and sentencing by the Bucharest People's Tribunal, see RG-25.004M, reel 26, file 39181, vol. 1, pp. 194–195, and in the same file, vol. 2, pp. 248, 252–253.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See a copy of “Nota,” USHMMA, RG-25.013 (PC-MCM), reel 11, file 108, p. 296.

2. For statistical evidence regarding Jews in Hulievca in April 1942, see “Situția numerică a evreilor aflați neevacuați din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre și ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbați, femei și copii,” USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 143; for a report attesting to the existence of Jews in other locations in the Hulievca's gendarmes sector in April 1942, see “Studiu Sintetic Informativ pe luna Aprilie 1942,” USHMMA, RG-25.002M (AMI), reel 16, file 134/1942, pp. 300–315, reprinted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 3: 1287–1291.

3. “Tabel de membrii Comitetului de muncă evreesc județean,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, with page); and “Decizia Nr. 385,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 62.

4. For the March 1943 count, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the September 1943 count, see “Situție numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

5. “Actul de Acuzare,” USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 26, file 39181, vol. 1, pp. 194–195, and in the same file, vol. 2, pp. 248, 252–253.

IAMPOL

The raion center and județ seat, Iampol (pre-1941: Yampol; today: Yampil, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of the Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located close to the eastern banks of the Dniester River. It is 42 kilometers (26 miles) southeast of Moghilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the Iampol raion had 3,248 Jews, including 1,753 Jews in the town of Iampol, representing 24.4 percent of the town's population. Some Jews managed to flee shortly before the arrival of German and Romanian troops, and others were drafted into the retreating Red Army, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Iampol on July 18, 1941. A few days later, on July 22, 1941, Sonderkommando 10a of Einsatzgruppe D shot nine Jews there. Other Jews in the area were shot in the following weeks. Control over Iampol was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941, which romanianized its name as Iampol (or Jampol, as in some documents), and renamed the județ Jugastru. The prefect of the Jugastru județ was Colonel Ștefan S. Gheorghiadă. The commandant of the Iampol Gendarmes

Legion was Locotenent-colonel Ulman, who was succeeded by Maior C. Petrescu and Maior D. Burcel. The deputy commandant was Căpitan Ioan Z. Mihail. The chief of police and of the Siguranța Bureau in Iampol was Sublocotenent E. Popovici. The praetor in Iampol was Mihail Turcanu.

During the war, Iampol was one of the most important crossing points into Transnistria. According to data prepared by the Transnistrian gendarmes headquarters in September 1942, it was estimated that 35,276 Jews had by then been deported from Romania to Transnistria via the Cosăuți-Iampol crossing. As with all other places of entry into Transnistria, the Jewish convoys were not allowed to stay in Iampol, but were marched eastward, deeper inside Transnistria. The intended area of deportation for those entering via Iampol was the Balta județ near the Bug River, but sometimes convoys did not reach their destination and stayed in places along the route. In August 1941, thousands of Jews expelled from southern Bukovina and northern Bessarabia crossed the Dniester River into Transnistria. These were Jews who were part of the “hasty deportations” that occurred in late July 1941. The German authorities, however, refused to accept them. Convoys of deportees, numbering more than 27,500 Jews, were marched back and forth between the crossing points over the Dniester. Some of the deportees were killed immediately after crossing, and others died of exhaustion in and around Moghilev as they were forced to march from place to place. The majority of them were eventually pushed back to Romania. Thirteen thousand of these Jews reentered Romania via Iampol and were held for weeks in the Vertujeni camp (along the Dniester in Bessarabia), before again being deported to Transnistria in mid-September 1941.

However, 350 of the deportees, skilled workers in various fields, were allowed to remain in Iampol by order of the Transnistrian authorities who needed artisans for reconstruction in the Jugastru județ. The deportees were placed in dilapidated houses without doors or windows. A ghetto was thus formed along three or four streets of the town. Outside the ghetto, local Ukrainian Jews lived on the same street that housed the Iampol Gendarmes Legion and the Ukrainian police. A year later, the Jews from this street were evacuated and taken into the ghetto, which by that time was encircled by barbed wire. Although themselves in a poor state, local Jews from Iampol helped the deportees. A market and the town's only water pump were located outside the ghetto: once a day, Jews were allowed to leave the ghetto to make purchases and draw water. Leaving the ghetto without a permit was dangerous. On January 27, 1943, 72 Jews from the ghetto were shot by Ukrainian police and Romanian gendarmes after being found outside the ghetto without a permit. Such Jews were usually suspected of trafficking goods and/or speculating in currency. All Jews were obliged to wear a yellow star. On November 30, 1942, the local Ukrainian Jews placed in the Iampol ghetto, some 600 in number, were transported to the stone quarry camp near Ladijin (Tulcin județ).

Within Iampol, however, Colonel Ulman and Prefect Gheorghiadă treated the Jews fairly. Through their efforts, Jews



Romanian Jews await deportation to Transnistria in Iampol, late 1941.
USHMM WS #02720, COURTESY OF FONDAZIONE CENTRO DI DOCUMENTAZIONE EBRAICA CONTEMPORANEA.

were employed as craftsmen under fairly humane conditions, and these leaders requested institutions to pay Jews for their work or feed them. Although officially only professionals were to remain in the ghetto, authorities tolerated the presence of several dozen other, nonprofessional Jews in the ghetto. The Jews' treatment became increasingly cruel after these two leaders were replaced.

Iampol had several workshops (*ateliers*) that employed most of the ghetto's Jews. Jewish men and women worked in tailoring workshops, sewing male and female clothes, and in a fur workshop where they made coats and hats. A few other workshops existed for bootmaking and carpentry, where only men worked. The chief of Iampol's workshops was Siegmund Vininger, assisted by Bernhard Landau (accountant) and Weiner Herman (secretary).¹

Jewish physicians served the ghetto's medical needs and worked in Iampol's medical centers, including a Jewish municipal hospital, where four Romanian Jews were recruited to work. Sallo Ficher was a general practitioner in the ghetto. Samoil Rubin (general practitioner), Iulia Rubin (dentist), Iosif Mandler (otolaryngologist), and Moise Oiring (a specialist in the treatment of venereal diseases) were based at the Iampol

clinic and hospital.² Because of these medical centers, the number of Jews infected with typhus was low. The dead were buried in the local Jewish cemetery.

By March 1943, there were approximately 500 Jews residing in the ghetto; by September there were 504 (348 from Bukovina and 156 from Bessarabia). It is unlikely that Ukrainian Jews were included in these counts. In April 1942, there were 1,097 Jews (245 men, 457 women, and 395 children) in the Juguștru județ; in September 1943, the total number of deported Jews from Romania living in the județ was 1,625.³

Partisan activity in the area increased in 1943. Romanian authorities feared that released Soviet prisoners of war (POWs; mostly Ukrainians and Russians), who were residing in the Juguștru județ because of family ties to Transnistria, were assisting the partisans. In the Iampol raion alone, there were approximately 1,000 former POWs; another 270 Soviet POWs were held in a camp in Maiovca (today: Moivka, near Cernivtsi) and 9 were in Elaneț (today: Yalant', near Kryzhopil'). Their activity was closely monitored by the Iampol gendarmerie, as was the activity of various religious minorities (the Brethren, in particular) active in and around Iampol. Orders existed for

the detention of Soviet officers and noncommissioned officers in concentration camps and for the arrest and trial of Brethren and other religious minorities.⁴

The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) helped people in the Iampol ghetto with medication, clothes, and money. Toward the middle of 1943, individual aid sent by friends and family from Romania via CER started to reach the Jews in Iampol.⁵ The repatriation of deported Jews to Romania began in December 1943. In February 1944, 65 Romanian Jewish orphans from the Iampol ghetto, ages 1 to 15, were repatriated to Romania.⁶ The Red Army liberated Iampol by March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews in Iampol can be found in the following publications: “Yampol (I),” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1473; “Iampol,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1132; “Iampol,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2007), 7: 424–425; “Iampol,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainского Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 357; “Iampol,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-‘ad le-ahar Sho’at Milhemet ha-‘olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 451–452; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources on the fate of Jews, POWs, and religious minorities in and around Iampol are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and ANR (RG-25.0002M). VHA holds more than 100 testimonies in seven languages (Romanian, English, Hebrew, Yiddish, Russian, Ukrainian, and Spanish) from Jewish survivors held in the Iampol ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For more on workshops in the Juguștru județ, see “Tabel de atelierele evreiești din Județul Juguștru,” USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 96–103 (and verso), (USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, pp. 96–103 [and verso]).

2. “Tabel nominal de medicii evreii aflați în județul Juguștru (ghetouri),” USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 120.

3. For the April 1942 count, see “Situația numerică a evreilor aflați neevacuați din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre și ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbați, femei și copii,” USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 142; for the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for the September 1943 count, see “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

4. See, for example, the monthly report of the Balta Inspectorate of Gendarmes for October 1943, USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 35, file 86, p. 295; for religious minorities, see the monthly report of the Transnistrian Inspectorate of Gendarmes, January 15–February 15, 1942, in the same collection, reel 15, file 134, p. 182. See also a detailed report of the Iampol Information and Siguranța Bureau for the Iampol Gendarmes Legion, which treats the situation of groups considered dangerous for each township in Juguștru in January 1942, “Dare de Seamă,” in the same collection, reel, and file, pp. 31–45 (and verso).

5. Remittances, “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Jampol (Jud. Juguștru),” USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1567, p. 502.

6. See two tables of Jewish orphans ages 1 to 12 and 12 to 15, respectively, in USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 35, file 35/1944, n.p.

IARUGA

Iaruga, a village in the Moghilev raion, in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Yaruha, Ukraine), is situated along the Olynk River, a tributary of the Dniester. It is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) southeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. In 1930, there were 829 Jews in Iaruga.

The German and Romanian armies overran the town on July 19, 1941. After a brief German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village’s name was then romanized from Yaruha to Iaruga (occasionally spelled Jaruga). The praetor in the Moghilev raion was Gheorghe Fuciu, who was succeeded by Octavian Oancea.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 679 Jews deported from Romania living in Iaruga in October 1942.¹ Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Moghilev Jewish Committee, estimated that up to 50 percent of the deported Jews in the Moghilev județ perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus, chief among other fatal diseases.²

In August 1941, the German military authorities in Transnistria refused to accept the Jews who had been deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia to the Moghilev județ in the “hasty deportations” that occurred in late July 1941. Convoys of deportees, numbering more than 27,500 Jews, were forced to march back and forth between the crossing points over the Dniester at Moghilev-Podolsk and Iampol on the Transnistrian side of the river, because the Romanian authorities vehemently refused to accept the convoys returning from Transnistria (although in the end, the Romanian gendarmerie was not able to resist German pressure and accepted the convoys). Approximately 500 Jews, mostly those too exhausted to keep up with the marches’ fast pace, were shot in Iaruga by the German security police escorting the convoys.

Subsequent convoys of Jews deported from Bukovina arrived in Iaruga between October and November 1941. Many of the Jews in those convoys crossed the Dniester at Moghilev-Podolsk, making a short stop there amid bombed-out buildings before being forced to press on to Iaruga; others entered via Iampol. The newly arrived deportees—robbed and starved along the way—were crammed inside the former homes of the local Jews, some of whom were still alive at that time. The Iaruga ghetto was thus created. It was an open ghetto, at least for a period, and was guarded by Romanian gendarmes assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries. The deportees survived on barter, which was possible on market day and was done covertly on other days. In the spring of 1942, in an effort to ease the overcrowding in the Iaruga ghetto (along with the nearby Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto), the Romanian authorities transferred a number of Jews from the ghetto to dreadful camps deeper inside Transnistria, such as the Scazineț (Skazintsy) and Pecioara (Pechora) camps.³

Detailed information about the living conditions inside the Iaruga ghetto comes from a report of the Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisiunea de Ajutorare a Centralei Evreilor din România*, CER) in Bucharest that visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 8 and 9 in Moghilev. The commission, led by Fred Șaraga, learned from a meeting with Rubin Ritter, I. Pozner, and Iacov Ghimpelmann, leaders of the Iaruga ghetto, that at that time 781 Jews were living in the ghetto (416 Jews from Bukovina and 365 Ukrainian Jews). The commission also learned that a soup kitchen had been set up in the ghetto, distributing a watery soup once a day to 150 people of the 300 who needed this help; a hospital also existed in the ghetto, furnished with 16 beds and doctors (Leopold Tumin and Isac Clopper were ghetto doctors in 1943). There were also 15 orphans, 13 of whom were missing both parents. However, because there was no means to create an orphanage, the children were rotated among different families. Regarding forced labor, the commission further learned that, except for 40 elderly and/or incapacitated Jews, all able men and women were put to work in forestry, on the *kolkhozes* (state farms), in vineyards, corn and potato fields, on road repair, and clearing snow. No one was paid for this labor. Finally, the ghetto leaders requested further aid from the commission to increase the number of soup

meals, improve the hospital, and set up an orphanage; school books were also requested. The Relief Commission donated 2,000 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*; German-issued scrip) toward increasing the number of meals for the neediest and assisting the orphans.⁴ CER sent a few more aid boxes to the Iaruga ghetto throughout 1943 and facilitated the transfer of sums of money from relatives or friends living in Romania to deportees in the ghetto.⁵ The aid was hardly sufficient, and those who had undeported relatives or friends with financial means were few in number, but the aid nevertheless helped some deportees cope better with their dire prospects.

By March 1943, there were 467 Jews in Iaruga; it is not clear whether the Ukrainian Jews were included in this number. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 478 Jews in the camp (6 from Bessarabia, 472 from Bukovina).⁶

The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi district and the Regat took place in December 1943, and the orphaned Jewish children in Transnistria were returned at the beginning of 1944; a few of these returnees had lived in Iaruga. The Red Army recaptured the village at the end of March 1944, liberating the camp. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Iaruga can be found in the following publications: “Yaruga,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosslen, 2009), pp. 1136–1137; “Yaruga,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 358; “Yaruga,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2011), 7: 430; “Iaruga,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 452; and “Yarugha,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1474. Additional information can be found in A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, “The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive,” *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Iaruga can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002). Declarations by survivors of the Iaruga ghetto can be found in Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits (USHMMA, RG-31.020M). A written testimony from Iaruga survivor Masya Ayzikovich is available in Russian and English at USHMMA, RG-02.120M. VHA holds 54 survivor testimonies in four languages (English, Russian, Hebrew, and Spanish) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.
2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).
3. VHA #33364, 'Avraham 'Adar testimony, June 29, 1997; VHA #38731, Mikhail Brandt testimony, December 5, 1997; VHA #49798, Rivkah Nahbar testimony, October 27, 1998.
4. For a visitor's report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 124–125; for a list of medical doctors in the Iaruga ghetto in 1943, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 227.
5. See receipts of remittances, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 117; reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1179, p. 527 (and verso); delo 1180, pp. 46, 126.
6. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 457.

IASINOVA

Iasinova, a village in the Liubașevca raion, Golta județ (today: Yasenove Pershe and Yasenove Druhe, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located on both sides of the Kodyma River, a tributary of the Bug. It is 133 kilometers (83 miles) northeast of Chișinău and 168 kilometers (104 miles) northwest of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,021 Jews in the raion (census data for Iasinova are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Iasinova in July 1941. By late September 1941, the village came under the control of the Romanian civil administration based in Golta. Under this administration, the village's name was romanianized as Iasinova or Iasinovo. Because of its position along both sides of the Kodyma River, the village was also called Iasinova 1 and Iasinova 2, but most frequently, it appeared in Romanian sources as Iașii Noi 1 (on the northern side of the river) and Iașii Noi 2 (on the southern side). The prefect of the Golta

județ was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and his deputy was Aristide Pădure. The acting deputy praetor in the Liubașevca raion was Lupașcu. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent I. Ștefănescu. The chief of the Iasinova gendarmes post was Sergeant maior I. Ignea. The administrative offices were based in Iașii Noi 2.

A ghetto was created for the remaining local Ukrainian Jews in the autumn of 1941. As of late 1941 and early 1942 there were 144 Jews in the ghetto.¹ Little is known about the ghetto's history. Based on Romanian army reports concerning the surrounding area, typhus was rampant in nearby places like Bobric and Vazdovca (a few kilometers away from Iasinova) in November 1941. The authorities feared that the villagers' contact with the Jews congregated in local camps or ghettos, combined with the presence of hundreds of unburied and decomposing Jewish corpses from the many convoys of Jews that marched north into Golta and beyond from Odessa, would spread the disease among the villages, endangering both the administrative and military personnel stationed in the area.² The fear materialized in January 1942, when Isopescu notified a mobile sanitary unit that typhus was spreading to Iasinova (and elsewhere) and asked that it recruit a local sanitation team to control the disease.³ It is unlikely that any medical effort aided the Jews. In the spring of 1942 the ghetto closed, and its Jewish survivors were scattered among other places in Golta.

In the summer of 1942, the Roma (Gypsy) population from Romania was deported to Transnistria, including the Golta județ. In June 1943, there were 9,000 Roma in the Golta județ. Of them, some 1,015 were placed in the Liubașevca raion, including approximately 200 who were camped near Iasinova 2. The Iasinova 2 Roma colony was led by a Roma representative (*primar țigan*), Dumitru Cristea. Receiving no aid on their arrival in Transnistria, the Roma colony placed near Iasinova remained without any means of earning an honest living, particularly after Isopescu confiscated their carts and horses in August 1942. A fraction of those who survived the winter of 1942 living in temporary wooden huts without any sanitary facilities were employed in agriculture in the Liubașevca raion in the spring of 1943, but most were forced to sell their possessions, including their clothes, to obtain food. Payment was rarely made for their labor, and when it was, it was usually in the form of food. For those who avoided work (because it was not paid), Golta's prefect ordered imprisonment without food until they agreed to work.⁴ For the majority, however, the major problem was the absence of work. The Roma representative Cristea wrote Isopescu the following letter in July 1943:

With profound respect I come before you complaining that we, the Gypsies (*țigani*) placed in township Iașii Noi 2, receive no work or food from the mayor's office in the township of Iașii Noi 2, needing therefore to come before you, who alone is able to take measures, or else we are forced to commit theft, robberies, and other such things in order to gain our daily existence.⁵

Driven to desperation, some of the Roma continued to steal from the fields or break into villagers' homes, risking their lives for handfuls of vegetables, grain, animals, or other valuables. Frustrated by frequent reports of theft and robberies in Golta, Isopescu requested permission from the government of Transnistria that "those [Roma] caught (stealing, robbing, or attacking in bands) be hanged in order to serve as example for the others and thus put an end to this worsening situation."⁶ The locals often took justice in their hands, severely or mortally wounding the Roma caught stealing.

By the autumn of 1943, the Iasinova administration was not prepared to have the Roma spend another winter there. Many of the previous year's huts needed to be rebuilt after having been burned as firewood in the spring. Some Roma women and children wandered around naked or partly clad, because they had no money to buy clothes. To meet their clothing needs, Isopescu, who was regularly updated about the Roma's poverty, informed Liubaşevca's praetor that 50 pairs of boots, 160 cloth-shoes (*opinci*), and 10 men's and 10 women's suits of sack-cloth were available to Roma "for purchase." The prefect ignored the fact that those undressed or unshod were in that state precisely because they did not have money left to buy clothes or shoes.⁷ After weeks of bureaucratic deliberations during which time temperatures dropped substantially, in late October 1943 the officials decided to move the Roma colony temporarily into the empty and destroyed homes of the deported Jews from Iasinova 2.⁸

The Red Army liberated Iasinova 1 and 2 in March 1944. The Bucharest People's Tribunal sentenced Modest Isopescu and Aristide Pădure to hard labor in May 1945.⁹

SOURCES Additional information about Iasinova can be gleaned from the following sources: Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), p. 125; and Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedica, 2004).

Primary sources about the Jews and Roma deported to or from Iasinova can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and DAMO (RG-31.008). VHA holds two testimonies (in Russian) of a Jewish survivor of Iasinova

ghetto (Larisa Iakers) and her rescuer (Mariia Borovskaia), in addition to a few other survivors' testimonies (all in Russian).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. List of members of Iasinova 2 ghetto, USHMMA, RG-31.004 (DAOO), reel 21, fond 2666, opis 1, delo 6, pp. 30–32 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004/21/2666/1/6, pp. 30–32).

2. See the correspondence between Locotenent Gheorghe Mosoiu, commander, 4th Company, 20th Infantry Division, who was temporarily stationed in the area in November 1941, and his superiors, regarding the imminent threat of a large-scale typhus epidemic, USHMMA, RG-31.008 (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, delo 1, opis 12 (USHMMA, RG-31.008/2178/1/12).

3. See Isopescu's letter to the mobile sanitary unit, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/5, p. 176.

4. Golta prefect order, Nr. 6717, July 8, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 3.

5. "Domnule Prefect," July 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/21/2666/1/31, p. 13.

6. Correspondence Nr. 12.893, August 17, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 23.

7. Correspondence Nr. 16.701/16.223, October 19, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, p. 124.

8. Praetor report to the Golta prefecture, "Raport privind situația generală și motivarea măsurilor luate de Pretură, pentru cazarea și repartizarea țiganilor în localități pe timpul iernei," October 22, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/369, pp. 85–86 (and verso).

9. "Actul de Acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 95, 115–119; and USHMMA, RG-25.004M/95/20372/1, pp. 2–3.

INDEPENDENȚA/LPRS NO. 16

Independența is a small town near Galați in the Covurlui județ in the Regat in the southeastern part of Romania (today: Independența, Galați județ). It is 22 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of Galați and 175 kilometers (109 miles) northeast of Bucharest.

A camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) existed at Independența. The camp was formally known as prisoner Camp No. 16 Independența (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici No. 16 Independența*), LPRS No. 16; at some point it was also known as Camp 3. Although it was locally administered by the III Territorial Command, in whose control area it fell, final authority in all matters rested with the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM). The Command of Prisoner Camps (*Comandamentul Lagărelor de Prizonieri*), headed by Colonel Ion Stănculescu, was a division within MSM created in November 1941 to oversee the implementation of orders and directives for POWs.

The camp opened in the spring of 1942. It had an initial contingent of 835 prisoners allocated by the MSM for agricultural projects in the Covurlui județ.¹ The number of prisoners



Soviet POWs in the workshop of a POW camp in Romania; exact location unknown.

USHMM WS #19513, COURTESY OF THE ICRC ARCHIVES (ARR).

sent to the camp grew continually until 1943, as did Romania's needs for cheap labor.² By August 1944, there were 2,411 prisoners in the camp; of them, 13 died while in captivity (1 officer, 11 soldiers, and 1 woman), but others are known to have perished in the subcamps.³

The main camp consisted of barracks, which had multi-tiered beds; a shower room, and a kitchen with a dining hall. Manufacturing workshops were also located within the camp. An infirmary also existed, and among the medical staff were two Jews from Romania brought there for forced labor.⁴ The camp was encircled by barbed wire. Many prisoners worked outside the camp, mostly in farms or building roads and rail lines; they stayed in subcamps created in villages near the working sites (for example, the Vameș subcamp, 8 kilometers north of Independența). The state of the prisoners on arrival in the camp was generally poor, especially regarding uniforms, and although the camp authorities provided from time to time some recycled military clothing (boots, coats, and hats), rarely was that clothing sufficient or of good quality.

Andrea Cassulo, the papal nuncio in Romania, visited the camp on July 1 and 2, 1942, distributing cigarettes as well as Christian Orthodox icons to the prisoners. The Independența camp closed down at the end of August 1944, when the Red Army arrived near Galați. The prisoners were released at that time and absorbed into the Red Army in various capacities (some as laborers, others as soldiers), but not before they damaged the camp.

SOURCES For the treatment of Soviet POWs in the Independența camp, see Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1945)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; on the papal nuncio's visit, see Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Șiperco, "1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România . . . și Crucea Roșie Internațională," *MagIs* 2 (1997): 7–16. On prisoner repatriation, see Dedu Constantin, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Apartinând Națiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the in-

volvement of the ICRC and Romanian Red Cross in assisting the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americani și sovietici, deportații evrei din Transnistria și emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Soviet POWs held in the Independența camp are available at USHMM, in collections AMAN (RG-25.003M) and PC-MCM (RG-25.013M). Further evidence can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, opis 977528; and in RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. List of prisoner distribution in agriculture, March 1942, USHMM, RG-25.013M (PCMMC), reel 22, file 48, pp. 99 and 198.

2. The names of 1,306 Soviet prisoners appear in a searchable database based on Soviet archives (RGVA, TsAMO); it can be found at www.obd-memorial.ru/.

3. List of deceased Soviet soldiers in Romanian camps, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2.

4. See the distribution of Jews from Romania for forced labor in the Covurlui județ, USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 312, file 1223, p. 45.

JIGOVCA

Jigovca, a small town in the Iampol raion in the Juguștră județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Dzyhivka, Ukraine), is located 41 kilometers (25 miles) east-southeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 858 Jews in the village. After the invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, but many stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Jigovca on or around July 18, 1941. During the short German military occupation, German police forces and Romanian soldiers rounded up the Jews, killing some in August. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town in September 1941, romanianizing its name from Dzygovka to Jigovca. The prefect in the Juguștră județ was Colonel Ștefan S. Gheorghiade; the praetor in the Iampol raion was Aurelian Rădulescu.

A ghetto for local Jews, as well as for Jews deported from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania, was set up in the fall of 1941.¹ Far more Jews passed through Jigovca on their way to the Bug River than those few (usually with desirable skills) who were permitted to stay. There was a ban on movement outside the ghetto; violators were severely punished. Romanian gendarmes and local Ukrainian auxiliaries from the local gendarmes post guarded the ghetto. Behind the tall, barbed-wire fence surrounding the ghetto, the detainees lived with endless privations. Incorporating only a few streets from

the town's Jewish area, the ghetto was very overcrowded, with detainees forced into the houses of local Jews and with 10 to 12 people sharing a single room. Epidemics (especially of typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths during the first two years of ghettoization (1941–1942). Wearing the yellow star was obligatory. A Jewish police force was instituted in the ghetto, under the supervision of a constituted Jewish Council. Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews toward those who sought help were the key means of survival for many. Able-bodied Jews (both men and women) undertook forced labor in the local sugar factory, chopped wood, worked in agriculture, and cleared snow for little or no food. Others, like Doctor Albert Schorr, worked in the Jigovca hospital.²

At some point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the ghetto was 1,046, probably the majority being Ukrainian Jews. The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in March 1943 did not include Jigovca on its list of ghettos needing help, perhaps because of the small number of Jews from Romania in its ghetto. On September 1, 1943, however, the ghetto numbered 105 Jews (96 from Bessarabia, 9 from Bukovina), without counting the Ukrainian Jews.³

The Red Army recaptured the town and liberated the ghetto in the second part of March 1944. After the ghetto was freed by Red Army soldiers, some Jews were conscripted into the army, and the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Jigovca can be found in the following publications: “Dzygovka,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 351; I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2011); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); for census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The*

Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Boris M. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, trans. Marina Guba (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Jigovca ghetto can be found at USHMM, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). The last collection contains a map of the Jugustru județ showing the exact location of the Jigovca ghetto and the number of inhabitants in 1942, in reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21. Affidavits relating to experiences in the Jigovca ghetto can be found at USHMM, RG-31.020M, Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization. VHA holds 96 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Ukrainian, and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. List of ghettos in the Jugustru județ, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p.
2. List of doctors in Jugustru județ USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 120.
3. The March 1943 census does not contain Jigovca among the Jugustru județ localities, as can be seen in “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for the September 1943 census, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

LADIJIN

Ladijin (pre-1941: Ladyzhin; today: Ladyzhyn), a village in the Trostineț raion, Tulcin județ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located along the Bug River. It is 28 kilometers (17 miles) east of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 720 Jews in Ladijin, representing more than 13 percent of the village's population. After the German-Romanian invasion in June 1941, some of the Jews retreated with the Red Army deeper inside the Soviet Union and a few were drafted into the Red Army, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Ladijin on July 24, 1941. On September 12 (or 13), 1941, Sonderkommando 10a of Einsatzgruppe D rounded up the remaining 504 (or 486, according to other reports) Jews—men, women, and children—and shot them in front of the Ukrainian villagers. Another 29 Jews were taken across the Bug River to Gaisin and killed. Requests from the local villagers to save the children were rejected by the German and Romanian authorities. Control over Ladijin was formally transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September

1941, but in practice this did not happen until the end of September. Under the Romanian administration, the town's name was romanianized from Ladyzhin to Ladijin (or Ladajin, Ladizin, Ladigeni). In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaș were Tulcin's prefects. Ion Vodă was the sub-prefect. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, who was succeeded by Căpitan Fetecău. The praetor in the Trostineț raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

Jews from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina regions in Romania, as well as Ukrainian Jews from nearby villages in the Trostineț raion, were deported to Ladijin in October and November 1941. As many as 2,000 Jews coming from Romania entered Transnistria at Moghilev-Podolsk. Most were force-marched (although some Jews came in an organized transport in goods wagons) to a train station near Ladijin. Approximately 450 Ukrainian Jews from the area were also marched to Ladijin, where they were placed in an open camp, set up in the abandoned barracks of a defunct arms factory previously used by the Soviet authorities. Romanian gendarmes kept watch over the camp, but did not forbid the deportees from moving about inside the village. The barracks were primitive, lacking essentials such as windows, beds, and tables. People slept on the floor atop wooden planks and makeshift beds (piled-up luggage, clothes, etc.), and cooked on makeshift woodstoves. Foodstuffs were procured primarily from bartering with the villagers, usually at exorbitant prices. A few months later, in January 1942, all but a small number (75 according to some counts) of Jewish craftsmen were transferred to Pecioara (today: Pechera), a concentration camp 42 kilometers (26 miles) northwest of Ladijin.

In June 1942, a second wave of 1,000 Jews was deported from Bukovina to the Ladijin camp. Six hundred of them were from Cernăuți and other towns in Bukovina, whereas 400 were from Dorohoi city in northern Bessarabia.¹ After a short stay in Moghilev-Podolsk, they were transported in train cattle cars in crowded conditions to Ladijin. There they were received on arrival with harsh words by an officer. The new group occupied the building of a former school, which was encircled by barbed wire. It was better guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian police than Ladijin's first camp; entering and exiting the camp were only allowed between 11 A.M. and 3 P.M. The deportees could walk to the Bug River to wash, but were prohibited from leaving the village without written authorization.² There were attempts to escape, but anyone caught faced being shot. By bribing officials, the Jews were allowed to attend a produce market once a week to barter for or buy essential food (at highly inflated prices).³

Dr. Camillo Horth (or Harth) became the chief ghetto leader and was aided by a Jewish committee. Through funds collected from deportees, a communal soup kitchen was set up where the needy received a warm meal each day. The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) from Bucharest assisted the camp with a sum of money in August 1942.⁴ Through the same organization, private sums of money were

sent to the deportees by their undeported relatives and friends in Romania.⁵ A few Jewish doctors and dentists worked in the local hospital.

On August 18, 1942, a group of German SS officers and soldiers arrived at the camp accompanied by trucks belonging to the Organisation Todt (OT) building conglomerate and by Lithuanian soldiers. Obersturmführer Christoffel and Oberscharführer Mass commanded the operation that was supposedly recruiting Jewish workers for road-building projects undertaken by OT in the territory across the Bug controlled by the Germans. Five hundred and fifty Jews were "selected" as able workers and placed in trucks, before being taken together with their luggage across the Bug. The elderly were shot on arrival or soon thereafter; most of the remaining Jews, scattered in smaller groups among various German camps, perished due to harsh living and working conditions. The majority of the 130 Jews who remained in the Ladijin camp were transferred to the nearby Stone Quarry (*Cariera de Piatră*) transit camp in September 1942, thanks to a combination of bribery and presumably because their skills were deemed essential. The move represented the end of the Ladijin camp, even though a few Jews remained there a little longer to perform medical services in the local hospital.⁶

The Red Army recaptured Ladijin in March 1944. The People's Tribunal of Bucharest tried and convicted Colonel Loghin in 1945 for crimes perpetrated against the Jews during his tenure as the Tulcin prefect.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Ladijin can be found in the following publications: "Ladyzhyn," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 699; "Ladejin," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 455–456; "Ladyzhin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 259–260; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrain-skogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 182; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Ladijin's Jews are found at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), MAE (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002M, reel 3, fond

7021, opis 54, delo 1233). For a survivor's testimony, see Gerhard Schreiber's memoirs available as an audio recording at <http://access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=1315434#1>, and as a transcript, <http://access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=426298#1>. VHA holds 56 testimonies in five languages from survivors of the Ladijin camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See the government of Bukovina's reports regarding the deportations of Jews from Bukovina, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 196–198 (and verso), 209–210.

2. Various ordinances: "Ordonanța No. 3" (September 22, 1941) and "Ordonanța No. 6" (November 17, 1941), issued by the Tulcin prefect, Colonel Ion Lazăr, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p.; and RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 546, p. 65.

3. VHA #23806, Leopold Oberhard testimony, December 1, 1996; VHA #29357, David Wasserman testimony, May 27, 1997; and VHA #40830, Israel Lapciuc testimony, April 27, 1998.

4. See acknowledgment of receipt of money: USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 11, file 779, pp. 36 (and verso).

5. See many receipts of money deposits, "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din România evacuați în Transnistria și aflați la Ladajin (Jud. Tulcin)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1189, pp. 136–137; and those remittances returned or redirected because the deportees were no longer in the Ladijin camp, USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 9, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1189, pp. 187–188.

6. See the following census reports: "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347, and "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

LADIJIN/STONE QUARRY

Located near Ladijin in the Trostineț raion, Tulcin județ (today: Ladyzhyn, Ukraine), in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, the Stone Quarry (*Cariera de Piatră*) camp is approximately 15 kilometers (9 miles) northwest of Ladijin.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Ladijin and its surroundings on July 24, 1941. Control over the area surrounding the stone quarry was formally transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941, but in practice this did not happen until the end of the month when camps and ghettos began to be established. In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaș were Tulcin's prefects. Ion Vodă was the sub-prefect. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, followed by Căpitan Fetecău. The praetor in the Trostineț raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

The commandant of the Stone Quarry camp was Locotenent Dan Enăchiță.

New waves of deportations from Cernăuți and other main towns in Bukovina resumed in June 1942. Of the Jews deported to Transnistria in June 1942, at least 600 Jews were deported to the Stone Quarry camp. On arrival, they were met with harsh words by Sublocotenent Vasilescu, the camp's medical officer, before being marched to the camp.

Once a penal camp under the Soviet regime, the stone quarry was heavily damaged before the Red Army retreat in July 1941. Under Romanian control, it became an open transit camp. A small unit of Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen guarded the camp. The guard chief was Caporal Costică Poenaru. The camp consisted of a few large dilapidated barracks and a few smaller houses and shacks in poor condition, usually without windows, doors, and beds. A road led downhill to a fountain and a small stream of water, and another road led to the Bug River. Groups of people occupied individual rooms in the few houses available, while the barracks held the Jews of the Cernăuți Insane Asylum and the Old Age Home. The shortage of livable rooms caused overcrowding in the camp's lodges. The deportees organized themselves into groups and appointed a leader over each one. An open ditch on the outskirts of the camp served as the lavatory.

The Jews were concentrated in this camp for delousing and for labor deployment elsewhere because there was no work to do in the camp. Delousing ovens were used to "disinfect" clothes, which occasionally burned the items placed inside and left the owners without clothes or with partly damaged clothing. Local Ukrainian peasants assembled twice a week at an area on the camp's outskirts to sell or exchange produce for money and other valuables. The deportees washed their clothes without soap in the Bug River. Swimming in the river was prohibited after being tolerated for a short while. Cultural activities, schools, and social gatherings were organized under the guidance of educated Jews. The Romanian authorities requested musical performances for their own enjoyment, but the deportees attended the concerts as well.¹ A Jew named Lederman, a harsh person, was put in charge of enforcing strict sanitation rules that were passed down from the camp authorities.

With voluntary donations from well-off inmates, a canteen was created for the very poor. The mentally ill patients suffered significantly more than the rest. They were not permitted to leave their barracks and lived in abject filth. Fed very little and unable to supplement their meals due to the absence of money, they basically starved.

With the approval of Colonel Loghin, a small group of German officers inspected the camp in August 1942 with the intention of recruiting Jewish workers for building projects across the Bug River. A few days later, early in the morning on August 17, 1942, the German officers returned with military trucks belonging to Organisation Todt (OT) and SS soldiers. The principal project for which Jewish forced laborers were sought was the building of a segment of Highway IV (*Durch-*

gangsstrasse IV, DG-IV) connecting western and southern Ukraine (Lvov to Stalino).

A selection took place in the middle of the camp's assembly area where almost everyone in the camp had assembled. Approximately 200 Jews were able to pay Locotenent Enăchiță a bribe of \$40 US and were thereby listed as necessary skilled workers for the camp (and encouraged to hide in a barrack). A smaller number of Jews took to the cornfields at the sound of the arriving German trucks and returned after they left. With these exceptions, most other Jews, however, stayed in the camp and were handed over to the German authorities. Once loaded onto the OT trucks, their fate was sealed. Personal documents were torn and destroyed even before they left the camp, and their belongings were searched again for valuables. The elderly were shot soon after leaving the camp. Smaller groups of the remaining Jews were scattered among German-run camps, where they lived and worked in extremely harsh conditions; those who survived until early 1943 were eventually shot as the camps closed down.

Some 450 Jews still remained in the Stone Quarry camp. They were transferred in September 1942 to a number of camps in the Tulcin județ. About half of them went to Ladijin, and the rest went to Kirnasovca and Obodovca, among other places. During that time, the Stone Quarry camp's mentally ill patients and Jews from the elderly home in Cernăuți were shot by Ukrainian policemen at the order of Romanian officers in charge of the camp. A few days later, however, the group of nearly 200 Jews transferred to Ladijin from the Stone Quarry returned to the camp, along with another 130 people from Ladijin. Shortly afterward, more Jews started arriving at the Stone Quarry camp from other detention sites in northern Transnistria. Six hundred Ukrainian Jews came from Iampol. Another 300 came from various other camps in the Tulcin județ, such as Capusteani, Chirnasovca, Olanița, and Certvertinovca. By November 1942, the number of Jews in the camp reached 1,300.²

The new camp community organized itself again in preparation for winter. Firewood was gathered from a few run-down, dismantled barracks. The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) assisted the camp on a few occasions with clothing, medicine, and money. Through the same Jewish organization, some of the deportees received private sums of money from undeported friends and family in Romania. Typhus and typhoid fever erupted in November 1942. Preventive measures, such as boiling drinking water, general cleanliness among deportees, and the presence of medical doctors in the camp, kept fatalities low. In late December 1943, 200 Jews were transferred to the Tulcin ghetto, but most remained in place until the spring of 1943.

What happened to the remaining Jews is difficult to know with certainty. The camp does not figure in the censuses of CER or the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes that took place in March and September 1943, respectively.³ Colonel Ion Stănculescu's report from early 1943, however, estimates the

number of Jews in the Stone Quarry camp as between 500 and 800.⁴ It is likely that most of these Jews were dispatched to various German-run camps across the Bug, and a few were retained in the Tulcin județ as specialist workers.

The Red Army recaptured the area surrounding the Stone Quarry camp in March 1944. The People's Tribunal of Bucharest tried and convicted Colonel Loghin in 1945 for crimes perpetrated against the Jews during his tenure as prefect of Tulcin.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to the Ladijin/Stone Quarry camp can be found in the following publications: "Dorohoi," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1: 323–324; "Cariera de Piatra," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyab shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivisdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 496; "Ladychin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 259–260; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainского Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 182. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews deported to the Ladijin/Stone Quarry camp are found at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DACgO (RG-31.006M), and MAE (RG-25.006M). Survivor Loni Ronen's memoir is available as "A Survivor of Cariera de Piatra: A Memoir," USHMM, Acc. No. 1996.A.0406. USHMM also holds an oral history interview with survivors Samuel Flor and Gertrude Granirer Flor (RG-50.030*0296, July 28, 1994). VHA holds 28 testimonies in seven languages from survivors of the Cariera de Piatra camp. Survivor Gerhard Schreiber's memoir is available as audio recording and transcript at <http://access.cjh.org>. A published survivor's testimony is Isak Weissglas, *Steinbruch am Bug: Bericht einer Deportation nach Transnistrien*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Berlin: Literaturhaus, 1995).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.030*0296, oral history interviews with Samuel Flor and Gertrude Granirer Flor, July 28, 1994.
2. For a list with the names of the deportees found in the Cariera de Piatra camp, see "Lagarul Cariera de Piatra,

Ladejin,” USHMM, RG-31.006M (DACgO), reel 12, fond 38, opis 6, file 332.

3. “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347, and “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

4. The commandant of POW camps in Romania, Ion Stănculescu, prepared a report after his visit to Transnistrian camps and ghettos: “Raport în legătura cu situația evreilor aflați în ghetourile din Transnistria,” USHMM, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 594–598 (esp. p. 594).

LIUBAȘEVCA

Liubașevca, the seat of the Liubașevca raion in the Golta județ, in the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Lyubashivka, Ukraine), is located approximately 140 kilometers (102 miles) north of Odessa and 146 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Chișinău. According to the Soviet census of 1939, there were 671 Jews in the town. Although some retreated with the Soviet authorities and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army after the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Liubașevca by the middle of July 1941. Control over the town was transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September of that year; the town's name was then romanianized from Liubashevka to Liubașevca. The deputy praetor in Liubașevca was Lupașcu.

After taking control of the village, the Romanian gendarmes and German soldiers shot 350 Jews from Liubașevca and the surrounding villages in September.¹ The Romanian authorities then established a ghetto in the fall of 1941, after registering 163 Jews in the Liubașevca raion.² Many of these local Jews, along with thousands of other Jews deported from Bukovina and Bessarabia in Romania, were temporarily sent to the ghetto before being moved farther east to the dreadful camps of Domanovca and Bogdanovca in an area known as the “kingdom of death.” Jews from villages in the Liubașevca raion, including Agafievca, Arcipitovca, and Iasinova, were registered at the Liubașevca ghetto as early as January and February 1942 and moved farther east over the course of the year. By April 18, 1942, only nine Jews remained in the Liubașevca ghetto.³

The area in Liubașevca where the Jews were held was equally spoken of as both a “camp” and a “ghetto.” According to official documentation, altogether 110 Jews were registered at the Liubașevca ghetto as of January 12, 1943. Most of the new inmates were men and women who possessed various skills that became useful for the local administration, as well as their families. Most inmates had to work while in the ghetto, frequently in their original occupations.⁴ Among them were railway workers, tailors, and embroiderers. Ninety-two Jews

(Ukrainians as well as Bessarabians and Bukovinans) were still registered at the site as of July 6, 1943.⁵

Roma (Gypsies) deported from Romania were brought to Liubașevca and scattered among its villages in the early fall of 1942. After being robbed of their horses, carts, and other possessions, the Roma suffered greatly. The more fortunate ones were able to barter for food with some of their possessions (jewelry and clothes) that they had managed to hide. Only a handful found work in agriculture or loading/unloading freight cargo at the Liubașevca rail station and received food (produce) for their work. Driven by cold and hunger (many remaining completely naked), the Roma resorted to theft and robberies to survive. The area gendarmes in turn became harsher and treated them with even more brutality. Many perished of cold, hunger, and typhus.⁶

The repatriation of various categories of Jews deported to Transnistria occurred between December 1943 and March 1944. Many Roma fled the town as well. The Romanian administration retreated from the Golta județ on the eve of the Red Army's crossing of the Bug River in March 1944. On capturing Liubașevca, the Red Army liberated the ghetto in the spring of 1944.

SOURCES Further information about the fate of the Jews held in the Liubașevca ghetto can be found in the following publications: “Liubashevka,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 554; “Liubashevka,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejs'tva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 185; “Liubashevka,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2004), 5: 345; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii territorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 124–125. For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents reporting on the persecution of the Roma deported from Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

The following collections at USHMMA contain primary source material about the Liubașevca ghetto: OÖYV (USHMMA, RG-31.004M), reels 20 and 21; DAMO (USHMMA, RG-31.008M), especially fiche no. 2178/1/373; and DAOO (RG-31.004M). VHA contains 21 survivor testimonies about the Liubașevca ghetto, among them the testimonies of Vera Davel'man, May 9, 2000 (#50885); Semen Gleyzer, May 20, 1998 (#47078); and Semen Gromadskii, August 13, 1998 (#49384).

Alexandra Lohse and Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Liubashevka," in I. A. Altman, *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 554.
2. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (OÖYV), reel 21, "List of Jews who lived in Liubasevca rural district prior to evacuation," n.d.
3. USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 21, "Jews who stayed as of April 18, 1942," n.d.
4. USHMMA, RG-31.004M, reel 20, "Tabel de evreii din lagarul Liubasevca împartiti pe meserii si ocupatii," January 12, 1943.
5. USHMMA, RG-31.008 (DAMO), Fiche no. 2178/1/373, "Tabel nominal model Nr.1 de utilizarea evreilor din Transnistria," n.d.
6. For more, see Achim, *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor*, pp. 265 (Doc. 436), pp. 345–346 (Doc. 512).

LOZOVA

Lozova, a village in the Șargorod raion, in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Lozova, Ukraine), is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk.

The German and Romanian armies overran Lozova on July 22, 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time the village's Jews were persecuted, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The praetor in the Șargorod raion was Iosif Dindelegan, a corrupt and violent man.

A ghetto was created in Lozova soon after the arrival of a convoy in December 1941 with approximately 100 Jewish deportees, mostly from Bukovina. The convoy marched under escort to Lozova from Moghilev-Podolsk in bitter cold, snowy conditions, although they were able to pay for a cart to transport some of the luggage. The village mayor in Lozova looked favorably on the destitute group of Jews and allowed them to remain in the village. The deportees stayed with the few Jewish families that had survived the period of German control of the area by concealing their identity, but also bartered for rooms from the non-Jewish villagers. All in all, there were approximately 160 Jews in Lozova when the ghetto was created. The ghetto was not fenced with barbed wire, but was closely guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries. Everyone inside was well aware that leaving the village without permission was punishable by death. A classroom in the local school was repur-

posed into a prison cell, primarily although not exclusively for Jews.

Life inside the ghetto was difficult, particularly during the winter of 1941, when typhus, cold, and hunger caused the death of some of the deportees.¹ In addition, the presence of German troops in the village, who were guarding a camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), added to their fears, particularly because they customarily robbed the Jews they encountered. People survived on barter and charity. The deportees worked for their lodging, helping the villagers in the local *kolkhoz* (tobacco-leaf harvesting and cleaning stables); others set up a tailoring workshop to produce fur gloves for German soldiers, and a few became barbers and hairdressers. The ghetto's spokesmen were named Hager and Singer.² Lozova's proximity to Șargorod, some 10 kilometers (6 miles) away, improved its inmates' chances of survival after 1942, when some aid sent from Romania by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) trickled down from the much larger and better organized Șargorod ghetto.

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Lozova was 104; it is not clear whether the Ukrainian Jews were included in this count. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 31 Jews in the camp (4 from Bessarabia, 27 from Bukovina).³ The decrease in number may have been due to relocation for forced labor to the Nestervarca peat exploitation camp near Tulcin, as well as the transfer of a few skilled workers to the bridge-building camp at Trihati, on the Bug, in the southern part of Transnistria.⁴

The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi city and județ and from the Regat took place in December 1943; a few other groups, such as decorated World War I veterans, war invalids, war widows, and former state functionaries, followed suit. There were a few such cases in Lozova.⁵ The Red Army recaptured the village at the end of March 1944, liberating the ghetto. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Lozova can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreistva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); and "Lozova," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 457. Additional information can be found in A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New

York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, “The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive,” *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Lozova can be found at USHMM, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). VHA holds five survivor testimonies from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #26498, Fridah Bra'unsteyn testimony, January 29, 1997.

2. VHA #27409, Lothar Singer testimony, February 11, 1997.

3. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; for the September 1943 census, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

4. For a list of skilled workers recruited from Moghilev district ghettos, including Lozova, for Nestervarca and Trihati, see USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo, p. 23.

5. USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 12 and delo 15.

LUCINET

Lucineț (pre-1941: Luchinets), a village in the CopaiGORod raion, in the Moghilev județ in Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located some 28 kilometers (18 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1923 Soviet census, 667 Jews lived in the village. By 1940, the number of Jews in Lucineț had decreased substantially as a result of the Ukrainian famine and the resettlement of Jews to larger towns and villages.

The invading German-Romanian armies occupied Lucineț on July 20, 1941. After a short period of German rule, authority for the village was transferred to the Romanian administration in the autumn of 1941. Under the Romanians, the village was romanianized as Lucineț (or Lucineți). In November 1941, a ghetto was established in Lucineț for Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina deported by the Romanian authorities to Transnistria. Among the deportees were decorated World War I veterans as well as former functionaries of the Romanian state.¹ The chief of the Jewish ghetto was Iancu Abram, assisted by Mendel Nagler and Matel Șapira.

The houses constituting the ghetto in Lucineț were encircled by barbed wire. Several families were crowded together into small rooms in these houses, owned by local Ukrainian Jews. In most cases, they slept on bare plank beds. Hunger, epidemics spurred by poor sanitary conditions, and extreme cold resulted in a high mortality rate among the newly arrived Jews, particularly among the children and the elderly. In the frigid winter of 1941–1942, the ghetto population was almost halved by tuberculosis, louse-borne epidemic typhus, and dysentery. By the spring of 1942, less than one-third of the children were still alive. In total, 1,698 Jews died of hunger and disease in Lucineț from 1941 to 1942.²

Starting in 1942, peasants from the nearby villages were allowed into the ghetto to trade food for belongings. In the center of Lucineț, a market also spontaneously formed, and on some market days the Jews were permitted to shop there. Some ghetto inmates had managed to hide small valuables—gold chains, rings, earrings, and the like—that they exchanged for potatoes, flour, and oats. Men were forced to perform hard labor, such as digging peat, for many hours a day, whereas the women were allowed to go into the countryside in search of a living, usually working for local Ukrainians. For a workday of farming, they received a kilogram of potatoes.³ Only those few employed in the Romanian administration (hospital, praetor's office, etc.) received payment in cash, and only occasionally.⁴

In 1942, a hospital with 16 beds and a medical center was established in Lucineț. It treated infectious diseases and also provided specialized children's care. Ghidion Lecher, Solomon Grill, Abraham Platnic, Aron Stoleru, and Sali Sontag were doctors in the hospital.⁵ A ghetto-run orphanage was also established for the unfortunate children without one or both parents.

In January 1943, the ghetto in Lucineț, along with other Transnistrian ghettos, was visited with the Romanian government's permission by a delegation from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER). The delegation found an estimated 2,897 Jews in the ghetto; the number of orphans was ascertained to be 116 (of whom 50 had lost both parents).⁶ CER left a sum of 5,000 German scrip (*Reichskreditkassenscheine*) to assist the orphanage and to reopen the ghetto's canteen (which had operated before, but had been closed due to a lack of funds).⁷ Private sums of money sent by deportees' friends and family were also distributed to those intended recipients through CER.⁸ Letters and packages from siblings in Romania were occasionally allowed.⁹

On September 1, 1943, after some of the Jews had been sent away to work in mid-1943, there were 177 Jews from Bessarabia and 830 from Bukovina in the ghetto,¹⁰ as well as some local Jews. In March 1944, a number of orphaned children from Lucineț were repatriated to Romania in the care of local Jewish communities.¹¹ The Red Army recaptured Lucineț and freed the remaining Jews.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Lucineț during the Holocaust may be found in these publi-

cations: Benjamin Lehrer, "Lucinet," in Hugo Gold, ed., *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: "Olamenu," 1962); "Lucinet," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: entsiklopedyah shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 457; "Luchinets," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2005), 5: 332–333; "Luchinets," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (New York: New York University Press, 2001). Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Lucineț can be found in the following collections at USHMM: GARF (7021-54-1239); DAVINO (r2966-2-691); DAOO (r2264-1-15; r2255-1-1359-1366, 1370, 1372, 1374, 1376, 1179, 1400, 1403, 1407, 1408); and YVA. At USHMM, records of DAOO (RG-31.004M) may be consulted for the following: tables of decorated veterans and Romanian state functionaries deported to Lucineț, reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, 49, pp. 256–260, and reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, 15, p. 26; for payment records, reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, 1177, p. 300, and reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, 1177, p. 224; for records of private financial aid sent by family and friends, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1567, p. 488, and RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1567, p. 487; and for a list of Jewish doctors working in Lucineț and its surroundings, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, 1562, pp. 226–227. For a list of orphaned children from Lucineț returning to Romania in March 1944, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 6, file 7642, p. 344; Fred Șaraga's report on Lucineț can be found in the same collection, reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 129. Aleksandr Trakhtenberg's testimony is quoted in *Izvestiia.Ru*, January 23, 2009.

Ovidiu Creangă and Alexander Kruglov
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. See "Tabel nominal de evreii aflați în ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni și care sunt decorați pentru merite speciale sau fapte de arme din războaiele României," USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, 49, pp. 256–260 (esp. p. 259) (USHMM, RG-31.004M/1/2242/4s/49/256–260). For a list of state functionaries, see "Tabel nominal de evreii foști funcționari de Stat, aflați în ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni," USHMM, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15/26.

2. GARF, 7021-54-1239, p. 60.

3. Testimony of Aleksandr Trakhtenberg, January 23, 2009, *Izvestiia.Ru*, <http://www.izvestia.ru/hystory/article/3124621/>.

4. See "Borderou asupra plăților efectuate evreilor din Jud. Moghilev," section Lucineț, USHMM, RG-31.004M/8/2255/1s/1177/300, and "Borderou Nr. 153 asupra plăților ce s-au efectuat la data de 18/V/1943 la Lucineț," USHMM, RG-31.004M/8/2255/1s/1177/224.

5. See "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflați în ghetoul Moghilev și în Județ," USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562/226–227.

6. A smaller figure of 1,307 Jews, probably not taking into account local Jews, is offered by Ancel, *Documents*, 5:345.

7. See Fred Șaraga's final report "Raportul Oficial al Comisiunii Evreiești care a fost în Transnistria," USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 129 (USHMM, RG-25.004M/9/2710/33/129).

8. See, for example, "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Gorai-Lucineț (Jud. Moghilev)," USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1567/488, and "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Lucineț (Jud. Moghilev)," USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1567/487.

9. See "Tabel nominal de confirmările pachetului sosite din Cernăuți," USHMM, RG-31.004/13/2264/1/8/106.

10. "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

11. See "Tabel nominal de copii evrei orfani de ambii părinți între 1-15 ani, repatriați din Transnistria și luați în îngrijirea Comunității evreiești din Bacău," USHMM, RG-25.004M/6/7642/344.

LUGOJ

The city of Lugoj, in the Timiș județ in the southwestern part of Romania, is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) south-east of the city of Timișoara or approximately 359 kilometers (223 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

The internment camp established near Lugoj was created as a result of the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry (*Ministerul Afacerilor Interne*, RMAI) Order No. 4147, issued on June 22, 1941. This order instructed the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), the gendarmerie, the General Directorate of Police, and the prefects of each Romanian county that Marshal Ion Antonescu had ordered that all Jews living between the Siret and Prut Rivers in northeastern Romania were to be deported to newly established internment camps in the southern and southwestern regions of Romania.¹ All able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 60 living in the area demarcated by the order would be sent to the large internment camp at Târgu Jiu, where they were to perform hard labor. The families of these men, as well as all other Jews in this area who did not meet these criteria, were to be sent to smaller internment camps, such as the camp at Lugoj.

The deportation of Jews from between the Siret and Prut began soon after the joint Romanian-German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The prisoners at Lugoj were Jewish women and children from the area near the city of Dorohoi, in northeastern Romania. On August 7, 1941,

there were 499 people living in the camp, 261 of whom were adult women and 238 of whom were children under the age of 18.² The prisoners in the camp at Lugoș were guarded by members of the Lugoș military garrison, with the assistance of the gendarmerie and local police forces; the camp remained under the overall authority of the RMAI.

Initially, the forced labor of Jews in the internment camps was controlled by the RMAI; before the mass mobilization of Romanian Jews for military labor service in August 1941, Antonescu had ordered that all Jews living in the internment camps should be subjected to "hard labor" (*muncă grea*).³ However, the order did not clarify the status of Jewish women with respect to the forced labor obligation. When control over Jewish forced labor was passed from the RMAI to the MSM on August 8, 1941, the status of women remained unclear; on August 23, MSM indicated its intention that the women in the internment camps were to remain under RMAI's authority, because they were not obligated to perform any sort of compulsory labor. The final authority with regard to the forced labor of the prisoners in the Lugoș camp would have belonged to the VII Territorial Command, pursuant to MSM's instructions for the use of Jewish forced laborers. Because neither the MSM nor the RMAI issued any order for the organization of work in the Lugoș camp, it is unlikely that forced labor was performed there, with due allowance for possible labor in the local community.⁴

No organized killings took place at Lugoș, because it was never intended to play a role in the implementation of the Antonescu regime's genocidal policy. The internment camps in southern Romania were established as a means to remove the Jews from the areas near the front line with the Soviet Union, because Antonescu feared that they could spread communist "propaganda" in the region and thereby undermine the war effort. A secondary motive was the spoliation of Jewish property through "war effort contributions." However, these Jews were not part of the dictator's orders for extermination, which applied only to the newly reoccupied territories of Bessarabia and Bukovina (which had been forcibly ceded to the Soviet Union by Romania in 1940); in these areas, the army, gendarmes, police, and even civilians massacred tens of thousands of Jews during the first months of the war. Nonetheless, living conditions in the Lugoș camp were poor, with inconsistent supplies of food and medicine and therefore a constant risk for diseases, including serious maladies such as typhus. However, no official statistics were recorded on the number or nature of such illnesses in the camp or whether any deaths resulted from the poor conditions there.

The internment camps for Jews from northeastern Romania in the southern and southwestern part of Romania (with the exception of Târgu Jiu) remained open until the end of 1941. On December 16, 1941, the camps were dissolved and the inmates returned to the urban centers nearest their places of origin (because Jews were still legally prohibited from residing in Romanian villages); the Jews at Lugoș were thus returned to Dorohoi.⁵ None of the personnel of the Lugoș camp were brought to trial for their actions.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Lugoș camp are Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and Ottmar Trașcă, ed., "*Chestiunea Evreiască*" in *documente militare române, 1941–1944*, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). Additional information can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kebilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheiniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), vol. 1; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Lugoș camp can be found in AMANR, available at USHMM in collections RG-25.003M, and ANR, available at USHMM as RG-25.002M.

Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. Order No. 4147 reproduced in Trașcă, "*Chestiunea evreiască*," pp. 120–121, Doc. 5.
2. USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 144, file 2410, p. 381; and RG-25.002M "Situația Lagărelor," August 6, 1941, USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19.
3. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2410, p. 386.
4. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 36, file 2371, n.p.
5. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, p. 2.

LUGOVA

The village of Lugova (today: Luhova, Ukraine), situated on the banks of the Bug River in the Berșad raion of the Balta județ, is located approximately 48 kilometers (30 miles) north-northeast of Balta in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control over it to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The new authorities romanianized the village's name from Luhova to Lugova. The prefect in the Balta județ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and the praetor in the Berșad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

After the beginning of the deportations of Jews from Romania to Transnistria in July 1941, the Romanian authorities identified Lugova as one of several villages on the banks of the Bug River for the concentration of deportation convoys. One officially designated deportation route went from Iampol to Crijopol and then to the villages of Obodovca and Balanovca in the Berșad raion. From there, the surviving Jews were transferred to the villages of Lugova, Ustia, Shumilovca, Man'kovca, and Trostineț. One of the earliest convoys heading to Lugova departed from Mărculești in early November 1941 and passed through Crijopol, Vapniarca, and Tsybulevca. Leaving a trail of dead bodies along the route, the convoy reached Obodovca on November 16, 1941. Two days later, 780 deportees were marched on to Lugova where, according to eyewitness testimony, the head of the village greeted them with the words, "This place will be your grave."¹

The Jews were crowded into windowless cowsheds on a former collective farm. They were rarely allowed to leave the sheds, except to fetch water from the nearby river. Later, some of them were allowed to leave periodically to work for Ukrainian families in the vicinity. Mass dying from hunger and exhaustion continued at Lugova and escalated during the catastrophic typhus outbreak that ravaged Balta's northern raions in the winter of 1941. When the disease spread to Ukrainians in the region, the Balta prefect Nica, along with army health commander Major Dr. Gheorghe Filipaș, inspected Berșad on December 6 and Obodovca on December 12, 1941, and he ordered the implementation of measures to contain the epidemic. The authorities established two special typhus hospitals in Berșad and Lugova and began to treat and delouse the Ukrainian population. The Jews of Lugova remained mostly untreated and isolated in the ghetto, where the death toll was so high that burial became nearly impossible. Bodies littered the sheds and alleyways, as well as the surrounding fields. A trench in the woods served as a mass grave.

Meanwhile, convoys continued to arrive at Lugova, including one of a few hundred Jews that left the nearby village of Ustia on June 25, 1943. In addition, a smaller number of Ukrainian Jews from surrounding communities were also detained at Lugova.²

A count of the Jews in the Berșad raion at the beginning of 1943 found 54 Jews in Lugova.³ Whether this group consisted only of Jews deported from Romania or only of Jews deported from Transnistria is not clear; what is clear, however, is that Lugova did not figure among the Romanian censuses of March and September 1943, possibly because no Jews from Romania were interned there at the time. Scarce evidence suggests, however, that a handful of Jews remained in the Lugova ghetto until March 1944, when the site was liberated by the Red Army.⁴ The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated in 1945 that some 673 of the 935 Jews once held in the ghetto perished from cold, hunger, and diseases.⁵

SOURCES Further information about the Lugova ghetto can be found in the following publications: "Lugovaia," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow:

Rosspen, 2009), p. 539; "Lugovaia," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskiï spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 189; and "Lugovaia," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 323. See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

For primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the Lugova ghetto, see the following collections at USHMM: DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), AME (RG-25.006M), and ANR (RG-25.002M). A testimony can be found at RG-50.589*0107 (oral history interview with Yahad-in Unum). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about some ghetto inmates likely incarcerated at Luhova, including several Jews liberated from there in March 1944.

Alexandra Lohse and Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. As quoted in Ancel, *Transnistria*, 1: 76.
2. Anonymous interviewee No. 503, USHMM, RG-50.589*0107 (Yahad-in Unum), July 22, 2007.
3. See the population count, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Hinda Bodek, Doc. No. 53283741; and Netty Ciobotarn, Doc. No. 50721642.
5. USHMM, RG-22.002 (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 202.

MAIA/LPRS NO. 12

Maia, a village in the Ilfov județ in the Regat, in the southern part of Romania (today: Maia, Ialomița județ), lies 41 kilometers (25 miles) north of Bucharest.

After the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union that occurred on June 22, 1941, a camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was established in Maia in November 1941. The camp was formally known as prisoner Camp No. 12 Maia-Ilfov (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*), LPRS No. 12. It fell within the jurisdiction of the II Territorial Command and was controlled by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM). The commandant of the camp was Căpitan Ilie Constantinescu.

The Maia camp was a camp for imprisoned Soviet Army officers. It was installed on a large estate belonging to Barbu Catargiu, the former prime minister of Romania, in 1862. The estate included a few large buildings (mansions, chapel, mews, and hunting house) surrounded by forests, orchards, and vineyards. The main house was repurposed and became the camp dormitory.

The camp in Maia began with the transfer of 300 officer prisoners (including 3 or 4 Serbian pilots) to the Barbu Catargiu estate from nearby Fierbinți, a subcamp of LPRS No. 1 Slobozia located 5 kilometers (more than 3 miles) south of Maia. The move occurred in November 1941 and was done to relieve overcrowding at Fierbinți.¹ By May 1943, the number of prisoners increased to 448 (including 40 orderlies).

High-ranking officers, such as majors, slept in small rooms with only two beds; the rest of the officers shared 16 rooms. Among the camp facilities were a shower room with hot water and an infirmary run by two prisoner doctors; in 1944, the infirmary was staffed by an additional Romanian Jewish doctor who undertook forced labor at the camp.² The prisoners themselves ran the camp's kitchen, which came with a large dining room and baking ovens. The camp was guarded by a contingent of 25 Romanian troops, commanded by 3 officers and 2 noncommissioned officers (NCOs).

The treatment of the officer prisoners inside camp Maia was significantly better than in every other POW camp for Soviets in Romania. They were served better food, comparable in quantity and quality to that given to cadets in the Romanian Army, regardless of the type of labor they performed. If the Romanian state spent an average of 30 lei per day to feed a prisoner in 1942, it always spent more—at times even three times that amount (90 lei)—to feed an officer prisoner in the Maia camp. The menu included (horse) meat a few days each week. The daily bread ration for an officer prisoner was 500 grams (17.6 ounces) a day; in addition, these prisoners were entitled to four cigarettes and coffee daily.³

The POWs worked on a farm in Maia. The salary normally paid to prisoner officers of other belligerent countries (for example, to American or British POWs) was not paid by the Romanian authorities due to the absence of a joint accord between Romania and the Soviet Union. A small Orthodox chapel was built early on in the life of the camp, where religious services were conducted in the Russian language by an Orthodox priest.

A delegation from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), including Edouard Chapuisat and David de Traz, visited the camp in May 1943, along with representatives of the Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roșie din România*, CRR). Chapuisat's follow-up report characterized the prisoners' health and nutrition as "satisfactory."⁴

At some point between the end of 1943 and early 1944, large numbers of enlisted Soviet prisoners were brought to the camp. They were probably crammed into the remaining buildings on the estate, but kept separate from the officers; they were deployed for varying periods of time as workers on the area's private and state enterprises doing agricultural work and road construction. The camp had 5,282 prisoners in August 1944. The number of fatalities registered in the camp, most likely during the latter period and not necessarily in the camp itself, was 99 (1 officer, 98 soldiers).⁵

Romania switched sides in the war on August 23, 1944. According to the Armistice Convention that Romania signed on

September 12, 1944, the Soviet POWs were to be handed over to the Soviet authorities in the Allied High Command (*Înaltul Comandament Aliat*). Thus, in September 1944 all the prisoners from the Maia camp were handed over to the Soviet authorities for repatriation. The transfer occurred with formalities, with the Soviet authorities signing for receiving the prisoners (a practice that was sometimes refused by the Soviet authorities). The Maia camp was closed down in September 1944.

For decreasing the prisoners' meat allocation, Commandant Constantinescu was punished by a military court in 1942 and eventually discharged from office.⁶

SOURCES For further information about Soviet POWs held in the Maia camp, see Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Leonida Loghin, *Armata Română în al Doilea Război Mondial (1941–1945): Dicționar Enciclopedic* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1999), especially pp. 329–341; Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1945)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; and Alesandru Duțu, Florica Dobre, and Andrei Șiperco, "1941–1945: Prizonieri de Război în România... și Crucea Roșie Internațională," *MagIs* 2 (1997): 7–16; on prisoner repatriation, see Constantin Dedu, "Repatrierea Prizonierilor Aparținând Națiunilor Unite, După 23 August 1944," available at www.centrul-cultural-pitesti.ro/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=833:file-de-istorie&catid=254:restituiri-3-2007&Itemid=118. For the involvement of the ICRC and CRR in assisting the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944): prizonierii de război anglo-americi și sovietici, deportații evrei din Transnistria și emigrarea evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources documenting the Maia camp for Soviet POWs are available at USHMMA, in collections PCMCM (RG-25.013M) and SRI (RG-25.004M). Further evidence about the camp can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003 and opis 977528, containing prisoner registration forms and information regarding a prisoner's health condition (including typhus, typhoid, and cholera vaccinations).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. LPRS No. 1 Slobozia commandant, Colonel Aristide Ursu's court deposition, June 1, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, pp. 157–159 (and verso).

2. For a list of Jews conscripted to exterior forced labor detachments, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 312, file 1223, pp. 45–46 (listed under "Camp No. 12").

3. See Ursu's statement, "Memorial," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, pp. 99, 100.

4. As quoted in Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională*, p. 49.

5. List of deceased Soviet soldiers in Romanian camps, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2. Note however that the camp is listed as "Camp 11 Maia."

6. Ursu's statement, "Memoriu," USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, p. 311.

MANICOVCA

Manicovca, a village in the Berșad raion in the Balta județ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Man'kivka, Ukraine), is situated on the Bug River. It is located 61 kilometers (38 miles) north of Balta.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Manicovca at the end of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Man'kovka to Manicovca, and the raion name became Berșad. The praetor in the Berșad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A camp, termed a colony (*colonie*), for Jews deported from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania was set up in Manicovca in the fall of 1941. As the deportation was set into motion, the Jews were robbed and their homes looted. After entering Transnistria via the bridge at Iampol, most of the deportees marched on for a few more weeks, resting in open fields in wintry conditions, before reaching Manicovca. Many perished along the way of cold and hunger or were shot for not being able to keep up.¹

The Manicovca camp was on the grounds of the local *kolkhoz* (state collective farm). The buildings that housed the deportees, at least initially, were former chicken coops and pigsties, badly damaged by war. A handful of Romanian gendarmes aided by local Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the camp; German soldiers from across the Bug River visited the camp on occasion. These soldiers treated the deportees brutally, confiscating some of their belongings and sexually assaulting some of the young women.² There was a ban on movement outside of the camp; violators were severely punished. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths, especially during the first two years of internment (1941–1942), but still continuing thereafter at a slower pace.³ It is claimed that 556 people perished under these conditions.⁴ Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews aiding those who sought help were the key means of survival for many. Erich Klein was the camp's head.⁵

Able-bodied men and women undertook forced labor in various forms, including in agriculture and on military fortifications. If at all, workers were recompensed with a handful of produce. A form of Jewish religious life existed in the camp, including weddings and ritual circumcisions.⁶

It is claimed that the total number of Jews in Manicovca was at some point 650.⁷ The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in March 1943 listed Manicovca as having 150 Jews. In April 1943, the number of Jews was 110 (41 men, 33 women, and 36 children). On September 1, 1943, the camp was not listed among locations where deported Jews sheltered.⁸ In October of the same year, however, the Balta gendarmerie recorded that there were 106 deported Jews in Manicovca—30 men, 63 women, and 13 children—and described the site as a ghetto.⁹

At the beginning of 1944, the Romanian administration retreated from the area, but not before repatriating to Romania selected groups of Jews (Jewish orphans, Jews deported from the Dorohoi județ, state functionaries, and war veterans). From January 1944 until the camp's liberation, the German military authorities controlled the Manicovca camp, panicking the survivors as to their ultimate fate. The Red Army recaptured the village at the beginning of March 1944, immediately liberating the camp. The deportees then feared that Soviet soldiers would sexually assault Jewish women from the camp, just as the previous authorities had.¹⁰ Some Jews were conscripted into the army, and the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Manicovca can be found in the following publications: “Man'kovka,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 567; “Man'kovka,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evrejs'tva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 203–204; “Man'kovka,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2004), 5: 378; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 28–29. For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Manicovca camp can be found in the following collections at USHMM: GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAOO-YV (RG-68.130M), and AME (RG-25.006M). VHA holds nine survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and Spanish) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #6378, Rosita Drukman testimony, November 3, 1995.

2. The sexual assault on Jewish women in Manicovca is mentioned in VHA #51078, Khana Maizel' testimony, July 6, 2000.

3. VHA #40607, Mariia Margulis testimony, March 17, 1998; VHA #47448, Aleksandr Vainer testimony, April 16, 1998.

4. "Man'kovka," *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 567. The source evidence for the claim is the ChGK report, April 1945, available in USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, pp. 93, 126, 133–134.

5. List of ghetto and camp leaders in the Balta județ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562. Another list of ghetto leaders in the Balta județ can be found at USHMMA, RG-68.130M (DAOO-YV), reel 2, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666 (M-39/32), p. 142.

6. VHA #47448.

7. ChGK report, April 1945, available in USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 86.

8. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the April 1943 census, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11, and delo 717, p. 42; for the absence of Manicovca from the September 1943 census, see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.

9. Statistical figures of Jews in the Balta județ ghettos, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 588.

10. VHA #50659, Tsilia Stukelman testimony, February 23, 2000.

MĂRCULEȘTI

A village in the Florești raion, Soroca județ, in northern Bessarabia in eastern Romania (today: Florești raion, Moldova), Mărculești is located near the Răut River and Lake Florești. It is 108 kilometers (68 miles) north-northwest of Chișinău and 178 kilometers (111 miles) southeast of Cernăuți. The Christian population lived in Mărculești, whereas the area occupied by the Jews (an agricultural settlement) was known as Mărculești-Colonie. In Holocaust literature, the latter is simply referred to as Mărculești. According to the 1930 Romanian census, the number of Jews in Mărculești was 2,319, representing 88 percent of the entire population. The attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, found Mărculești's Jewish population fleeing across the Dniester River, the traditional border with the Soviet Union. The Soviet authorities, however, forbade civilians to cross it until July 5, 1941, at which time many who escaped over the Dniester were soon overrun by the German Army. The refugees were arrested and driven back toward the Dniester.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Mărculești on July 8, 1941. The day before, mobs of local peasants assaulted their Jewish neighbors who had remained in town, robbing their homes (especially vacant properties), raping

women and girls, and killing a few people. Soon after taking control of the town, Romanian soldiers of the 6th Infantry Regiment commanded by Colonel Emil Matieș rounded up a group of 18 Jewish community leaders (including the village rabbi) and shot them. This attack represented the first step in a long campaign of cleansing Bessarabia and Bukovina of Jews. It also constituted an act of revenge for the alleged humiliation of the Romanian Army during its retreat before the Red Army in June 1940 when the Soviet Union annexed Bessarabia and northern Bukovina.

After the murder of its leaders, the remaining Jewish community of Mărculești was gathered on the town's outskirts and kept under guard. The army officers ordered that a group of Jewish men deepen the existing antitank trenches that had been dug out by the Red Army near the lake.¹ While this was going on, the soldiers robbed the rest of the Jews of their valuables. Soon everyone was ordered to undress, and in groups of ten or so, the people were shot, falling into the trenches. The exact number of victims is unknown, but is estimated to be from 460 to 1,040.² Leading figures in the shooting were Căpitan Ion Stihî, Locotenent Eugen Mihăilescu, and a soldier, Ion Epure.

In mid-August 1941, the Romanian gendarmes established a transit camp on the town's outskirts, some 3 to 4 kilometers (about 2 miles) from the train station. Surrounded by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by gendarmes, the camp was built to receive convoys of Jews from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina and to organize their transport across the Dniester into Transnistria. Two crossing points were chosen—at Rezina (56 kilometers [35 miles] east of Mărculești) and Cosăuți (40 kilometers [25 miles] north of Mărculești). The commandant of the camp was Colonel Vasile Agapie, and his adjutant was Căpitan Sever Burădescu. The delegate of the Romanian National Bank (*Banca Națională a României*, BNR) in the camp was Ion Mihăilescu. His job was to buy jewelry at a rate set by the bank and exchange currency (Romanian as well as foreign) into the German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) that circulated in Transnistria.

The camp was set up in some houses, but was mostly an open field. Inside the camp, rodents fed on corpses that had been shallowly buried or left lying in basements, yards, or ditches. The youth from nearby villages occasionally approached the fence to throw over food items.³ Among the first groups of Jews to arrive in the Mărculești camp were those transferred from three holding camps in the Bălți județ in Bessarabia—2,634 from Limbenii Noi, 3,072 from Râșcani, and 3,235 from Răuțel—together nearly 9,000 Jews. Other groups arrived as well. Thus, on September 1, 1941, 10,737 Jews were counted in the camp (this number does not include those who had already died in the camp).⁴ In October 1941, Mărculești held other groups of Jews deported from Cernăuți and southern Bukovina (from the Storojineț ghetto, in addition to localities in the Rădăuți județ).⁵ These Jews were transported to Mărculești by train, crammed into freight cars, marched from the station to the Mărculești camp, and transferred later, again on foot or train, into Transnistria.

Intimidation, beatings, and robberies occurred immediately after the Jews disembarked at the Mărculești train station and while they marched to the camp. Soldiers and peasants joined in the plundering, especially when the camp authorities were absent.⁶ The official confiscation of valuables (from jewelry and foreign currency to identity papers) took place at the camp's entrance before admission. All of the camp's top authorities collaborated in the organized theft of the deportees. After a while, Mihăiescu stopped issuing receipts or money for jewelry or currency, in total disregard of existing laws. A fraction of the total taken was declared and deposited with the BNR; camp officials pocketed the rest. Further spoliation occurred while inside the camp, where items such as furs, pillows, coffee, soap, shoes, and silverware were simply taken from the deportees for Mihăiescu's personal use. The use of extortion was rampant as well. The camp commander Agapie hired out horse wagons to the highest bidder after taking his cut. He ordered the deportees to march out of camp only with what they could carry in their hands. The confiscated possessions were loaded on a train and sent inland toward Romania, supposedly to restock military hospitals. In reality only a fraction of the stolen goods arrived there.

On November 10, 1941, there were still 1,200 Jews imprisoned in the Mărculești camp, but transports to the camp soon ceased. The camp closed down probably in late November or early December 1941. After long (and, for many, deadly) marches toward the Dniester River crossings, the convoys leaving the Mărculești camp reached other detention sites in the Balta, Golta, and Juguștru județe, in the eastern part of Transnistria. After Romania switched sides in the war in August 1944, Bucharest's People's Court tried and sentenced Agapie, Burădescu, and Mihăiescu, along with other conspirators, to many years in prison and confiscation of private property for grossly abusing their roles and mistreating the Jews in the Mărculești camp and elsewhere.⁷

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of the Jews from Orhei and of those imprisoned in the Mărculești ghetto can be found in the following publications: "Mărculești-Colonie," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 793; "Mărculești," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min hivasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-shebiyab* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 2: 365–368; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Dione, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României. Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. I (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by

Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia și Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuții la Istoria Încercării de Exterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Mărculești camp are available at USHMM in the following collections: ANRM (RG-54.001M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ACMEOR (RG-68.029M), and Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits (RG-31.020). Under RG-50, USHMM also holds seven oral history interviews by witnesses of the Mărculești camp and the shooting of Jews from the area. VHA holds 72 testimonies (in seven languages) from survivors of the Mărculești camp. For an English-language memorial book commemorating the destruction of the Jews of Mărculești, see L. Kuperstein and Meir Cotic, eds., *Mărculești: A Memorial for a Jewish Agricultural Colony in Bessarabia* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Jotzei Marculeshti Beisrael, 1977). An electronic version of this book is available at <http://yizkor.nypl.org/index.php?id=1216>.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See witness testimonies: USHMM, RG-50.572*0137, Constantin Blajevski, oral history interview, October 29, 2009; the actual killing sites are indicated by Mărculești resident Constantin Vasile Tomcovici, USHMM, RG-50.572*0010, oral history interview, August 12, 2004.
2. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 37, offers the figure of 1,000 Jewish victims (diary entry, "8 iulie 1941").
3. USHMM, RG-50.572*0146, Olga Ivanova, oral history interview, October 31, 2009.
4. Census figures found in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 46.
5. Diary entry, "22 octombrie 1941," in *ibid.*, 3: 145.
6. USHMM, RG-50.572*0147, Timofei Cocieru, oral history interview, November 1, 2009.
7. For court depositions and prosecution's final statement, see USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 28, file 40013, vol. 1; and reel 46, file 108223, vol. 119.

MIASCOVCA

Miascovca, a small town in the Crișopol raion in the Juguștru județ in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Horodkivka, Ukraine),¹ is situated along the Markivka River; it is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) northeast of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 3,104 Jews in the Crișopol raion, 1,400 of whom lived in Crișopol and 832 in Miascovca. Although some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, many stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Miascovca in the middle of July 1941. During the short German military occupation, the Jews were rounded up by German police forces and Romanian soldiers. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town beginning in September 1941. The town's name was romanianized from Miastkovka to Miascovca, but was routinely spelled Mișcovca.

The prefect in the Juguștru județ was Colonel Ștefan S. Gheorghiadu.

A ghetto for local Jews, as well as for Jews deported from northern Bessarabia in Romania, was set up in the early fall of 1941.² Life in the ghetto was fraught with endless privations. There was a ban on movement outside of the ghetto; violators were severely punished. Romanian gendarmes and local Ukrainian auxiliaries from the local gendarmes post guarded the ghetto. They repeatedly sought to rape young Jewish women from the ghetto.³ Inside the ghetto, the deportees were crowded into the houses of local Jews, with a few families sharing each room. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths. Wearing the yellow star was obligatory. A Jewish police force was instituted in the ghetto, under the supervision of a constituted Jewish Council. Nukhem Stolerman and a person named Fishman were among the ghetto leaders. Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were key means of survival for many.⁴

The establishment of government-controlled workshops (*ateliers*) where skilled Jews inside the ghetto could work in exchange for food or small sums of money also provided a means of survival for some. The creation of Jewish workshops was in accordance with Ordinance No. 23 of the government of Transnistria, but it fell on the shoulders of the ghetto leadership to set them up. Fortunately, the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) provided some aid in that effort. A number of such workshops were established in the Miascovca ghetto most likely at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943 and were coordinated by Haim Becherman. For example, there existed a tailors and furriers workshop, and there were workshops for hairdressers, iron-smiths, hatmakers, and bootmakers. All in all, some 40 people were employed in the workshops in October 1943.⁵ The rest of the able-bodied Jews (men and women) undertook forced labor in agriculture, construction, and road building/maintenance. A little food, if that, was their remuneration.⁶

Far worse was the fate of those men selected to be sent to the Trihati bridge-building camp in June 1943. This camp was not only far from the Miascovca ghetto but also was under German control. The survivors attest to the brutal treatment they received while building the railway road leading to the rail bridge over the Bug at Trihati.⁷

At some point in early 1942, there were 875 Jews in the ghetto. By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Miascovca was 800, perhaps not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 186 (177 from Bessarabia, 9 from Bukovina).⁸

The Romanian administration left the area on the eve of the Red Army's recapture of the town in March 1944. For a brief time, the ghetto was controlled by the German military authorities, which planned (or so was rumored) to shoot the inmates after robbing some of them. A sudden attack on the ghetto by a group of partisans disrupted the planned annihilation of the ghetto, leading instead to the capture of some German soldiers. This took place as the Red Army entered the

town.⁹ With the ghetto freed, some Jews were conscripted into the Red Army and sent to the front, while the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges. In April 1945, the Soviet Extraordinary Commission (*Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissia*, ChGK) tried some of the collaborators with the German and Romanian authorities.¹⁰

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Miascovca can be found in the following publications: "Miaskovka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 816; "Mișcovca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Roman-yah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min b'cas-dam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 478; and in the following encyclopedias: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 278. See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), 39; for census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Miascovca can be found at USHMM, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). The last collection contains a map of the Juguștru județ showing the exact location of the Miascovca ghetto and the number of inhabitants in 1942, in reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21. Survivors' testimonies about their imprisonment in the Miascovca ghetto can be found in the Chernivtsi Jewish Organization Affidavits, RG-31.020M, microfiche 12, folder 3, vol. 277; microfiche 13, folder 4, vols. 299 and 309. VHA holds 52 survivor testimonies in four languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Hebrew, and English) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Note that the Romanian listing of towns and villages in Transnistria, produced in 1942, distinguishes between Miascovca village and Miascovca town; the two localities are part of today's Horodkivka, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, p. 14.

2. List of ghettos in Juguștru județ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p. For lists containing the names of some of those interned in the Miascovca ghetto, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 5, fond 1529, opis 6s, delo 9; and reel 33.

3. The soldiers' sexual assaults on Jewish women in the Miascovca ghetto are reported in VHA #14354, Abram Byk testimony, April 17, 1996; and VHA #38255, Abram Zats testimony, November 23, 1997.

4. VHA #17314, Neha Weinstein testimony, July 2, 1996; VHA #14777, Sarah Fishman testimony, May 10, 1996.

5. Confidential correspondence on Jewish workshops between the Juguștru Prefecture and the Labor Department, Government of Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 96–104 (esp. pp. 99–100).

6. VHA #45893, Evgeniia Belianskaia testimony, June 15, 1998; VHA #181, Arkadi Voskoboinick testimony, October 20, 1994.

7. See, for instance, VHA #38255 and VHA #181.

8. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

9. For Soviet resistance fighters, see VHA #14354 and VHA #45893.

10. Protocol document, USHMMA, RG-21.002M (GARF), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1265, pp. 62, 68.

MIHAILOVCA

Mihailovca, a village in the Șargorod raion (today: Mykhailivka, Ukraine), Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 17 kilometers (11 miles) northwest of the town of Șargorod, 55 kilometers (34 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. A number of camps for Soviet prisoners of war (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS) existed around Moghilev-Podolsk and throughout the Moghilev județ.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the Moghilev județ in the second part of July 1941. Control over the area was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941. The județ prefects were Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaș, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The Șargorod raion praetor was Iosif Dindelegan, succeeded by Dimitrie Rusu. The commandants of the gendarmes sector for the Șargorod area were Locotenents Vasile Grama and Vasile Mihăilescu.

A small camp for Soviet prisoners of war existed at Mihailovca. As was typical with most early camps for prisoners of war in Transnistria, the camp was likely not enclosed with barbed wire until later in 1942.¹ Local Ukrainians and Romanian gendarmes guarded the camp, with a ratio of one guard per 10 prisoners. From among those recruited to guard the Mihailovca camp were two former local leaders and members of the Communist Party: Petro Carpovici (former director of the fruit-drying factory in Sușarca, Șargorod raion) and Visco Sargala (former director of the Mihailovca *kolkhoz*).² The camp appears to have been closed at some point by the end of 1942, because it does not appear in the general outline of camps for prisoners of war in Transnistria issued in March 1943.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the imprisonment of Soviet POWs in Mihailovca are available at USHMMA, in collection ANR (RG-25.002M). A general outline of the POW, political detainee, and penal labor camps in Transnistria can be found at USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79, 1943, pp. 408–419.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See commandant of 9th Cavalry Division, General de divizie Traian Cocorăscu's report, April 1942, on the guarding capacity for prisoner camps and ghettos in the area of Transnistria under his jurisdiction, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 20, file 1128, p. 7; and the inquiry, March 9, 1942, to which it responded, in the same collection and reel, file 1127, pp. 60–65.

2. Confidential report, "Nota," April 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 15, file 134, p. 348.

MITKI

Mitki (pre-1941: Mytki), a village in the Șmerinca raion (and later in the Balki raion), in the Moghilev județ (today: Mytky, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located near the Bug River. It lies 59 kilometers (37 miles) north of Moghilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,536 Jews in the Bar raion (Mitki was included in that raion in 1939), representing 2.6 percent of the raion's population. Few of those Jews lived in Mitki.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Mitki in July 1941. Control over Mitki and its surroundings was transferred to the Romanian civil administration beginning in September 1941, which romanianized the village's name as Mitki (also Mitkii or Mitchi in some documents) in the Balki raion. The prefects of the Moghilev județ were Constantin Dimitriu, Ion C. Băleanu, Constantin Năsturaș, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The deputy prefects were Gheorghe Culnev, Alexandru Moisev, and Iosif Dindelegan. Băleanu, Culnev, and Moisev were dismissed from office in March 1942 on charges of receiving bribes from Jewish leaders. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Dănulescu, Romeo

Orășanu, and Gheorghe Botoroagă, all army majors. The praetor in Șmerinca was Aurel Groza, and Ștefan Tăutu was the praetor in the Balki raion.

Mitki and its surrounding area constituted one of the regions designated for the deportation of Romanian Jews from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia. The largest number of deported Jews, nearly 56,000, entered Transnistria through the Atachi-Moghilev crossing point, which became the most important entry into Transnistria because the largest number of Jews crossed there.¹ Humiliating personal searches before crossing the Dniester left most Jews without personal papers and valuables. Romanian and foreign currency was exchanged for valueless German scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, or RKKS) that was used in Transnistria, while luggage that exceeded a few handbags was abandoned at the train station in Atachi and the nearby fields, never to be returned to its owners.² Once in Moghilev, leaders of convoys tried (and some were able, with bribes) to secure permits to remain in town or hired trucks to transport them to various places in the Moghilev județ, but many were not as fortunate and were marched on foot to their destination.³ With the arrival of large convoys of Romanian Jews, Mitki became extremely overcrowded. A gendarmerie report from late November 1941 estimated that 56,000 Jews were sent to the area, instead of the 15,000 as initially planned, although only a fraction were in Mitki. The report requested that some of these and subsequent convoys be directed to other regions east of Mitki, in places like Bortniki and Pecioara, in the Tulcin județ.⁴ Mitki became a transit camp, temporarily holding Jews who were then dispersed to camps along the Bug. In early December 1941, the gendarmerie estimated that a total of 47,545 Jews were placed in two areas in the Tulcin județ (Pecioara and Rogozna), of whom only a few thousand (the exact number remains unknown) were sent to Mitki.⁵

A transit camp for Jews, most likely surrounded with barbed wire, existed in Mitki from September of 1941 until some time in 1942. Details about the camp are scant. What is known with more certainty is that the living conditions inside the camp were inhumane (detainees suffered from cold, hunger, and sickness, particularly typhus, which claimed lives every day). Dr. Ion Costinescu, president of the Romanian Red Cross (*Societatea Națională de Cruce Roșie din România*), intervened on behalf of the deportees held in Mitki. After learning firsthand of their desperate state, Costinescu urged Marshal Ion Antonescu in mid-January 1942 to investigate the abuses in this camp. He wrote Antonescu:

In the Jewish camps, filth and poverty are extremely great. We know your Christian and Romanian soul cannot accept such things to occur, and we are certain these inhumane methods have been taken by uncomprehending and heartless subordinates acting without your orders. We beg of you, Honorable Marshall, to order that an investigation be made into the Jewish camps at Mitki, Obodovka, Balanovka, Bobrik, and Bogdanovka. Our Society [the Roma-

nian Red Cross] stands ready to fulfill its duty in helping you in the difficult task of alleviating the ravages of war.⁶

The request was handed down the chain of command by Antonescu and was unheeded in the end. After the camp's closure, a few Jewish physicians were retained in Mitki to help in the fight against epidemics, as well as to assist in the general treatment of Romanian soldiers and civilians alike. As of October 1943, general practitioners Isac Veiserbergher and Norberg Goldman, along with a dentist, Samoil Sobl, worked in Mitki.⁷

The Red Army liberated Mitki in March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews in Mitki can be found in the following publications: "Mytki," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 424–425; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR, 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). On the activity of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Romanian Red Cross in Transnistria, see Jean-Claude Favez, *The Red Cross and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Andrei Șipercu, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război mondial (1 septembrie 1939–23 august 1944). Prizonierii de război anglo-americani și sovietici; Deportații evrei din Transnistria și emigrarea evreilor în Palestina în atenția Crucii Roșii Internaționale* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources on the fate of Jews in Mitki are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). Additional information can be gleaned from accounts about the treatment of Jews in the towns and villages surrounding Mitki, which can be found in ChGK (RG-22.002M, reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1271 and delo 1273). VHA holds six testimonies in Russian by Jewish survivors of Mitki.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Transnistria Gendarmes Inspectorate's note No. 9,318/September 9, 1942, to the Government of Transnistria, General Secretariat, USHMM, RG-25.006 (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 152.

2. See General Constantin Tobescu's report on abuses that took place at Atachi, No. 48097/November 19, 1941, General Inspectorate of Gendarmes to the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 64, file 18844, vol. 3, p. 679 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/64/18844/3, p. 679).

3. See official notification informing the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Bucharest of the measures taken against authorities in Moghilev for accepting bribes in order to facilitate motorized transport to the Jews, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1514, pp. 72–73 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/5/2242/1/1514, pp. 72–73).

4. Gendarmes Chief Inspector Emil Broșteanu's letter to the Government of Transnistria, No. 3004/November 27, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/76, n.p.

5. General Inspector of Gendarmes, General C. Z. Vasiliu, "Referat," December 9, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/64/18844, vol. 3, p. 718. Mitki is wrongly placed on the map attached to the report, but it is possible that the map was not intended to illustrate the exact location of the three sites, only the general area of deportation.

6. See entire letter (No. 4091/1942), in copy, at USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1486, p. 162.

7. List of Jewish doctors in the Moghilev ghetto and județ, "Tabel nominal de medici everi aflați în ghetoul Moghilev și în Județ," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, pp. 226–227 (and verso).

MOGHILEV-PODOLSK

Moghilev-Podolsk (today: Mohyliv-Podil's'kyi, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria and the seat of the Moghilev raion and județ, is located close to the Dniester River. It is 138 kilometers (86 miles) east of Cernăuți. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 8,703 Jews in Moghilev-Podolsk, representing 40 percent of the city's population. A general mobilization took place at the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union in June 1941. Jewish men of military age were drafted into the Red Army, whereas others fled deeper into the Soviet Union. More than 3,000 Jews stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Moghilev-Podolsk on July 19, 1941. On the day of the occupation, soldiers killed 60 Jews. A week later, Sonderkommando 10b of Einsatzgruppe D arrived, and additional killings took place. Authority over the town was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941. The județ prefects were Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaș, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The deputy prefect was Iosif Dindelegan. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Aurel Dănulescu, Gheorghe Botoroaga, and Romeo Orășeanu, all army majors. The raion praetor was Dr. Octavian Oancea, and the mayor of Moghilev-Podolsk was Vasile Grădinaru.

The most frequently used crossing point into Transnistria was the bridge over the Dniester River from Atachi to Moghilev-Podolsk. Before crossing the Dniester, Jews had to pass through stations set up for body searches and for selling valuables or exchanging money (from lei to the German-issued

scrip [*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS] that circulated in Transnistria). After a short stay in war-torn Atachi, the deportees marched to the embankment, passing by unburied corpses, before embarking on barges. The gendarmerie estimated in September 1942 that 56,000 Romanian Jews from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia crossed the Dniester at Moghilev-Podolsk, making it the most important entry point into Transnistria.¹ Some Jews were able to remain in town after bribing local officials, others took shelter in nearby villages, while still others were marched to camps and ghettos deeper inside the județ and Transnistria. (An investigation took place into the abuses by the prefect, Ion C. Băleanu, and deputy prefects, Gheorghe Culnev and the Alexandru Moisev, and the mayor who accepted bribes to help people remain in Moghilev-Podolsk or arranged transport for them to other destinations, which resulted in their dismissal from office in March 1942.)²

An open ghetto was formed shortly after Jewish deportees from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia reached Moghilev-Podolsk on foot in late July and early August 1941. Subsequent mass deportations to Transnistria occurred from September to November 1941 and, then again, in smaller numbers and usually by rail to Atachi between May and June 1942. For example, around 4,000 to 5,000 Jews were deported in June 1942 from places such as Cernăuți, Dorohoi, Hotin, Storoiineț, Suceava, Câmpulung, and Rădauți.³ In June 1942, to relieve the congestion in the ghetto, approximately 3,000 Jews (of whom 600 were originally from Transnistria) were deported from the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto to the Pecioara death camp. Another group of 3,000 Jews was deported from the ghetto to the Scazineț camp around the same time (in September 1942 the Scazineț camp was dissolved; skilled Jews were returned to Moghilev-Podolsk, and the rest were sent to other camps). The ghetto was encircled by barbed wire in the summer of 1942 and guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian police. The Jews were confined to a smaller area enclosed by three main streets (today: Pushkins'ka, Knivs'ka/Lenina, and Grets'ka).



Jewish women with their children in the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto in Transnistria, 1941–1943.

USHMM WS #74153, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

The deportees who remained in Moghilev-Podolsk first occupied the empty houses vacated by both the Jews and non-Jews who fled before the invading armies arrived or who were murdered in town. When these heavily damaged lodgings became insufficient, Jews turned to local non-Jewish residents to rent rooms, attics, and basements for temporary shelter. Due to overcrowding, malnutrition, and poor sanitation, typhus and typhoid epidemics erupted at the end of 1941. Everyone was afflicted by dysentery and total exhaustion. The spring of 1942 saw the largest number of deaths resulting from these conditions. Mortality levels decreased over time in part because of the measures taken by ghetto physicians, but illnesses were never fully eradicated because medical supplies were limited.⁴

The chief of the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto in 1941 and 1942 was Engineer Siegfried Jägendorf, who until June 1942 was also the head of the Jewish Labor Committee. Other committee members were Moses Kats (who replaced Jägendorf), Dr. Iosif Ștern, Dr. I. Binovici, Dr. B. Schiffer, and M. Moraru.⁵ The president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM) was Mihail Danilof. Various departments and services were created to secure the deportees' survival. Thanks to Jägendorf's organizational skills, a damaged electrical plant was restored, as was a defunct foundry (*turnătorie*). Together these institutions retained hundreds of skilled laborers while producing electricity and machinery.⁶ In addition, with extraordinary financial efforts, a communal soup kitchen was set up to feed the very poor, elderly, and sick, as were a regular hospital, a hospital for contagious diseases, a medical clinic, a home for the elderly, and two orphanages that housed more than 1,500 children.⁷ At the end of December 1943, there were 1,349 children younger than 15 years of age registered in the ghetto.⁸

Life in the ghetto was filled with difficulty and uncertainty. The Jewish police rigorously enforced orders of the Romanian authorities. The wearing of the yellow star pinned to the front of clothing was mandatory. However, while surrounded by death, some Jews got married, children were born, and humorous shows performed. A number of small makeshift synagogues existed in the ghetto. These places of prayer were usually located in rented or abandoned rooms or houses, where religious services took place weekly.⁹

Various state offices and enterprises (a city hall, printing house, water plant, soda factory, greenhouse, and communal bathhouse) regularly used Jewish labor; in addition, there were random German incursions into the ghetto to seize forced laborers (who were typically shot on completion of their work).¹⁰ Teams of skilled and unskilled workers were sent to all the major enterprises in Tiraspol, Odessa, Tulcin, and Nicolaev. According to Ordinance No. 23 outlining the treatment of Jews in Transnistria, Jewish laborers were entitled to payment in German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS): 1 RKKS per day for unskilled and 2 RKKS per day for skilled workers in money and/or food. This provision of the ordinance (Art. 6) was rarely implemented before 1943, which led to the deaths of thousands of deportees: prior to this time, Mihail Danilof repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, appealed to the mayor's office asking that the Jewish Council be paid for the work undertaken by unpaid Jew-

ish laborers to feed workers' families, the sick, and the orphans.¹¹ Workshops (*ateliers*) for ironsmiths, tinsmiths, tailors, and others were instituted in early 1943, with some of the material aid supplied by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (*Joint-ul*, AJJDC or the "Joint"). Through CER, individual aid in the form of money and small packages was sent to the deportees by family members and friends from Romania.¹² An additional donation for the ghetto came from Archbishop Andrea Cassulo, the papal nuncio to Romania during the war, who visited the ghetto in 1943. These efforts improved ghetto conditions in the latter part of 1943.

According to the March 1943 census of Jews deported to Transnistria, there were 12,588 Jews in Moghilev-Podolsk (of the 15,522 living in the entire Moghilev raion), and by September 1943, there were 13,184, not counting Ukrainian Jews.¹³ Repatriations to Romania took place in December 1943, starting first with orphaned children and Jews originally from the Dorohoi city and județ.

The Red Army liberated Moghilev-Podolsk on March 20, 1944. Trials of principal Romanian officials and incriminated ghetto leaders took place in Bucharest starting in 1945.¹⁴

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Moghilev-Podolsk can be found in the following publications: "Moghilev-Podolskiy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 607–608; "Moghilev-Podolski," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 840–841; "Moghilev-Podolskiy," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 213–214; "Moghilev-Podolskiy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopedia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopedia," "Epos," 2004), 5: 434–435; "Moghilev," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ba-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyab shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bivvasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ba-'olam ba-sbeniyab* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 461–473; Mordechai Altschuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 2: *Documents 1–558* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Randolph L. Braham, ed., *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie

Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Isaac Geller, *Rezistența Spirituală a Evreilor Români în Timpul Holocaustului* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2004). For the names and stories of rescuers of Jews in Moghilev-Podolsk, see Israel Gutman et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5, part 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011).

Primary sources about the fate of Jews deported to Moghilev-Podolsk are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and AME (RG-25.006M). On the Romania administration, Ion Stănculescu's report regarding the state of the Jews living in ghettos in Transnistria is available at USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 147–151. Fred Șaraga's report of the Relief Commission from CER that visited Transnistria, including Moghilev-Podolsk, in January 1943 is available in RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 106–156. Jägendorf's report, September 1942, to CER is available in RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289. CER's records regarding its activity in Transnistria are found in USHMMA, RG-25.016M (ANR, fond CER); the records on the involvement of FUCER in Transnistria can be found in USHMMA in RG-25.021M. VHA holds more than 1,000 video testimonies, in 12 languages, from Holocaust survivors who passed through or remained in Moghilev-Podolsk. Published testimonies by Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto survivors include Siegfried Jägendorf, *Jägendorf's Foundry: Memoir of the Romanian Holocaust, 1941–1944*, introduction by Aron Hirt-Manheimer, foreword by Elie Wiesel (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991); and Felicia Carmelly, *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria* (Ontario: Abbeyfield, 1997).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Gendarmerie report No. 9.318, September 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 152.
2. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1514, pp. 72–73 (and verso).
3. Reports and statistics issued by the Military Cabinet of the Government of Bukovina, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (SRI), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 196–217.
4. For a list of Jewish doctors in Moghilev-Podolsk and the Moghilev județ, October 1943, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 225–227 (and verso).
5. List of committee members as of September 1, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p. For a photograph of ghetto leaders, see USHMMA, WS #80074.
6. Photographs of staff and workers in Jägendorf's foundry, USHMMA, WS #77154, #42663, and #42664.
7. For photos of poor and abandoned children in orphanages, see USHMMA, WS #63485B and #63485C.
8. Centralized figures for Transnistria, "Situație centralizatoare de evreii copii orfani în Transnistria și care urmează să fie aduși în țară," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 35, file 35, 1944, n.p.

9. VHA #47770, Liviu Beris testimony, November 29, 1998.

10. VHA #46747, Aizic Cohn testimony, September 14, 1998.

11. USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 14, fond 2383, opis 7, delo 83, pp. 337 (and verso), 338–340.

12. For remittances, see "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Moghilev (Jud. Moghilev)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 110.

13. For the April 1942 count, see "Situația numerică a evreilor aflați neevacuați din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre și ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbați, femei și copii," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 142; for the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al Evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for September 1943 count, see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

14. Partial trial transcripts are available in USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI).

MOLDAVCA

Moldavca, a village in the Domanovca raion, Golta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Kozubivka, Ukraine), is located near the Bug River. It lies 60 kilometers (37 miles) southeast of Golta and 122 kilometers (76 miles) northeast of Odessa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area in August 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of it in September 1941, romanianizing the village's name from Moldavka to Moldavca. The Golta județ prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and Aristide Pădure was the deputy prefect. The commandant of the Golta Gendarmes Legion was Maior Romulus Ambrus. Vasile Mănescu was Domanovca's praetor, whereas Locotenent Petre Găletaru was Domanovca's gendarme commander.

The regime of Marshal Ion Antonescu deported Roma (Gypsies) from Romania to Transnistria between June and September 1942. Antonescu began with the "nomadic" (as opposed to sedentary) and "delinquent" (convicted) Roma, but also included those without stable employment from any category. The Antonescu regime routinely characterized the Roma as "parasitic and unruly elements" and painted their deportation as an act of cleansing the nation of its "anti-social" factions. Great secrecy surrounded the murderous intent of the Roma deportation; only the highest authorities knew about it.¹ The local leaders (mayors, prefects, and police), unaware of the destructive plan, deceived the Roma by telling them that they were being "resettled" to Transnistria where they would be rehoused and given farmland to work.²

Nomadic (but also some sedentary) Roma were gathered from all over Romania and concentrated in larger towns in

June 1942, where they were formed into convoys (or caravans) heading to Transnistria. The Roma arrived in their horse wagons and journeyed for weeks to their assigned "settlement" (deportation) area in the Golta județ. During this time they received little or no food, being forced to buy food with their own money. One of the main crossing points into Transnistria regularly used by the Roma was at Tighina (sometimes spoken of today as Bender), near Tiraspol.

From July to September 1942, the Roma stayed in the Moldavca transit camp (as well as in two other but smaller nearby transit camps at Domanovca and Acmețetca). Of the 8,303 Roma stationed in the area, more than half were held in Moldavca, according to a gendarmerie report of August 25, 1942.

The Moldavca camp was located on an open, bare field in a wooded valley, near the Moldavca village, on which no facilities of any kind existed. People slept inside or under their wagons. A pond provided unclean drinking water. German and Romanian soldiers watched the camp from observation posts set up on three hilltops. A barrier separating the camp from the Moldavca village blocked the Roma's access to the main road. Romanian soldiers as well as Ukrainian police guarded the barrier and prevented the villagers from approaching the camp.

A few weeks after the Roma's encampment in Moldavca, Golta's prefect Isopescu confiscated their horses and wagons to prevent their movement and to replenish the *kolkhozes* (state farms). The measure crippled the Roma, because their wagons provided shelter, a means of transportation, and work opportunities; horses were, in extreme circumstances, a source of food or income as well. Without food and shelter, the Roma were quickly driven to desperation. Under the cover of darkness, some Roma escaped from the camp and went through the villages bartering, stealing, or begging, at great risk to themselves and their families. The soldiers abused the Roma in many ways, from raping young and attractive women (and shooting them afterward) to forcing young men at gunpoint to engage in sexual relations with their mothers for their amusement. Deaths from hunger, disease, and exposure began to occur and soon reached a few hundred. The dead were buried in mass graves. The Roma deportees nicknamed the camp the "valley of sighs" (*valea plângerii*).³

In October 1942, the remaining 4,200 Roma were marched from Moldavca to Crasneanca, in the northern part of the Golta județ, some 90 kilometers (56 miles) northwest of Moldavca (today: Krasnen'ke). The Romanian authorities recruited some wagons from the area to transport some of the luggage, but most people went on foot, carrying whatever possessions they could take with them. Among the abandoned luggage were some toddlers, most likely orphaned. Of those Roma who moved to Crasneanca, fewer than half returned to Romania in March 1944.

In May 1945, the Bucharest People's Court tried and sentenced Isopescu, Pădure, and Ambrus to life in prison for mistreating the Roma in the Golta județ.⁴

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Romanian Roma deported to Moldavca can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Roma from the Moldavca camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). A film documenting the deportation of the Roma from Romania to Transnistria, as well as their ordeal and return, is *Valea Plângerii (The Valley of Sighs)*, DVD, directed by Mihai Andrei Leaha, Andrei Crișan, and Iulia-Elena Hossu (Cluj: Institutul Pentru Studiarea Minorităților Naționale, in collaboration with Triba Film, 2013). VHA holds five Roma survivor testimonies (in Russian) about the Moldavca camp. Under RG-50, USHMM holds oral history interviews about the deportation to Transnistria of the Roma from Romania.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See General Inspector of Gendarmes, Colonel C. Tobescu's deportation plan of the nomadic Roma from Romania, May 31, 1942, reprinted in Achim, ed., *Documente*, 1: 19–22.
2. For an account of the deception of the Roma, see USHMM, RG-50.421*0003, Vasile Gheorghe, oral history interview, August 28, 1995; USHMM, RG-50.421*0001, Ion Caldarar, oral history interview, August 15, 1995.
3. For a geographical pinpointing of the camp and its physical description, see *Valea Plângerii (The Valley of Sighs)*, chapter "1942 The Deportation of Nomadic Roma," minute 6.
4. See USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 116–117, 119, 136–137, 140.

MOLOCNEA

Molocnea is a village outside Obodovca, the seat of the Obodovca raion in the Balta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Obodivka, Ukraine). It lies 59 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Balta.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Obodovca and its surroundings in July 1941. The area entered under Romanian civil control at the beginning of September 1941, when the village's name was romanianized from Moloknia to Molocnea or Molochina. The praetor in the Obodovca raion was Dumitru Sofian.

At the heart of the tiny Molocnea settlement was a *kolkhoz* (state farm) where convoys of Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in Romania were placed in October and November 1941. Most of the convoys crossed the Dniester and entered Transnistria at Iampol, with some of the Jews already totally despoiled and exhausted after forced

marches and internments in transit camps between July and September.

The Molocnea camp was initially intended as a transit camp for convoys headed toward the Bug River via nearby Obodovca in the Balta județ. It soon turned into a death camp, however, as thousands of deportees converging on Obodovca in a short period of time found themselves abandoned there without help from anyone. The Romanian local authorities, especially the praetor and the gendarmerie, ordered the Jews inside the stables and cowsheds and locked them in there while they were deciding where to send the deportees. The inhumane conditions in which the deportees were held in the filthy and dilapidated animal shelters accelerated the spread of typhus to victims of all ages.¹ The Romanian authorities did not provide the deportees with food, water, or medicine. The bodies of the deceased remained in the rooms together with the living for days. The deportees' frightful condition (sickened, starved, and lice infested) in turn led the authorities to control even more tightly their movement inside the camp (it was already forbidden for them to leave the camp, on penalty of death). This vicious circle left hundreds dead in the camp, buried in mass graves.² Because of the atrocities that had occurred there, the very mention of the Molocnea camp among the deportees heading to Obodovca brought them to a state of panic.³

The camp was closed at the beginning of 1942.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Molocnea can be found in the following publications: "Molocnea," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 473; A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bararabia și alte câteva întâmplări. Contribuții la istoria încercării de exterminare a evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 1 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

The following two collections at USHMM may contain sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Molocnea: DAOO (RG-31.004M) and GARF (RG-22.002M). VHA holds one survivor testimony about the Molocnea camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #35994, Menahem Saraf testimony, August 21, 1997.
2. Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia*, p. 28.
3. Ancel, *Transnistria*, p. 77, n. 52.

MOSTOVOI

Mostovoi, the seat of the Mostovoi raion in Berezovca județ (today: Mostove, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located along the Chychykliya River, a tributary of the Bug. It lies 25 kilometers (15 miles) north-northeast of Berezovca.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Mostovoi on August 10, 1941. Immediately after taking control of the commune, the Germans rounded up the remaining few hundred Jewish residents. Most were killed soon thereafter by Einsatzgruppe D; the rest were sent to the German-run Krivorushiko camp in the Vaselinovo raion, Berezovca județ. The Romanian authorities took over control in September 1941 and romanianized the commune's name from Mostovoy to Mostovoi (or Mostovoie). The prefect in the Berezovca județ was Colonel Leonida Popp. The deputy prefect was Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The praetor in the Mostovoi raion was Dr. Victor Petrenciuc. The commandant of the Mostovoi gendarmes post was Locotenent Dumitru Pandrea.

Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) populated the Mostovoi area. They underwent an intense Nazification process concomitant with the arrival of Jewish and Roma (Gypsy) deportees. An office of the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), the organization representing the economic and cultural interests of the *Volksdeutsche* in southern Transnistria, was based in Landau (in the Berezovca județ), not far from Mostovoi. The head of VoMi in Landau was Obersturmbannführer Müller. In the fall of 1941, VoMi set up a *Volksdeutsche* extermination force, Sonderkommando Russland (SkR). A section of SkR, Bereichkommando 11 (BK 11), was stationed in Rastadt, a village 8 kilometers (5 miles) east of Mostovoi. Its commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Rudolf Hartung. BK11 made repeated trips to the Mostovoi camp to collect Jews in order to kill them.¹

In October 1941, the dilapidated residence of a noble family served as a transit camp in Mostovoi. The imposing building was often called "the castle" or "palace" by the deportees. The camp was not surrounded by barbed wire, but a small group of Ukrainian auxiliaries together with Romanian gendarmes guarded it. The rooms had windows without glass; plumbing was nonexistent. Food was not provided. The first convoys of deportees to be held in the Mostovoi camp were Ukrainian Jews from Odessa and Romanian Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina. The approximate total number of these deportees was between 5,000 and 10,000. Some remained in place, whereas others were dispersed to other camps on arrival. The German and Romanian authorities realized that the massing of Jews in

the Berezovca județ in the winter of 1941, with many dying of typhus because of the inhumane camp conditions, endangered civilians and troops. The Jews' fate was sealed when the Romanians and the German SkR "cleansed" the Mostovoi area of typhus by either shooting the Jews or transferring them to killing camps in Bogdanovca and Domanovca (Golta județ). There existed in Mostovoi a hospital staffed by Ukrainian doctors and nurses. Doctor Sergei Kolpensky, a hospital chief, generously helped Jews who were sick with typhus and hid them from the German soldiers who were also treated in the same facility.²

In the spring of 1942, the remaining Jews sought to rent rooms from the Ukrainian residents of Mostovoi village in an area designated as a ghetto. This area, too, was not fenced in and only lightly guarded.³ The Jews worked or bartered goods in return for lodging. By April 1942, there were 346 Jews in Mostovoi.⁴ Unannounced visits by BK 11 sent panic through the camp and ghetto. The unit arrived periodically to pick up Jews to work on the animal farms (*sovkhoses*) belonging to ethnic German villages. When these workers became sick and their productivity decreased, they were simply shot and replaced. In June 1942, the number of Jews arriving at Mostovoi increased again. Some 1,200 of them were moved from the Mostovoi camp to the Suha Verba camp to work on the produce farm (*kolkhoz*), but were soon shot by the Lichtenfeld village's German police, BK 20, led by SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Leibl.⁵

On September 22, 1942, approximately 600 Jews from Romania (the Old Kingdom and southern Transylvania) were sent by train from Bucharest to Mostovoi; they were deported after requesting Soviet citizenship so they could live in or move to Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, which the Soviet Union had annexed in June 1940. BK 11 collected them the day after their arrival in Mostovoi and transported them to Rastadt where they were shot.⁶ A few days later in September 1942, a group of 50 to 60 Jews from Romania, suspected of communist activity, were deported to the Vapniarca camp in Transnistria. In Tiraspol, however, the railcars were redirected to Mostovoi. Like the previous transport of deportees from Romania, these Jews disembarked at Kosolovca in the Mostovoi raion (today: near Kudryavtsivka, Ukraine) and then walked 13 kilometers (8 miles) to the Mostovoi camp. Their luggage was ransacked by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries. A soldier with General Vlasov's army simply shot anyone complaining about the robberies.⁷ Max Horowitz, a self-declared "Jewish mayor" working for the authorities, exploited the new group by demanding gifts in exchange for allowing them to remain in Mostovoi. The group, learning about conditions in the area from the few survivors of the previous massacres, sought immediate accommodation outside of the "castle" and in the ghetto. They were able to make themselves useful to the local residents and found lodging in their homes.⁸ Not as fortunate were a group of 90 Jews, refugees from Poland, who were assembled at the Mostovoi gendarmes post at the beginning of November 1942. BK 11

picked them up and transported them to Rastadt, where they murdered them.⁹

In February 1943 there were 260 Jews in the Mostovoi ghetto. In March 1943, approximately 100 or more (mostly Ukrainian) Jews were transferred from the Mostovoi ghetto to work for German construction firms across the Bug; they were likely deployed in building Highway IV (*Durchgangstrasse IV*), the strategic highway connecting Poland to southern Ukraine. These Jews, it was known to everyone, would never return.¹⁰ Some of the remaining Jews in the Mostovoi ghetto were assigned to do forced labor, but rarely according to their true professions; they worked in gardens, farms, or institutions in and around Mostovoi.¹¹ Compensation, always small and received sporadically, was in the form of seasonal produce. In September 1943, 123 Jews remained in Mostovoi (some from Bukovina and Bessarabia, but most from Old Kingdom Romania), not counting a few Ukrainian Jews.¹² In March 1944, the Jews from the Old Kingdom were released by the gendarmes and repatriated to Romania by train.

In September 1942, thousands of Roma ("Gypsies") were deported from Romania to Transnistria. Hundreds of those Roma were placed at the outskirts of Mostovoi, some in abandoned houses and others simply in huts built on an open field. The camp was neither fenced in nor guarded. In the winter of 1942, many Roma died of cold, typhus, and starvation. The situation improved very little throughout 1943, because the Roma in Mostovoi were not provided the means to support themselves. The local villagers scorned them for having to resort to theft. In October 1943, the Berezovca prefecture placed an order for 50 pairs of suits made out of sackcloth for the Roma in Mostovoi. The outfits were not finished until January 1944, by which time many of those who remained without clothes and possessions faced certain death by exposure.¹³ In February 1944, there were 234 Roma in Mostovoi.¹⁴ Their return to Romania in March 1944 was chaotic.

The Red Army recaptured Mostovoi in April 1944. The People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried and condemned many of Berezovca's leaders, including Popp, for the fate of the Jews and Roma in the Mostovoi raion.¹⁵ Popp was sentenced to hard labor in prison and the confiscation of his private property.

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews and Roma in the Mostovoi camps and ghetto can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv

University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents regarding the deportation of Romanian Roma to Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews and Roma in the Mostovoi camps and ghetto are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). ANR, Collection 60 (RG-25.089M), contains survivors' recollections about the Mostovoi camp. VHA holds 36 testimonies (in English, Romanian, and Russian) from Jewish survivors who were held in the Mostovoi camps and ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See the outline of VoMi's EG and SK units for Transnistria, USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 311, file 801, p. 321.
2. VHA #03131, Angela Genesco testimony, June 14, 1995.
3. Ion Antonescu's Military Cabinet inspection report, following a visit to the camps and ghettos for Jews and Roma in Transnistria, May 1943, USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205, pp. 433–438 (esp. pp. 437–438).
4. Census of Jews to be deported even closer to the Bug, USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 143.
5. See diary entry, June 1942, Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 211.
6. See diary entry, September 22, 1942, *ibid.*, 3: 297.
7. VHA #02775, Vasile Bordeianu testimony, May 23, 1995.
8. VHA #49542, Hanta Brumfeld testimony, February 22, 1999.
9. November 1, 1942, diary entry, Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 299.
10. See statistical figure for February 1943: USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 590, p. 20. See correspondence between Prefect Isopescu of the Golta județ and Gheorghe Alexianu, governor of Transnistria, regarding the transfer of Jews from Mostovoi, USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1496, p. 161.
11. See table of accountants, for example, from the Mostovoi ghetto, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 24, n.p., and other professions, pp. 77–78; another distribution according to professions can be found in reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 590, p. 64.
12. See name list, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 591, pp. 77–78 (and verso).
13. See correspondence and order, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 171, p. 4, and delo 592, pp. 203–205.
14. See name list, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 591, pp. 5–8.
15. See court depositions against Leonida Popp, RG-25.004M, reel 26, file 39181, pp. 248, 252–253.

MURafa

Murafa, a small town in the Șargorod raion, Moghilev județ (today: Murafa, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is divided by the Murafa River. It is 47 kilometers (29 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. In 1926, the Jewish population was 1,421, whereas in 1939 the number of Jews in the raion was 2,626 (data for Murafa are not available). A general mobilization took place during the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. Military-aged Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army, while others fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, but some 800 Jews remained in Murafa.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Murafa on July 21, 1941. Control over the area was transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The prefects in the Moghilev județ were Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaș, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The deputy prefect and praetor in Șargorod was Iosif Dindelegan. Dimitrie (or Dumitru) Rusu was the first praetor. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Aurel Dănulescu, Gheorghe Botoroagă, and Romeo Orășeanu, all army majors.

An open ghetto was established in Murafa in late September 1941 or shortly thereafter. It was created in the area traditionally occupied by the local Jewish community, known as “Old Murafa” (as opposed to the “New Murafa” section where mostly Christian Ukrainians lived). The ghetto incorporated the Jewish school and the synagogue, which had been partly destroyed by the war, and its outer limits were demarcated by verbal order. Some 3,500 Jews deported from Romania arrived in Murafa in successive convoys between October and December 1941. They were mostly from southern Bukovina and the Dorohoi area, but smaller groups originally from Bessarabia and Cernăuți arrived there too. The convoys entered Transnistria via the Atachi-Moghilev-Podolsk crossing point, after having their members' belongings ransacked repeatedly. Although some Jews arrived in Murafa with some of their possessions and in relatively good health, others were robbed of all their belongings and exhausted after weeks of forced marches.

The local Jewish community of Murafa took in the Jews arriving from Romania. However, the ghetto became very overcrowded as subsequent convoys arrived in the village. Every habitable space was occupied, with several families sharing a single room; many also stayed in attics and barns.¹ The frigid temperatures in the winter of 1941, along with the typhus epidemic that erupted among the deportees, killed hundreds of the ghetto's inhabitants. In addition to a Jewish Council that represented the local Ukrainian Jews (known as the “*Oshchibina*”), the ghetto's other inhabitants set up their own Jewish Council, headed by Nahum Bakal; a Jewish police force was also created to implement the demands of various Romanian, Ukrainian, and even ghetto authorities. The committees collaborated in setting up a number of welfare institutions

to aid the many impoverished deportees who were unable to survive without help. Gradually, the ghetto established a soup kitchen, a hospital, a pharmacy, and a sterilization facility consisting of a few repurposed barns to combat the spread of lice (the vector in the spread of typhus). Toward the end of 1943, a small orphanage was set up. Jewish doctors from the ghetto took care of the sick and needy, although they often fell victim to the epidemics that they were fighting.² These projects were at first funded with ghetto money, extracted from taxes imposed on the Jews who still had means, but were supplemented by material and financial aid distributed by the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) throughout 1943 and into 1944.

Among the forced labor projects undertaken by the Murafa ghetto's Jews was the construction of the Murafa-Yaroshenka (Romanian: Iaroșinca) highway in June to September 1943. Boys and women, in particular, were taken to the tobacco fields during the harvest campaign in September and October 1942. In addition to clearing snow throughout the town in winter, the Jews undertook smaller projects for various local public institutions (until February 1943), as their skills permitted. Some also sought work opportunities in town or in the ghetto independent of the authorities' plans. Many simply begged from house to house for bread or potato peels, or bartered their last items, because hunger and starvation were rampant. In accordance with government ordinances (especially Ordinance No. 23), Jewish workers had to be remunerated for each day of work in German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS): 2 RKKS for unskilled and 3 RKKS for skilled workers.³ Payment could be made in food or in food coupons, yet according to an official report from the Șargorod raion's Jewish Labor Office issued on April 30, 1943, only a fraction (approximately 15 percent) of the total payment due for the previous year's work was paid (that payment was in bulk food, namely 20 tons of barley and 5 tons of peas).⁴ From late 1942 and into 1943 small packages and sums of money were sent by individuals in Romania (Bukovina, especially) to their relatives or friends in the Murafa ghetto; such packages and funds, when not opened or confiscated along the way, aided greatly those who received them.

Further demands for Jewish laborers came in 1943. The German authorities requested from their Romanian counterparts a number of male Jews, in good health, for the Nicolaev building projects. These projects involved both the building of a bridge over the Bug River at Trihati as well as building roads (on the Romanian side of the Bug). A small number of Jews were selected from the ghetto and sent by train to these work camps; very few returned in March 1944. In addition to the harsh living and working conditions to which they were subjected by the German authorities, the inmates were shot when the forced labor camps were closed down.

A small number of cultural activities (poetry reading, singing, and lectures) were held in the Murafa ghetto in 1943, and prayer services were conducted in an improvised house of prayer. In March 1943, the number of Jews deported to Mu-

rafa was 2,510; in September 1943, there were 2,605 Jews in Murafa (2,179 from Bukovina and 426 from Bessarabia), not counting the Ukrainian Jews.⁵ Partisan activity around Murafa grew more intense in the summer and fall of 1943.

Priority in the general repatriation of the Jews to Romania was given to a few categories of individuals, such as World War I veterans and their immediate descendants, former state functionaries, and those deported from the Regat and the Doro-hoi area. A number of such Jews in the Murafa ghetto met one or more of these criteria and were repatriated in December 1943. Orphaned children from the Murafa ghetto were repatriated in March 1944, on the eve of the Red Army's recapture of the area.⁶ The Red Army liberated the ghetto on March 19, 1944, after a short but bloody battle for the town. Many survivors returned to Bukovina (especially the Cernăuți area) by foot or in army trains and trucks. The Soviet authorities picked up some of the survivors along the way and drafted them into the Red Army. The People's Court in Bucharest tried and convicted to years of hard labor Șargorod's praetor, Iosif Dindelegan, along with other higher authorities in the Moghilev gendarmerie.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Murafa can be found in the following publications: "Murafa," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 631–632; "Murafa," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 861; "Murafa," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 217; "Murafa," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 204), 5: 468–469; "Murafa," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ba-sheniyah*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Sarah Rosen, "Surviving in the Murafa Ghetto: A Case Study of One Ghetto in Transnistria," in Thomas Kühne and Tom Lawson, eds., *The Holocaust and Local History: Proceedings of the First International Graduate Stu-*

dents' Conference on Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Strassler Family Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University, April 23–26, 2009 (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009), pp. 143–160. For an account of religious life in the Murafa ghetto, see Iacov Geller, *Rezistența Spirituală a Evreilor Români în Timpul Holocaustului* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2004), p. 356.

Primary sources documenting the Jews' fate in the Murafa ghetto are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and DAVO (RG-31.011). Iosif Katz's memoir, available at USHMM (Acc. No. 2006.140), documents work and living conditions in the Nicolaev labor camps. VHA holds 184 testimonies (in seven languages) from Jewish survivors of the Murafa ghetto. A portrait photograph of Moissi Brandmann, a survivor of the Murafa ghetto deported from Cernăuți, can be found at USHMPA (#38050). The ITS holds some CNI cards tracking the paths of persecution from the Murafa ghetto. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #49994, Harry Kolisher testimony, July 18, 1999.
2. VHA #50184, Gusta Rusu testimony, August 17, 1999.
3. See "Ordonanța Nr. 23," USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso).
4. See the report in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 381–382.
5. See the following census reports: "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistriașt pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; and "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.
6. For their names, see USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 6, file 7642, vol. 1.

NEMERCI

Nemerici, a village in the Copșa Gata raion in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Nemerche, Ukraine), is located 25 kilometers (15 miles) north-northwest of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,903 Jews living in the Copșa Gata raion, of whom only a small number lived in Nemerici (census data for the village are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Nemerici and its surroundings in the middle of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Nemerche to Nemerici (occasionally appearing in documents as Nemerti). The praetor in the Copșa Gata raion was Ion Vodă.

Some of the Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in the summer of 1941 arrived in Nemerici in October and November 1941. The majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk, before be-

ing marched farther northeast toward the Bug River. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route to their deportation place, adding substantially to their misery. In Nemerici, the deportees were placed along a few streets in an area designated as a ghetto. They were crammed inside the homes of the local Jews, with multiple families sharing a single room. Rubin Roittmann and Mark Barac were among the ghetto leaders.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 453 Jews deported from Romania living in Nemerici in October 1942.¹ Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), estimated that 50 percent of the deported Jews in the district of Moghilev perished during the winter of 1941–1942 from cold, hunger, and typhus. It can be assumed, then, that the number of Jews in Nemerici at the end of the 1941 deportations was probably close to 700 or more.²

The Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) that visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943 stopped on January 8 and 9 in Moghilev. The commission, led by Fred Șaraga, learned from the leaders of the Nemerici ghetto assembled in Moghilev at that time that 402 Jews were still living in the Nemerici ghetto (317 deported and 85 local Jews). The commission planned future shipments of goods to the ghetto, while allocating some funds for their immediate needs. Among the improvements made possible by these funds was the opening of a soup kitchen to feed 200 of the neediest among them and of a small dispensary, staffed by a pharmacist and a nurse.³

Life in the closed and guarded ghetto was filled with restrictions. Leaving the ghetto without permission was severely punished. Wearing the yellow star became obligatory. All able-bodied men were taken to do forced labor in road and rail repairs and in agriculture. Bribery and barter became essential means of survival.⁴ The Romanian local administration, which was their employer, owed them payment for their work, but such payment was delayed (if paid at all). A few deportees received, on occasion, a small sum of money from their friends or family members still living in Romania.⁵

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Nemerici was 304, likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 216 (4 from Bessarabia, 212 from Bukovina).⁶ The difference in number between the two censuses can be explained in terms of forced labor recruitment. Skilled and unskilled forced laborers from all over the Moghilev district were sent to the German-run bridge-building sites at Trihati (Trikhaty) and in the Nicolaev (Nikolayev) region in June 1943. Both of these locations were on the Bug River in the southeastern part of Transnistria. Work at the bridges lasted until late 1943, at which time the surviving workers were returned to Moghilev.

The repatriation of Jews deported from Romania began at the end of 1943, first with the Jews originally from Dorohoi district and the Regat, along with orphaned children and a few

other special categories of Jews (for example, former state functionaries, World War I veterans, and widows). Few Jews from the Nemerci ghetto qualified for this early return. In February 1944, the number of Jews deported from Romania living in the entire Copăgorod raion was 2,339, of whom some were held in the Nemerci ghetto.⁷ The ghetto was liberated by the Red Army at the end of March 1944. Some Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, whereas others made the dangerous journey back to Romania.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Nemerci can be found in the following publications: "Nemerci," in Jean Ancel et al., eds, *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Roman-yah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivadam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 478; "Nemerche," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 640; "Nemerche," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainiskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 220; "Nemerche," *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 31; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Nemerci can be found at USHMM, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds three survivor testimonies (in English and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time; Tsilah Trikhter's VHA testimony (#39380) includes a drawing of a part of the ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10, Problem 33, vol. 20, p. 281.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

3. For a visitor's report, see USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 128.

4. VHA #39380, Tsilah Trikhter testimony, December 22, 1997; VHA #21187, Efraim Lechtman testimony, October 20, 1996.

5. USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 119.

6. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

7. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev district, USHMM, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5 (see also p. 6 for population figures according to professions).

NESTERVARCA

Nestervarca, a village in the Tulcin raion, bordering the town of Tulcin in the Tulcin județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Nestervarka, Ukraine), is separated from Tulcin by the Silnytsya River.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Nestervarca during the second part of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Nester-varka to Nestervarca, and the raion became Tulcin. The praetor in the Tulcin raion was Andrei Partenie.

The beginnings of the Nestervarca camp are unclear. The most accepted possibility is that a forced labor camp was created in Nestervarca at some time during the summer of 1942 when the Romanian and German authorities sought to exploit the area's natural resource: the large reserves of peat used as fuel. During 1942 and 1943, Jews deported from northern Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania, but also Ukrainian Jews from other parts of Transnistria, were brought to Nestervarca from other camps and ghettos in the bordering Moghilev and Balta județe. The majority of those sent to Nestervarca were able-bodied male and female Jews, although among them were also some elderly people and children. Some groups were transported to Nestervarca by train, and others were simply marched there: all were carefully guarded.

Those arriving by train disembarked at Tulcin, where Romanian and German escorts led them on foot to a *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) in Nestervarca. The empty buildings inside the *kolkhoz* had been repurposed as primitive living quarters, devoid of any adequate facilities, including beds. The camp was guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries, with the guards also using dogs to watch the prisoners. The laborers marched to and from the swampy peat fields under escort. Beating the prisoners was common, especially by the camp supervisor (someone by the name of Lakatosh or a close

variant).¹ Food consisted of hot water ("tea"), polenta, and a mix of peas and beans, including fodder peas not usually used for human consumption. The German authorities from the Tulcin military center, which included a Gestapo office as well, inspected the peat fields from time to time. Most of the prisoners worked in the peat fields as diggers, but a few groups were selected for laying railway tracks, loading the peat onto trains, and construction. Women labored in the same places as men and suffered the same inhumane treatment; in addition, they were hit on their breasts and genitalia as punishment.² Escaping from the camp was possible for those who knew the area, but anyone caught trying was summarily shot.³ Such was the fate of four Jews who escaped from Nester-varca and were caught in the Moghilev ghetto (where they had previously resided). They were shot on July 27, 1943.⁴ Because the heavy work destroyed their clothes, the deportees were outfitted with wooden shoes and brown clothes made out of sackcloth.⁵

The number of Jews held in the Nester-vara camp fluctuated, depending on the scale and number of the projects undertaken; even as late as August 1943, the camp received new prisoners from other camps and ghettos (Pecioara, Brațlav, and Trostinet), and some were sent to other places.⁶ The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in March 1943 curiously did not list Nester-varca among the places where Jews deported from Romania lived; it may be that the delegation that gathered this information in January 1943 was not able to obtain any population figures for the camp or that the core production of Nester-varca had ceased for the winter and the camp had no or few forced laborers on site. The Romanian gendarmerie in Transnistria, however, listed the camp in its September 1, 1943, census as holding 422 Jews from Bessarabia and 1,168 Jews from Bukovina.⁷ There were also most likely Ukrainian Jews there, but they were not included in this census. They do appear in a subsequent census taken by the gendarmerie that counts "all" the Jews in Tulcin in October 1943: the Nester-varca camp had 2,403 Jews (1,742 men, 479 women, 124 children, and 58 elderly).⁸

The camp was either shut down or drastically reduced in size at the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944, when conditions made peat exploitation unproductive. The remaining deportees were returned to a few ghettos, including the nearby Tulcin ghetto. From there, select groups were repatriated to Romania. The remainder stayed in place for a few more months. At the beginning of March 1944, the Romanian administration retreated from Tulcin, handing control to the German military authorities, who were in retreat before the Red Army. In March 1944, the Red Army recaptured Tulcin and Nester-varca, freeing the Jews who were still held there.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Nester-varca can be found in the following publications: "Nester-varka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 646; "Nester-varka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evre-*

jstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 222; "Nester-varka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 38; "Nester-varca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kebilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 479; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Nester-varca camp can be found at USHMM, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). Affidavits containing the testimonies of Jews imprisoned in Nester-varca can be found at USHMM, collection Cernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization (RG-31.020M). VHA holds 13 survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and English) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #27409, Lothar Singer testimony, February 11, 1997; VHA #38851, Ruvin Gitman testimony, November 28, 1997.
2. VHA #27409; VHA #30655, Klara Woskoboynik testimony, April 20, 1997.
3. VHA #17870, Faia Fruchter testimony, July 29, 1996; VHA #34291, Raisa Gel'fgat testimony, July 17, 1997.
4. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 311.
5. VHA #20791, Mikhael Kishelovich testimony, October 17, 1996.
6. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3:312.
7. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the April 1943 census, see USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11, and delo 717, p. 42; for the absence of Manicovca from the September 1943 census, see "Situație

numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

8. USHMM, RG-26.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 585.

OBODOVCA

Obodovca (pre-1941: Obodovka), a village in the Obodovca raion, Balta județ (today: Obodivka, Ukraine) in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located along a stream. It is 41 kilometers (26 miles) southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census there were 535 Jews in Obodovca, representing 6.9 percent of the town's population, and 754 Jews in the Obodovca raion, representing 2.49 percent of the raion's population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Obodovca on July 28, 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town in September 1941 and romanianized its name as Obodovca (also called Obodovca Veche). The village extended across the stream; the part north of the stream was called Novo Obodovca, or New Obodovca. Colonel Vasile Nica was the prefect of the Balta județ, and the deputy prefect was Alexandru Cojocaru. Locotenent-colonel Ștefan Gavăț was the comandant of the Balta Gendarmes Legion. The praetor in Obodovca raion was Dumitru Sofian.

Convoys of Jews deported from Romania were marched to Obodovca in October and early November 1941. By mid-November, an estimated 10,000 deported Jews had reached Obodovca. Some stayed while others were forced to continue their march after a short stop. A transit camp was created in the war-torn stables of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). A few Jews who after repeated robberies nevertheless possessed jewelry or foreign currency were able to bribe local civilian and military authorities and rent rooms from townspeople. However, the vast majority of the Jews were concentrated in the large cowsheds in the *kolkhoz*.¹

The conditions inside the farm were inhumane. Most stables were missing windows and/or doors, some were only partly covered, and all lacked beds, heating, running water, and toilets. Temperatures dropped well below freezing in November, and it was extremely cold in the winter of 1941. During this time, thousands of Jews died of cold, hunger, and sickness (typhus, dysentery, and infectious diseases). Piles of frozen corpses grew outside the cold barns because there were no tools to dig holes into the frozen ground. A wagon came around every few days to collect the dead bodies and remove them to a field on the outskirts of the camp.²

In December 1941, a typhus epidemic erupted in the camp and spread to the village. As a result, the entire *kolkhoz* was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by sentinels. The impossible living conditions, including the inability to search for work and food, brought even more distress to the inmates. Nevertheless, people left the camp after dark under extremely

risky conditions. There were no medications or delousing facilities to combat the typhus epidemic during the winter of 1941, resulting in an extremely large number of casualties: almost 60 percent of all Jews deported to Obodovca died of typhus. The Jews fared better in the following winter, when medication sent from Romania and better living conditions reduced the number of deaths.

Gradually, more Jews either moved outside the camp into empty houses vacated by those who fled with the Red Army, were taken in by local Jews from Obodovca, or rented rooms from villagers. A ghetto was thus created in an area of the village allocated for Jewish settlement (at which point the farm ceased to exist as a camp). Among the Romanian Jews deported to Obodovca were former state functionaries, such as teachers, doctors, lawyers, and clerks, and many World War I veterans, some decorated for acts of heroism.³

A number of farms and workshops (*atelieri*) were created in 1942 throughout the Balta județ, including in Obodovca. Skilled Jews worked in these workshops according to their former professions (tailors, cobblers, and furriers). They were usually paid insignificant amounts, if at all. A team of nine leaders was in charge of various aspects of the Obodovca ghetto: Bernad Rössler (ghetto chief), Moritz Siebuer (deputy chief), Iancu Vindisch (secretary), Herman Rasp (auditor), Ghesel Haviș (social services), Aron Cheiș (hospital and pharmacy), Ruvin Sandelman (workshops), and Haim Bernștein and Saul Faerștein (supplies).⁴ The majority of able-bodied Jewish men and women worked as seasonal laborers in agriculture and as street cleaners, painters, builders, bakers, and drivers, but also as dentists and accountants.⁵ In October 1943, 10 Jewish tailors from the Obodovca ghetto were sent to Balta to work in a tailoring workshop making clothes for staff members of the Romanian Railroad Company (*Căile Ferate Române*).

Financial and material support from Jewish communities in Romania facilitated the creation and maintenance of workshops and various ghetto services. Used items were also sent from Jews in Bukovina via the Județ Office of Jews in Cernăuți (*Oficiul Județean al Evreilor din Cernăuți*).⁶ The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) sent money and goods (glass, produce, coal, and tools) for the ghetto as a whole and for the workshops. Some of the aid was delayed due to bureaucracy, and some never reached the intended recipients either because it was intercepted by other authorities or stolen along the way.⁷ Late in 1942 and into 1943, financial aid from family and friends in Romania also reached the Obodovca ghetto.⁸ According to the March 1943 census of deported Jews, there were 1,550 Jews in Obodovca (including local Ukrainian Jews); in September 1943, there were 1,373 (excluding local Jews).⁹

Hundreds of skilled Jews from the Obodovca raion were sent as forced laborers to work on construction projects at Nicolaev and Varvarovca (in the Oceacov județ). That area was under the control of the Nazi SS who used Ukrainian auxil-

itary police as guards on the building sites. Under strict supervision and with heavy workloads, poor sanitation, and little food, the Jews built barracks, bridgeheads, and bridges on the Bug River in the middle of 1943.¹⁰

In March 1943, the Romanian authorities ordered the transformation of two farms into disciplinary labor camps in the Obodovca raion. The camps at Verhovca and Dubina (today: Verkhivka and Dubyna, three to four kilometers [2 miles] north of Obodovca) were “for the placement in agricultural work of individuals who have become undesirable in their own communities.”¹¹ These camps appear to have been created for the general population, rather than for the confinement of Jews. Although deported Jews worked in some capacity in these camps, as accountants, for example, there existed independent forced labor camps for Jews near each of these farms where Jews worked alongside the other prisoners.

The repatriation of orphaned children from Obodovca took place at the end of 1943 and continued into 1944, when other groups of deportees were sent back to Romania. After a disorganized German retreat through Obodovca, the Red Army liberated Obodovca on March 15, 1944. Some Jewish men of military age were recruited into the Red Army and sent deeper inside the Soviet Union as laborers in the war effort.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Obodovca can be found in the following publications: “Obodovka,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 667–668; “Obodovka,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 923; “Obodovka,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 236–237; “Obodovka,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2007), 6: 103–104; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 2: *Documents 1–558* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHHM, 2000).

Primary sources about the fate of Jews deported to Obodovca are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M); ACMEOR (RG-68.029M); OOVV (RG-68.130M); GARF (RG-22.002M, reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1259, p. 13, and in the same collection, delo 1242, pp. 125); and DAVINO (RG-31.011M, reel 6, fond 1683, opis 1, delo 10). VHA holds more than 250 testimonies in seven languages from Jewish survivors who stayed for various periods of time in Obodovca.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #05363, Henia Donenfeld testimony, August 10, 1995.
2. VHA #00523, Freda Rosenblatt testimony, January 10, 1995; VHA #22733, Aviva Benanav testimony, December 3, 1996. See also survivor Ioil (Iuri) Carlicovschi's report, “Informație pe tema ‘Fermile de [la] Obodovca,’” USHMMA, RG-68.029M (ACMEOR), reel 11, file 62, pp. 1–3.
3. “Tabel nominal de evreii din raionul Obodovca care au fost funcționari de stat și familiile lor,” USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOVV), reel 2, file M-39/27 (DAOO: 2358/1/110), pp. 12–13 (and verso), 14–15 (and verso), 22, 44–45; for decorated veterans, see pp. 16–17 (and verso), 19.
4. List of work committees and ghetto chiefs for the Balta județ, “Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organiz. a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta și a Comitetelor evreiești din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso).
5. See, for instance, a long list of Jewish forced laborers working in the Obodovca raion, “Tabel nominal de evrei utilizați la diferite întreprinderi și instituții în cuprinsul raionului Obodovca,” USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 2, file M-39/32 (DAOO: 2358/1/666), pp. 1–20 (and verso).
6. Letter informing the Jewish Committee in Obodovca about the sending of packages, September 29, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 1, file M-39/26 (DAOO: 2358/1/107), p. 7 (see also pp. 104, 110, 112).
7. See the exchange between the Obodovca Jewish Committee and the Prefect's Office regarding missing aid, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 1, file M-39/26 (DAOO: 2358/1/107), pp. 35–38, 96, but see also p. 82 in which a large quantity of salt sent for Obodovca was acquired by the Balta Jewish Committee.
8. See “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din România deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Obodovca (Jud. Balta),” RG-68.130M, reel 1, file M-39/25 (DAOO: 2358/1/838), p. 2 (also pp. 6, 36, 38, 42).
9. March 1943 census: “Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; September 1943 census: “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.
10. See “Tabel de meseriași pe naționalități din R. Obodovca,” September 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M, reel 2, file M-39/30 (DAOO: 2358/1/663), pp. 146–149 (and verso).

11. See correspondence Nr. 23421 of Transnistria's Department of Labor in Odessa, requesting that two labor camps be created, March 1943, followed by correspondence Nr. 4341 from Balta Prefecture confirming their establishment, USHMM, RG-68.130M, reel 2, file M-39/30 (DAO: 2358 /1/663), pp. 29, 32.

ODESSA

Odessa, seat of the Odessa raion and județ in the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, lies on the shores of the Black Sea. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 200,961 Jews lived there. Jewish refugees from Bukovina and Bessarabia flocked to Odessa in July 1941 following the German-Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union. Some of the city's long-term Jewish residents, however, had retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper into Soviet territory, but many stayed in place. When the city fell to the Romanian 4th Army on October 16, 1941, there were approximately 85,000 Jews in Odessa.

Romanian military and civilian offices were established soon after the city's capture, when Odessa became Transnistria's capital. The governor of Transnistria was Professor Gheorghe Alexianu. Odessa's military praetor was Colonel Mihail Niculescu-Coca, its first military commandant was General de brigadă Ion Glogojanu, and its mayor was Maior Gherman Pântea. The praetors in Odessa were M. Niculescu, Vasile Chindrias, Ion Costilă, and Radu Emilian. Transnistria's gendarmes inspectors, based in Odessa, were Colonel Emil Broșteanu and Colonel Mihail P. Iliescu.

Terror and chaos characterized the first week under Romanian occupation. The entire male population was ordered to report for document verification,¹ at which time many were arrested on suspicion of being "dangerous" communists and Jews. Young residents were deported to labor camps in Romania for allegedly serving in the Red Army. Of those confined

in the Odessa penitentiary, the most suspicious were shot or hanged; others committed suicide while under arrest. Romanian soldiers resorted to looting and raping on the pretext of searching for "Jewish collaborators" and resisters left behind by the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, *Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del*).² Fear that anti-Romanian pockets of armed resisters were aiding Soviet units hidden deep inside Odessa's catacombs engendered a climate of terror.

The city's first ghetto was established on October 18, 1941. It was built around the penitentiary, located on Fontanskaia Daroga Street and commanded by the gendarme locotenent, Teodor Alecoride. The ghetto encompassed a residential area stretching toward the sea. Entire families were forced to move into the ghetto and could bring with them only a minimum of personal items, the clothing they were wearing, and no food. A Jewish delegation from the ghetto procured food for the inmates. The men worked as street cleaners, moving debris and removing barricades and land mines.

On the evening of October 22, 1941, a mine exploded in the Romanian Army headquarters, the former NKVD headquarters. The blast killed 66 Romanian officers, including Glogojanu, and 4 German naval officers. Viewing the explosion as an act of sabotage, Romanian authorities retaliated cruelly. On the night of October 22 and into the next day, 5,000 people, not exclusively Jews, were hanged on tram posts and planks on street corners.³ Many others were shot. On October 24, Jews held in the ghetto were escorted to Dalnik, a suburb of Odessa, where many were shot in antitank ditches or machine-gunned inside four warehouses. The buildings were set on fire, except for one warehouse that was dynamited at the very same hour that the army headquarters had exploded two days earlier.

On October 25, 1941, 25,000 more of Odessa's Jews were concentrated in Slobodca, an Odessa neighborhood designated as a ghetto. This second ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and was guarded by gendarmes. Life inside Slobodca was harsh, characterized by overcrowding, malnutrition, cold, and exposure to the elements, because almost everyone slept out in the open. A hospital was set up in the ghetto, but the harsh conditions led to many deaths. After 10 days, on November 3, the women were permitted to return home.

The deportation of Odessa's Jews occurred in two waves. One group of at least 7,000 Jews was deported as early as October 27, 1941. They left on foot from Dalnik, after a short confinement in a temporary camp there. Alexianu's Ordinance No. 23 of November 11, 1941, encouraged other deportations from the Odessa raion and județ, so that by mid-November 40,000 Jews had already been sent in the direction of Berezovca and farther east to Bogdanovca (Golta județ). On Alexianu's orders, the second wave of deportations, conducted from January 12 to February 22, 1942, resulted in the removal of 20,792 Jews to the Berezovca and Ochacov regions.⁴ Jews who escaped previous deportations were eventually deported in March 1942, together with those held in the Odessa prison.

Some Jews were returned to Odessa in 1943 to perform forced labor in government workshops (*ateliers*), under the Department of Labor (*Directia Muncii*). The workshops at Adolf



Ukrainian Jews wait in line to register after the German and Romanian occupation of Odessa, October 1941.

USHMM WS #76454, COURTESY OF THE DEUTSCHE FOTOTHEK DER SÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK.

Hitler Street, No. 6 specialized in sewing, shoemaking, hair-dressing, electrical work, carpentry, and tinsmithing. A dentistry and medical office also operated there. Jews also worked in administration in the Department of Health and Department of Industries, as well as in printing. Others worked in factories.⁵ The work regime was strict for everyone, with only occasional remuneration. Even non-Jews, aged 16 to 60, were obligated to do compulsory labor (sanctioned by Ordinance No. 26 of November 21, 1941) or face detention in a hard labor camp.⁶

A delegation from Bucharest's Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) was permitted to make a short visit to Transnistria in January 1943. Governor Alexianu and other state functionaries met with the Jewish delegation on the evening of January 2, 1943, and conferred about the solutions to be implemented to alleviate the life of the deportees.⁷ On January 3, the delegation visited the 54 Jews (31 men, 19 women, 4 children) who worked and lived in the Adolf Hitler Street workshops. According to a census of deported Jews that followed the delegation's visit, there were 60 Jews left in Odessa in March 1943.⁸ Some of the Jewish forced laborers in Odessa received private funds from family or relatives in Romania, via a money-transfer channel of CER.⁹

The Red Army liberated Odessa in April 1944. In April 1946, the People's Tribunal in Bucharest condemned Alexianu to death for committing criminal acts against Odessa's Jews. He was executed on June 1, 1946.¹⁰

SOURCES Information about the fate of Odessa's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Odessa," in A. I. Kruglov, *The Catastrophe of Ukrainian Jews, 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 237–239; "Odessa," 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: 925–928; "Odessa," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 109–121; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* and vol. 6: *War Crimes Trials* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3a: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Alexander Dallin, *Odessa, 1941–1944: A Case Study of Soviet Territory under Foreign Rule* (Portland, OR: Center for Romanian Studies, 1998); Charles King, *Odessa: Genius and Death in a City of Dreams* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2011); and Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009); for the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed.,

Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 21.

Archival information about the fate of Odessa's Jews can be found at USHMM, in collections DAOO, SRI, and ANR. For a list of praetors in Odessa, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 4s, delo 23, p. 3; for SSI information reports, see RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 18, file 402/1941, pp. 11–34; for Fred Șaraga's report following the visit to Transnistria, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 106–156; for Jewish labor in Odessa's workshops, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 2, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1358, p. 83; and for the prosecution's statement against Ion Antonescu before the People's Tribunal, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 34, file 40010, vol. 49, pp. 49–59 (esp. p. 59).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Jews wait in line to register shortly after the German and Romanian occupation of Odessa," USHMMPA, WS #69334 (Courtesy of YVA).

2. See Romanian SSI reports, "Raport Informativ," for period October 20 to 28, 1941, USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 18, file 402/1941, pp. 11–34.

3. "A German soldier stands near the bodies of eight Jews executed in Odessa shortly after the occupation of the city," USHMMPA, WS # 78240 (Courtesy of YVA).

4. See "Ordonanța Nr. 23," USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso) (USHMM, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1, with page); "Ordonanța Nr. 35," USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 33, file 40010, vol. 28, p. 37 (and verso) (USHMM, RG-25.004M/33/40010/28, p. 37).

5. "Prefectura Județului Balta [către] Subinspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei," USHMM, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/307, n.p.; and "Tabel nominal al meseriașilor evrei din Atelierul Guvernământului Odessa, Strada Adolf Hitler 6," USHMM, RG-31.004M/2/2242/1/1358, p. 83; "Către Direcția Sănătății Odessa," USHMM, RG-31.004M/1/2242/1/307, p. 359; "Nota," USHMM, RG-31.004M/14/2264s/1/40b, p. 31; "Către Direcția Muncii," USHMM, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.; "Către Guvernământul Transnistriei Direcția Muncii Odessa," USHMM, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, p. 216; "46 Oameni din fosta fabrică de încălțăminte din Odessa, mutați la Birzula," USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1561, p. 93.

6. See "Către Direcția Muncii," USHMM, RG-31.004M/1/2242/1/307, pp. 215–216.

7. See "Raportul oficial al Comisiunii Evreiești care a fost în Transnistria," produced by Fred Șaraga, USHMM, RG-25.004M/9/2710/33, pp. 106–156.

8. "Tablou numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," in Ancel, *Documents* 5: 348.

9. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din Romania deportați în Transnistria aflați la Novi-Bug prin Odessa," USHMM, RG-31.004M/ 5/2242/1/1507, p. 181.

10. Prosecution's statement, "Ion Antonescu," USHMM, RG-25.004M/34/40010/49, pp. 49–59 (esp. p. 59); executions under Decree Law 312/1945, article 1/paragraphs a–b, and article 2/paragraphs a–o.

ODESSA/INTERNMENT AND LABOR CAMPS

Odessa was the capital of Romanian-controlled Transnistria from November 1941 to March 1944. In addition to subcamps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) that existed in Odessa throughout the war, the Romanian administration of Transnistria set up a number of other correctional camps. Two such camps were the Odessa internment camp (*Lagărul de Internare, Odessa*) and the Lusdorf labor camp (*Lagărul de Muncă Lusdorf*). The Odessa Gendarmes Inspectorate, the Odessa police (Criminal Bureau), and the Office of Labor of the Department of the Civil Government of Transnistria played roles in coordinating, supervising, and exploiting these camps.

The Odessa internment camp, commanded by Zaharia, held both men and women, civilians, and former military. By the summer of 1943, 1,434 soldiers who had deserted the Romanian Army were interned in this camp, according to a note issued by the Punishment Bureau.¹ The prisoners in this camp were used as temporary manual laborers for private business and government departments. According to a list of demands for and the available supply of laborers, the prisoners were deployed in diverse institutions in Odessa, including the airport, the government departments of health and roads, the Orthodox Church Mission Office, the Office of Labor, the Agricultural University, state farms (Dalnik, Ștefan Cel Mare, and Ponomia), the military hospital, and the local Ford automotive plant; a few prisoners were sent to the German headquarters (*Kommandantur*) in Trihati.² The prisoners were briefly examined by a doctor before being dispatched to work assignments. The camp maintained a degree of autonomy and self-administration, as was also common with Soviet POW camps.³

The Lusdorf labor camp was located on Lusdorf Way No. 11 on the outskirts of Odessa. The camp commandant was Grigore Colos, assisted by Grigore Ploteanu; Marfa Dvajala was the camp's Russian-Romanian interpreter. A group of gendarmes, under the command of Sergeant major Anghel Nistoreanu of the 3rd Company, 1st Gendarmes Battalion, guarded the camp. The camp held people of both sexes, and it appears to have been a disciplinary camp for citizens of Odessa suspected of subversive activity (such as supporting communism).

The Lusdorf camp's commandant treated the prisoners with contempt, particularly the women. He sexually assaulted two female prisoners in June 1943, physically abused other prisoners, and freed some in exchange for bribes of money or jewelry. In August 1943, the Odessa military court condemned Colos to nine months' imprisonment for abuse of power. The Chișinău military court investigated Sergeant major Nistoreanu for complicity in these abuses.⁴

The fate of the camp and its prisoners prior to Odessa's occupation by the Red Army is not known. Most likely those prisoners originally from Romania (including Bessarabia) and who had longer sentences to serve were repatriated to other correctional facilities inside Romania or were released.

SOURCES Primary sources are available at USHMMA, in collection RG-68.130M, reel 4 (OOYV).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Note of Punishment Bureau, July 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, M-39/83 (DAOO: 2264/1/8), p. 4.

2. See the demand and supply list, July 22, 1943: "Situația cererilor de lucrători, satisfacerea cererilor de către raioane și biro și trimiterea de lucrători diferitelor instituții pe ziua de 22.VII. 43," USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, M-39/83 (DAOO: 2264/1/8), p. 2 (but see also p. 3).

3. See correspondence between the camp and the Office of Labor, December 17, 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, M-39/83 (DAOO: 2264/1/8), pp. 123, 149–151.

4. See police correspondence regarding Colos, August 1943, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 4, M-39/83 (DAOO: 2264/1/8), pp. 17–19.

ODESSA/LPRS

The main camps for Soviet prisoners of war (*Lagăre de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS) in Transnistria were in Tiraspol, the first capital of the German- and Romanian-controlled Transnistria. The camps were Tiraspol Camp No. 5 (LPRS No. 5) and Tiraspol Camp No. 11 (LPRS No. 11). Even after Transnistria's capital was moved to Odessa following its conquest on October 26, 1941, the camps remained in Tiraspol until early 1944. Gradually, the two main camps formed networks of subcamps to accommodate the large influx of POWs captured by German and Romanian armies fighting in Transnistria and beyond, and to respond to the need to house laborers of various institutions inside Transnistria.¹

Of the many subcamps attached to LPRS No. 11 and scattered throughout Transnistria, there existed a subcamp (*sublagăr*) in Odessa. All of LPRS No. 11's subcamps came under the jurisdiction of the Headquarters Rear Area for the East (*Comandamentul Etapelor de Est*). The commandant of LPRS No. 11 was Locotenent-colonel Victor Ioanid. At his disposal, the commandant had 15 officers, 13 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 340 troops, all recruited from the Bucharest 3rd Frontier Battalion (*Batalion de Graniceri*). This contingent was used to manage LPRS No. 11 and its subcamps (with additional troops recruited locally where the subcamps were situated).

The Odessa subcamp (*sublagărul Odessa*) was not a single site, but incorporated other smaller subcamps, not all of which were in Odessa. In the city of Odessa, there were smaller camps in three factories where Soviet prisoners worked: Combicorn factory (19 POWs), guarded by the 590th Infantry Battalion; Anatra grain mill for the army with 72 Soviet prisoners guarded by the 2nd Company Explorations; and the Roata wagon factory with 171 Soviet prisoners guarded by the Odessa 590th Infantry Battalion.

In the neighboring Ochacov județ, there existed three other small camps that belonged to the Odessa subcamp. They were

located in collective farms where Soviet prisoners were put to work: the Reno farm with seven Soviet prisoners, Adeleni (or Ardeleni) farm with nine Soviet POWs, and Feodorovca farm with nine Soviet prisoners.

In addition to the small camps attached to the Odessa subcamp, three other subcamps in the Odessa județ also belonged to LPRS No. 11. The Vacarjani subcamp had a contingent of 30 Soviet prisoners (a Romanian index of localities in Transnistria places Vacarjani in the Bilaievca raion, Ovidiopol județ (today: Ukraine).² The Mândrov subcamp had 50 Soviet prisoners. The Manheim (or Mannheim) subcamp also had 50 POWs, but its exact location is difficult to determine. A Romanian index of localities in Transnistria places it near Liubopol, Antono Codincevo raion, Odessa județ. If this placement is correct, Manheim is today near Lyubopil, southeast of Kominternivske.³

LPRS No. 11 and its network of subcamps were administratively autonomous, as were other camps for Soviet POWs in Romania. The camp received material resources of food, clothing, work tools, and so on, from the Headquarters Rear Area for the East for the purpose of maintaining its labor potential.⁴ The exact time of the opening of the subcamps in Odessa is unknown, but it is safe to surmise a date in early to mid-1942. Similarly, descriptions of the early conditions of imprisonment are hard to find, but they likely corresponded to those in other Soviet POW camps under Romanian control throughout Transnistria and Romania. In these camps, improvements in food, clothing, and housing occurred only after a second or sometimes third year of operation (generally by late 1942 and early 1943). The mortality resulting from maltreatment and negligence was highest in the first year (the fall of 1941 to the fall of 1942) in every camp for Soviet POWs.

SOURCES Secondary sources documenting the fate of Soviet POWs in the Odessa subcamp and other subcamps in the Odessa județ are not available.

Primary sources are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Secret note about LPRS in Transnistria of the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, "Nota. Lagărele existente în Transnistria," March 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79, 1943, pp. 408–413.

2. For the index, see "Tablou de județele, raioanele și cătunele din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, p. 23 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/37, p. 23).

3. USHMMA, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/37, p. 20.

4. Transnistrian Gendarmes Inspectorate's report, March 20, 1943, "Dare de seamă asupra lagărelor existente în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79, 1943, pp. 416–419 (esp. pp. 416–417).

OLEANIȚA

Oleanița (pre-1941: Olyanitsa), a village in the Trostineț raion, Tulcin județ (today: Olyanytsya, Ukraine), in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) west of the Bug River and 29 kilometers (18 miles) east of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,731 Jews in the Trostineț raion, representing just over 4 percent of its population (census data for Oleanița are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area around Oleanița on July 25, 1941. Oleanița came under the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941, and the village's name was romanianized as Oleanița (also appearing in documents as Olianita). Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaș were Tulcin's prefects. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, who was succeeded by Căpitan Fetecău. The praetor in Trostineț was Constantin Alexandrescu.

On July 3, 1942, a convoy of Jews deported from the Dorohoi județ to the Ladijin/Stone Quarry camp passed near Oleanița (a train station was located a few kilometers from Ladijin and Oleanița). The Jews had been deported from Dorohoi and its nearby villages and townships in June 1942 in what represented the second wave of deportations from Bukovina.¹ The convoy contained the family members of men who were undertaking forced labor in other parts of the country (for example, at Brăila); when the men too were eventually deported after their return home, their family members were scattered among different camps in Transnistria. The deportees appealed to the governor of Transnistria for the reunification of their families, with some requests being granted. For example, some female deportees asked for permission to move to Oleanița where their husbands had been deported. An appeal of September 15, 1942, evoked the misery in which the women lived and the fear that, without the help of their husbands, they and their children would not survive the approaching winter.²

Transported by freight cars to Atachi near the Dniester River, the Jews of Bukovina entered Transnistria via the Moghilev crossing point. Once in Moghilev, they were again put on freight cars and transported to their destination. Shortly afterward, on July 6, another large convoy of Jews from Bukovina (mostly from Cernăuți) was transported to the Ladijin/Stone Quarry camp. After delousing, 600 Jews from the camp were moved to Oleanița where they were held in the stable of the village's former collective farm. The facility, partly encircled by a fence and guarded, was completely inadequate for human habitation. Nevertheless, the deportees were forced to live there in primitive conditions, bartering their remaining possessions for food. On August 19, 1942, at the request of the German authorities across the Bug River, Tulcin's prefect, Loghin, consented to handing over 522 Jews from the Oleanița camp for labor projects conducted by the Nazi construction company, Organisation Todt (OT). The

principal project was likely the building of the Nemirov-Bratslav-Seminki-Gaysin segment of Highway IV (*Durchgangsstrasse IV*, DG-IV) that connected Lvov to Stalino in southern Ukraine. It is believed that the majority of those sent died because of maltreatment. Seventy-eight Jews remained in Oleanița for a few more months. Individual aid from relatives and friends in Romania was sent to the Jews held in Oleanița to help them survive, but because the news about the sudden transfer of most of the Jews to the German authorities had not yet reached those in Romania, many remittances were returned undelivered.³ It is not known where exactly the remaining Jews were eventually transferred, although it was probably to Cetvertinovca (in Trostineț raion) or Tulcin, but it is clear that the camp no longer existed at the beginning of 1943.⁴

The Red Army liberated the village of Oleanița in March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews in Oleanița can be found in the following publications: "Olianita," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 689; "Olianita," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 139; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 243; "Oleanița," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniya* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 397; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources on the fate of the Jews held in the Oleanița camp are available at USHMMA, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M). Information about the deportation of Jews from Bukovina in June 1942 can be found in AME (RG-25.006M). Although VHA does not have testimonies of Jewish survivors of the Oleanița camp, there are multiple testimonies in various languages from survivors of camps and ghettos that existed in close proximity to Oleanița (places such as Ladjiin, Cetvertinovca, and Trostineț).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Bukovina governor's reports for the Military Cabinet for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria in Bucharest regarding the deportations of Jews from Bukovina (according to counties): USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 150–217.

2. Letter of September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1490, p. 213 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2241/1/1490, p. 213).

3. For example, see "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară evacuați în Transnistria și aflați la Olanița (Jud. Tulcin, Gara Ladajin)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1189, p. 140, but for other remittances, see also in the same collection and reel, pp. 85, 89, 117, 124, 173, 184–188.

4. For example, the name of the camp does not appear in the March 1943 census of Jews in Transnistria; see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346.

OLGOPOL

The Olgopol commune, the seat of the Olgopol raion, Balta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Ol'hopil', Ukraine), is located along the Savranka River. It is 30 kilometers (19 miles) north-northwest of Balta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 660 Jews in Olgopol, representing more than 11 percent of the town's residents. Jewish men of military age were drafted into the Red Army, although the advancing German Army reached some Jewish families retreating with the Soviet administration and sent them back. All others stayed in place.

The German and Romanian authorities occupied Olgopol in early August 1941. The remaining Jews were rounded up and shot soon thereafter. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area in September 1941 and romanianized its name as Olgopol (also spelled Oligopol in some documents). The prefect in the Balta județ was Colonel Vasile Nica. Locotenent-colonel Ștefan Gavăț was the commandant of the Balta Gendarmes Legion. The commandant of the Olgopol gendarmes sector was Locotenent Gheorghe Grigorescu, and the commandant of the Olgopol gendarmes post was Sublocotenent Oscar Depner. The Olgopol raion's praetor was Ion Hațiegan. The military commandant of the Olgopol ghetto was Plutonier Constantin Ruxandra. Plutonier Mihail Dumitrescu and Sergeant major Macarie Sârbu from the Olgopol gendarmes post guarded the Olgopol ghetto.

Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in the summer and fall of 1941 arrived in Olgopol at some point during October of that year, after weeks of forced marches from camp to camp and repeated imprisonments in those transit camps. Ukrainian Jews deported from other parts of Transnistria arrived around that time as well. A ghetto was gradually set up on the outskirts of town in the former residences (destroyed and vandalized) of local Jews who were murdered or had fled;

a few Jews rented rooms in the homes of Ukrainian residents.¹ The ghetto was not encircled by barbed wire, but was guarded by the Romanian gendarmes from the Olgopol gendarmes post and a few Ukrainian auxiliaries.² The deportees lived in crowded and unsanitary conditions, bartering the last items of their belongings for small amounts of food. A market day was held each week where items could be bought or exchanged. The winter of 1941–1942 was extremely difficult to survive, with Jews dying from starvation, cold, exhaustion, and illness, especially typhus.³

The Jews in the Olgopol ghetto set up a number of institutions to help them better cope with the many challenges they faced. They first elected a Jewish mayor, Ițic Fabricant, who was succeeded by Iancu Pecher. From early 1943 onward, there existed a larger organizational structure with more responsibilities in the Olgopol ghetto, namely the Jewish Committee (*comitetul evreiesc*). Its president was Alexandru Rado. The chief of the Jewish labor service was Rubin Alămaru, and Nicolae Stern was chief over the workshops.⁴ Thanks to the few surviving Jewish doctors among the deportees, a small hospital for Jews was created in 1942 in one of the empty buildings. Doctor I. Seibelman and pharmacist Baca Rivelis were in charge of the hospital. The ghetto hospital also had an outpatient clinic, but medications were extremely limited. Additional material support from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență, CER*), started trickling in via the Balta ghetto (31 kilometers [19 miles] south of Olgopol) in late 1942 and throughout 1943. A CER delegation that visited Transnistria in January 1943 met with the mayor of the Olgopol ghetto in Balta on January 11, 1943. The delegation allocated a sum of money to set up a small soup kitchen for the elderly and the 50 orphans.⁵

On March 17, 1943, some 427 Romanian Jews accused of communist activity who had been interned in the Vapniarca camp in September 1942 were acquitted of the charges by a Romanian Interior Ministry commission reviewing their cases. They were consequently released from the camp, but had to settle in Transnistria, being denied permission to reenter Romania. For 100 of them, Olgopol was their new place of assigned residence. They were transported there by train, under military escort, in April 1943. Romanian Jews placed in the Olgopol ghetto from the Vapniarca camp, as well as Jews from the Dorohoi region, were later repatriated in December 1943 and January 1944.⁶ On May 5, 1943, the number of Jews in the Olgopol ghetto reached 761 (174 men, 355 women, and 232 children).⁷

The ghetto administration set up workshops (*ateliere*) in accordance with Ordinance No. 23. Skilled Jews found work as tailors, shoemakers, and mat weavers in these workshops and were able to earn small sums of money or food in exchange for their services. Other Jews worked as farmers in the raion's collective farms (*kolkhozes*).⁸ Jewish doctors sent from Romania in 1943 arrived in Olgopol and undertook forced labor in the ghetto's hospital.⁹ More than one-third of the ghetto's population, however, was unable to work, either because of lack of

skill, age, or illness. These Jews had to be helped each day from the ghetto's limited resources.¹⁰ Adding to the general distress was the abuse of Romanian gendarmes, who regularly entered the ghetto searching for and confiscating food and demanding money or jewelry in exchange for granting certain privileges; for example, letting the Jews leave the ghetto on certain days to buy provisions.

Orphaned children were repatriated to Romania by train (via Tiraspol) at the end of February 1944.¹¹ On February 25, 1944, the ghetto had 754 Jews (234 men, 385 women, 135 children).¹² By the middle of March 1944, the ghetto was closed. The Romanian Jews were repatriated to Romania (mostly on foot, walking toward the Dniester River), while Ukrainian Jews dispersed or remained in place. The Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol prison were freed at that time and were not handed over to the retreating German forces that arrived in Olgopol at that time. The Red Army recaptured Olgopol at the end of March 1944. The following year, in April 1945, the Bucharest People's Court investigated the abuses committed by military and civilian leaders in Olgopol; it confiscated their private property and sentenced many of them to hard labor.¹³

SOURCES Further information about the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol ghetto can be found in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreistva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia, vol. 6 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2007); Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* and vol. 2: *Documents 1–558* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Ihiel Benditer, *Vapniarca: Lagărele Vapniarca și Grosulovo, închisoarea Ribnița, ghetourile Olgopol, Savrani, Tridubi, Crivoi-Ozero și Tribati* (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol ghetto can be found at USHMM, in collections

DAOO (RG-31.004M), OOVV (RG-63.130M), and SRI (25.004M). Rado Alexandru's memoir is available at USHMM, RG-25.021M (FUCER), reel 15, file III-367. Testimonies from his companions can be found in the same collection, file III-370. Another memoir is by Geza Kornis, USHMA, Acc. No. 2003.384. A published version of Kornis's testimony is *Überlebt durch Solidarität: KZ Wapniarka, Ghetto Olgopol in Transnistrien, Arbeitslager in Rumänien: ein Zeitzeugenbericht*, trans. Erhard R. Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2004). Finally, a memoir by survivor Polina Gitterman (née Trostyanetskaya) about the Olgopol ghetto is available at USHMM, Acc. No. 1995.A.0611. VHA holds 87 survivor testimonies in three languages (Hebrew, Russian, and Ukrainian) from Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For a name list of 866 Jews imprisoned in the Olgopol ghetto, prepared by the Claims Conference in Tel Aviv, Israel, see USHMM Resource Center, File no. RT-0424, http://masterwww.ushmm.org/online/hsv/source_view.php?SourceId=30143.

2. Report on the Olgopol ghetto, May 1943, USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205, pp. 440–443.

3. See the inspection report by the Balta prefect, Vasile Nica, in December 1941, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 695, p. 145 (and verso).

4. List of Jewish committees in the Balta județ, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72.

5. See official report following the visit to Transnistria in January 1943 of a Jewish commission led by Fred Șaraga, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 136.

6. See governmental reports and correspondence announcing the release of Jews from the Vapniarka camp to three destinations in Transnistria—Olgopol, Savrani, and Tridubi, reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 442–445 (Docs. 230–232); a name list is available at RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 674, pp. 12–14 (and verso).

7. May 5, 1943, census following the inspection of delegates from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Military Cabinet, USHMM, RG-25.002M, reel 16, file 205, p. 446.

8. The Olgopol raion had 44 collective farms and 12 villages, according to a report of the Balta agricultural service, USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 19.

9. For their name, specialty, and place of origin, see a table listing medical personnel in the Olgopol ghetto, USHMM, RG-68.130M (OOVV), reel 2, M-39/32 (fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666), p. 12.

10. For a distribution of workers and those unable to work in the Olgopol ghetto, see USHMM, RG-68.130M, reel 2, M-39/32 (fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666), pp. 50–51, 62, 73.

11. The names of the older orphans (ages 16 to 18) can be found in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 545.

12. The statistical figure was provided by the ghetto mayor, USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 675, pp. 34–35; a slightly higher figure, 764 Jews, is pro-

vided in a different census from the same month, USHMM, RG-63.130M, reel 2, M-39/27 (fond 2358, opis 1, delo 110), p. 90.

13. See court depositions of witnesses and the accused, USHMM, RG-25.004M, reel 29, file 40013, vol. 3 (starting on p. 1 in pencil); and reel 30, file 40013, vol. 6.

ONEȘTII-NOI

Oneștii-Noi, a small town in the Lăpușna județ, in Bessarabia, in the eastern part of Romania (today: Onești, Hîncești raion, Moldova), is about 48 kilometers (30 miles) west-southwest of Chișinău.

In August or September 1941, Bessarabia's governor, General de Divizie Constantin Voiculescu, ordered that an internment camp be set up in Bessarabia for those suspected of harboring pro-Soviet or anti-Romanian sentiments.¹ It was to be a "camp for suspects," and indeed, the camp was known as "Oneștii-Noi camp for suspects" (*Lagărul de suspecți Oneștii-Noi*). A dilapidated military base in Oneștii-Noi was repurposed as a site for this new camp. It contained a few primitive wooden barracks and was encircled by a barbed-wire fence. A few small houses were allocated for the gendarmes guarding the camp and the command headquarters. The camp was under the control of the government of Bessarabia and its military cabinet. Gendarmes from the Lăpușna Gendarmes Legion, commanded by Căpitan Dumitru Brotea, guarded the camp. Bessarabia's Inspectorate of Gendarmes, commanded by Colonel Teodor Meculescu, also exercised control over the camp and implemented the governor's orders.

Beginning in late 1941 and early 1942, after the first (and the largest) mass deportation of Jews from Bessarabia to Transnistria had ended, the Romanian authorities began sending small groups of Jews to the Oneștii-Noi camp. These Jews were from among the few hundred Jews from the Chișinău ghetto who had been able to postpone their deportation by bribing ghetto and/or city officials or by converting to Catholicism. Thus, in January 1942, some 57 Jews (male and female) were sent from the Chișinău ghetto to the Oneștii-Noi camp, and in March of the same year another 134 Jews were sent to the same camp.² It is very unlikely that these Jews were in the camp for more than a few months and certainly not after the second wave of deportations to Transnistria from Chișinău that occurred in June 1942.

In addition to Jews, members of outlawed religious minorities from Bessarabia were also interned in the Oneștii-Noi camp in the summer of 1942. Religious minorities banned by the Romanian state were pejoratively called "sects" (*secte*) and their followers "sectarians" (*sectanți*). Thus, in June 1942, two Christians, named Grușovan and Starciuc, were sent to the camp "for communist, Baptist, and anti-religious propaganda, being deemed to endanger public order and state security."³ Members of other forbidden religious minorities were interned in the camp; for example, Inochentists (millenarians deemed heretical by the Orthodox Church), Seventh-Day Adventists, and Jehovah's Witnesses. The charges also included the mak-

ing of religious propaganda and the holding of religious meetings without a permit.

While in the Onești-Noi camp, the internees did forced labor as needed in the running of the camp. They also underwent an intense program of reeducation that sought to convert them to the Orthodox faith. The program was coordinated by the Chișinău Gendarmes Inspectorate in cooperation with the camp commandment and Orthodox clergy. "Sectarrians" were forced to attend a series of cultural events with strong nationalistic and religious undertones organized especially for them. These events included musical shows and plays, as well as talks that celebrated patriotic ideas and the importance of adhering to the Orthodox faith. Some internees renounced their minority faith and were freed, but many did not, even after going through the camp's "reeducation" program. For the latter, the camp commander proposed harsher terms of internment; for example, the doubling of their imprisonment term, the annulment of family visits, and finally, their incarceration in special camps outside Bessarabia (i.e., in Transnistria).⁴ At the end of 1942, there were 82 people held in the Onești-Noi camp because of their religious beliefs. Seventeen internees were released before the year's end after signing a declaration of reconversion and abandoning their faith.⁵

By March 1943, the authorities in the regional gendarmes center, seeing no intention among the rest of the "sectarians" to abandon their faith even under a harsher regime, sought their deportation—or at least that of their leaders—to Transnistria. The majority of those interned were common believers, but interned among them were also the prominent Bessarabian Baptist leaders, Eugen Jurenco and Nicolae Clinovici.⁶ With the governor's approval, the religious leaders (particularly the Baptist leaders) interned in the camp were deported to the Golta ghetto (Golta județ) in Transnistria in the spring of 1943.

A year later, in March 1944, members of the religious minorities who had been deported to Transnistria from the Onești-Noi camp were repatriated to Romania, along with the remaining Jews and Roma.⁷ While back in the country, the Romanian police continued to monitor their activities closely and forbade any public manifestation with a religious ("sectarian") character. The Baptists and Seventh-Day Adventists, whose faith had been legal in Romania before 1941, regained their freedom only after August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in the war. The Inochentists and Jehovah's Witnesses (along with other unrecognized groups) continued to be outlawed even after 1944. The camp was shut down in April 1944.

The persecution of Jews and non-Jews (religious minorities) in Bessarabia and their imprisonment in the Onești-Noi camp played a role in Voiculescu's trial and condemnation. In May 1946 the People's Tribunal in Bucharest handed him a life sentence in a hard-labor prison and the confiscation of his private property.⁸

SOURCES More information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be

found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Față de Culetele Neoprotestante. Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); and Viorel Achim, "Situația 'sectelor religioase' în Provincia Bucovina. Un studiu al Inspectoratului Regional de Poliție Cernăuți în septembrie 1943," *ArchMol* 6 (2014): 351–427. On the deportation of Jews from Bessarabia and the persecution of the country's religious minorities, see also Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources attesting to the fate of those interned in the Onești-Noi camp are available at USHMM, in collections ANR, fond IGJ (RG-25.010M), ANRM (RG-54.001M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See Voiculescu's instructions, USHMM, RG-25.010M (ANR, fond IGJ), reel 9, file 132.
2. See name lists of Jews imprisoned in the Onești-Noi camp in January and March 1942, USHMM, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 7, fond 679.1, and reel 8, fond 679.1, respectively.
3. Achim, *Politica Regimului Antonescu*, pp. 493–494 (Doc. 214).
4. See the secret report of the Chișinău Inspectorate of Gendarmes to the government of Bessarabia, Military Cabinet, USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 128, file 120, pp. 27–28 (see also p. 24 for the governor's resolution).
5. See Bessarabian government note, early 1943, USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 128, file 120, p. 111.
6. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 128, file 120, pp. 16–17.
7. See police report on Eugen Jurenco in Achim, *Politica Regimului Antonescu*, pp. 876–877 (Doc. 500).
8. See "Actul de Acuzare," USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 16, file 22539, vol. 12, pp. 434–442 (esp. pp. 434–436), 455–456, and in the same collection, reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 129–130. Verdicts were based on the Minister of Justice, Law 312/April 24, 1945, concerning the sanctioning of those guilty of war crimes.

ORHEI

The seat of the Orhei județ and raion in Bessarabia in eastern Romania, the town of Orhei (today: in Moldova) is located 45 kilometers (27 miles) north of Chișinău and 97 kilometers (60 miles) northeast of Iași. Orhei's Jewish population was 6,302 in 1930; in 1939 the number of Jews in the Orhei județ was 19,211, half of whom likely lived in the town of Orhei (although census data for the town are not available). During the Soviet occupation of Bessarabia (June 1940 to June 1941), some of Orhei's wealthiest Jews (merchants, shop owners) were deported to Siberia because of their "capitalist" disposition.¹ Jewish men were mobilized in the Red Army in June 1941. Other Jews fled eastward, across the Dniester River, alongside the retreating Soviet authorities, reaching as far as

Soviet Asia and Uzbekistan. German air bombardments of roads, bridges, and trains killed many of the refugees; others died of disease and hunger while fleeing the area.²

The German and Romanian armies took control of Orhei at the end of June 1941. The town, however, was not officially occupied until July 8. The commandant of the Orhei Gendarmes Legion was Maior Filip Bechi, aided by the first deputy commandant, Căpitan Iulian Adamovici, and the second deputy commandant, Locotenent Constantin Popoiu (the latter was the prefect of Orhei in 1938). Soon thereafter, Romanian and German troops stationed in the area carried out a murderous campaign aimed at “cleansing the territory” of ethnic and political “undesirables” behind the front lines. Many killings of Jews (including the elderly and young) occurred throughout the entire Orhei județ in July 1941, under the pretext of eliminating “dangerous elements.” Many non-Jewish villagers collaborated in those atrocities, serving as scouts and translators for the perpetrators.

In the town of Orhei alone, for example, the members of the Jewish committee that welcomed the arrival of German and Romanian authorities in town with a traditional platter of bread and salt were shot soon thereafter. Jews from the town were then searched and imprisoned in three places: 200 to 300 in a synagogue and a large private house, 600 in an industrial school, and 500 in the police courtyard. The Jews held in the synagogue and the house were massacred in Siliștea, a few kilometers south of Orhei, on July 21, 1941, by a firing squad of 36 gendarmes. That same evening, the Jews from the industrial school were escorted to Slobozia Doamnă, a suburb of Orhei, where 500 were shot by a firing squad composed of Romanian gendarmes and a platoon of German soldiers (the latter were returning from shooting 70 elderly Jews in the vicinity).³

Concomitant with these killing operations the Romanian authorities established a ghetto in Orhei for the remaining Jews and for those from the surrounding villages. The ghetto, sealed with large wooden gates at both sides, encompassed a few streets in the town's eastern part. While in the ghetto, the Romanian authorities starved the Jews, forcing them to rely only on barter. Armed German and Romanian soldiers guarded the ghetto, and at night searchlights were used to prevent escapes. A few dozen Jews, unaware that the bridge over the Răut River was destroyed, attempted to flee the town and hide in the Orhei forest; Romanian gendarmes soon caught up with them and shot the entire group of men, women, and children. The killers confiscated their possessions and dumped the corpses in a hole in the nearby stone quarry.⁴ Meanwhile, the town's authorities contracted local peasants with horse wagons to transport some of the Jews and their belongings to the closest crossing point into Transnistria, which was at Rezina, some 45 kilometers (28 miles) northeast of Orhei.

Deportations to Transnistria began in August 1941. Groups of Jews were moved out of the ghetto to a nearby soccer field, and from there they were loaded onto wagons that formed convoys. Soldiers from both the German and Romanian armies escorted the wagons and the people marching behind them to

the crossing point. The forced marches lasted a few days, with the Jews under the constant threat of death, robbery, rape, and further deprivations; anyone caught leaving the convoy or remaining behind due to exhaustion or sickness was summarily shot.⁵ The local residents of Orhei looted Jewish homes after their owners were deported.⁶

A number of Jews remained in the ghetto for a few more months, however. They came from mixed marriages, or were Christian converts, or had bribed the authorities. They were divided into two groups for the purpose of forced labor: one group (58) consisted of people under age 15, and a second group (188) was between 16 and 60 years old.⁷ They were assigned to various branches of the local administration and public institutions, under the supervision of the Romanian authorities.⁸ In May 1942, all the remaining Jews in the Orhei ghetto were deported to camps in Transnistria via Tiraspol. In mockery, the departing Jews were led out of the city with music played by a Roma (Gypsy) band, while some elderly Jews were forced to dance.

While in Transnistria, most of the Jews deported from Orhei died of hunger, disease, or exposure or were shot en route to their assigned camps and ghettos. A few survived, however, and returned in March and April 1944, as the Red Army advanced through Transnistria. The Red Army reoccupied Orhei in April 1944. The People's Tribunal in Bucharest tried and confined to many years of hard labor some of the Romanian authorities responsible for the massacres of Jews in Orhei and the Orhei județ, including Bechi and the gendarmes Ion Budica, Ion Rusca, and Petre Ivănescu.⁹

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of the Jews from Orhei and of those imprisoned in the Orhei ghetto can be found in the following publications: “Orhei,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 943; “Orhei,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyab shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheiniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 2: 327–331; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Mariu Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia și Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuții la Istoria Încercării de Exterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the Orhei ghetto are available at USHMM, in collections ANRM (RG-54.001M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). Under RG-50, USHMM also holds five oral

history interviews by witnesses of the Orhei ghetto. VHA holds 22 testimonies (in five languages) from survivors of the Orhei ghetto or those deported from the Orhei județ. For an English-language memorial book commemorating the destruction of the Jews of Orhei, see Y. Spivak and Terry Lasky, eds., *Orheyev Alive and Destroyed: Memorial Book of the Jewish Community of Orhei*, trans. by Marsha Kayser (New York: JewishGen, 2012).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #37518, Olga Breitman testimony, January 14, 1998; VHA #34290, Daniel Broitman testimony, July 15, 1997.
2. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0019, Pavel Cojocaru, oral history interview, August 15, 2004.
3. Court testimonies attesting to the crimes are available in Ancel, *Documents*, 6: 489–490.
4. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 17, fond 22539, vol. 45; USHMMA, RG-50.572*0026, Gheorghe Stratan, oral history interview, September 23, 2006.
5. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0126, Dumitru Purici, oral history interview, December 20, 2008.
6. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0026, Gheorghe Stratan, oral history interview, September 23, 2006.
7. For their names, see USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 2, fond 666.2, file 165.
8. For a work distribution, see USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 2, fond 666.2, file 262.
9. See prosecution's depositions and court sentences in USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 16, file 22539, vol. 12, pp. 251–254, 434–459.

OSIEVCA

Osievca, a small village in the Berșad raion, Balta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Osiivka, Ukraine), is situated near the Bug River. It is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) north-northeast of Balta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 4,545 Jews in the Berșad raion, 4,271 of whom lived in the city of Berșad. At the time of the attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a handful of Jews remained scattered throughout the raion's villages (exact census data for Osievca are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Osievca at the end of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September. The village's name was romanianized from Osiivka to Osievca (sometimes spelled Osifca) and the name of the raion from Bershad to Berșad. The praetor in the Berșad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia were sent to Osievca in November 1941. Some arrived there after spending a short period of time in the city of Berșad, and others went directly to Osievca, but all were force-marched for weeks on end before reaching the small village. The Romanian authorities placed approximately 220 Jews inside an abandoned

and dilapidated *kolkhoz* (state collective farm) in Osievca. A camp for Jews was thus created. The term sometimes used for it was a colony (*colonie*). A part of the *kolkhoz* was used as living quarters, and other parts continued to be used for animals. It is not clear whether the camp was fenced, but it was certainly guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian auxiliaries. Fișel (Fishel) Raiber was the chief of the Osievca camp.¹

The inhumane and unhygienic living conditions in which the deportees lived during the bitterly cold winter of 1941, coupled with mass starvation and exhaustion, soon led to the outbreak of epidemics. Typhus and other diseases ravaged the camp, resulting in many victims in both the first and second year of the camp's existence. According to a statistic provided by the Soviet State Extraordinary State Commission (*Cbrez-vychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissii*, ChGK), 160 of the Jews held there perished of sickness and hunger.² Bodies were disposed of unceremoniously in nearby fields and forest. It was only gradually, by 1943, that living conditions improved a little, thanks in part to the assistance provided by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER). CER had consolidated its assistance for the large Berșad ghetto, only 17 kilometers (11 miles) west of Osievca. Jews in the Osievca camp probably received a small portion of this aid. Still, many remained in great poverty.³

Partisan units became increasingly active in the area of Berșad in 1943; according to one anonymous witness, some non-Jewish locals from the Osievca village were shot by Romanian troops for allegedly assisting the partisans.⁴ It is well documented that many Jews and non-Jews in the area of Berșad were shot at the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944 because they were helping the partisans.⁵

The Red Army recaptured Osievca in the first part of March 1944, liberating the Jews who were still in the camp at that time.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Osievca can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 779; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evrejstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 245; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2007); and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 29–30; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning*

the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Osievca can be found at USHMM, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M); the latter archival collection contains a contemporaneous map of the Berșad raion showing the exact location of Osievca in reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 691, p. 250. Yahad-in Unum conducted an interview with a Ukrainian witness, which is available at USHMM as RG-50.589*0107. VHA holds 17 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Yiddish, and Portuguese) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. List of Balta ghetto and camp leaders, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2241, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 72 (and verso).

2. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 48.

3. VHA #36829, Bela Korenman testimony, September 28, 1997; VHA #16825, Mikhail Gruzman testimony, June 26, 1996.

4. Anonymous interviewee No. 503, USHMM, RG-50.589*0107 (Yahad-in Unum), July 22, 2007.

5. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 5.

OSMANCEA AND COBADIN

Osmancea, a small town in the Constanța județ, in southeastern Romania, is 31 kilometers (19 miles) southwest of Constanța and 183 kilometers (114 miles) southeast of Bucharest. According to the December 1939 Romanian census, there were 1,804 Jews in the Constanța județ; in September 1941, the number reached 2,113; and by May 1942, the total census figure dropped to 1,539.¹

Constanța was Romania's largest Black Sea port city, and many German army offices were established in the city before and during the war. Shortly after the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jews from the city of Constanța were rounded up without (or with little) warning and held in the city's police headquarters for two days. The order for their arrest was signed and enforced by General de brigadă Hugo Schwab, then commandant of the 19th Infantry Division in Constanța. Distrusting the Jews, Romanian authorities deported the city's Jewish population inland, to Cobadin. From the police station they Jews were marched to the train station where they left on freight trains. The date of their transfer to Cobadin is believed to be June 26

or 27, 1941, with the number of deportees reaching 1,750 to 2,000.² Meanwhile the German authorities expropriated the city's Ashkenazi and Sephardic synagogues and turned them into warehouses for storing food and army supplies.

The Cobadin camp was set up in some barracks that had belonged to the German Army. It was surrounded by a fence and guarded by armed Romanian gendarmes. While in the camp, Jewish men were forced to do menial work, digging a large hole in the ground "for depositing waste" and making trenches around the camp "to prevent escaping."³ A roll call took place three times a day. The camp authorities did not supply food to the internees; as was frequently the case, the local or regional Jewish community was asked to care for those in the camps. This was difficult to accomplish because, among the detainees, were the chief rabbi of Constanța, Joseph H. Schechter, and the president of the Constanța Jewish community, Avram Bercovici. Because the possibilities for paid work were limited in Cobadin, the police sought their relocation in areas where people could find work. The region of Slobozia in the Ialomița județ was suggested, but this transfer was never pursued.⁴ The Jews survived on barter and food bought by the Jewish camp leaders for the entire camp population.

By the middle of July 1941, all the Jews in the Cobadin camp were moved to the nearby village of Osmancea, and the camp was closed down. A selection took place as soon as the Jews arrived in the Osmancea camp: some Jews were sent to Mereni and others to Ciobănița, two villages near Osmancea. The region became known as the Osmancea internment area (*Zona de Internare Osmancea*), which had its headquarters in Osmancea. The commandant of the Osmancea camp was Sublocotenent Petre N. Ionescu, a lawyer by profession and, as it turned out, a generous man. In each of these three makeshift camps, the Jews were housed in huts or barracks, in poor, unhygienic living conditions, on the village's outskirts.⁵ Still, thanks to the commandant's benevolence, the internees were gradually able to improve their fate by being allowed to procure additional food, cooking facilities, and some medication.⁶

Able-bodied men and women did forced labor, cleaning and restoring roads and government buildings in the villages in which they were placed and in agriculture. The older adults, along with the elderly and the young, were released from the camps in the fall of 1941 and returned to Constanța, where they continued to live under close monitoring. Younger adults (including women) were enlisted in forced labor detachments that worked both inside and outside the Constanța județ. Some of those workers returned home in the spring of 1942 and remained eligible for periodic recruitment for forced labor over the next two years; others continued to undertake forced labor almost without stop until September 1944.

All of the forced labor camps and detachments for Jews were dissolved in September 1944, after Romania switched sides in the war on August 23, 1944.

SOURCES Further information about the imprisonment of the Jews of Constanța in Cobadin and the subsequent camps can be found in the following publications: "Constanța," in

Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); "Constanta," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 232–234; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 1: *Legionarii și Rebeliunea* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României. Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom published in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Florin Stan, "Evreii din Constanța," *Cumidava* 29 (2007): 229–241; Florin Stan, "Sinopticum. Din trecutul celor de lângă noi. Incursiuni în istoria comunităților entice Dobroge," *RevTo* 1: 454 (2008): 71–74; 2: 455 (2008): 68–70; 3: 456 (2008): 71–74; and Florin Stan, "Imaginea evreilor din Constanța în presa interbelică locală," *AUO* 4 (2007): 105–114. For a brief history of Constanța synagogues, see http://anale-arhitectura.spiruharet.ro/PDF/1_2012/5PATRIMONIO%20EVREI%20CONSTANTA-2012-ENGL-final-final.pdf.

Primary sources documenting the camps in Osmancea, Cobadin, Mereni, and Ciobănița are available at USHMM, in collections RG-25.021M (FUCER), RG-25.062 (ANR-Constanța), and RG-25.051 (FUCER). VHA holds two survivor testimonies from Cobadin and Osmancea camps.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For Romanian census figures, see USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 18.

2. The higher number is found in Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României*, vol. 2, part I, p. 279.

3. Survivor testimony of Dan Vardi, available at www.worldwar2.ro/arr/?language=ro&article=181.

4. Regional police inspector's request, July 17, 1941, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 14, file 2986, vol. 5991, n.p.

5. VHA #13708, Adrienne Rothschild testimony, April 19, 1996; VHA #31505, Sofia Lucaci testimony, July 30, 1997.

6. See survivor George Radu Bogdan's homage to the camp commandant: [www.observatorcultural.ro/De-ce-\(II\)*articleID_9365-articles_details.html](http://www.observatorcultural.ro/De-ce-(II)*articleID_9365-articles_details.html). Other survivors' testimonies commending the commandant appear in USHMM, RG-25.021M (FUCER), reel 25, file III, p. 503.

OVIDIOPOL

The raion and county seat in the Ovidiopol județ (today: Ovidiopol, Ukraine), in the southwestern corner of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Ovidiopol is 34 kilometers (21 miles)

southwest of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 429 Jews in the Ovidiopol raion, representing 1.3 percent of its entire population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Ovidiopol on October 16, 1941. The prefect of Ovidiopol was Colonel Mihai Botez (succeeded by N. Canari), and the sub-prefect was Justin Zancu. Maior Gabriel Sireteanu was the commandant of the Ovidiopol Gendarmes Legion from 1941 to 1942, followed by Maior Anghel Dedulescu and Locotenent Marin Popa from 1943 to 1944. Dumitru Pascu was the chief of the labor bureau for Ovidiopol. The mayor in Ovidiopol was C. Damian, and the praetors in the Ovidiopol raion were M. Criste and Ștefan Stegaru.

A total of 150 Jews from the area who did not or could not flee to Odessa earlier were killed following the city's capture in October 1941. The killing operation, conducted mostly by Romanian troops, was aimed at eliminating any remaining "undesirable elements" in the territory. The last 23 Jews of the Ovidiopol județ were deported deeper inside Transnistria, so that by April 1942 the entire județ was practically "cleansed of Jews."¹ After its incorporation into Transnistria, Ovidiopol, together with Cetatea Albă, the city across the river in Bessarabia, became the southernmost entry point into Transnistria. Jews deported via Ovidiopol were typically resettled in areas north of the Odessa județ and in southern Golta.

Thus the city of Ovidiopol itself did not hold Jews, but at least seven forced labor camps for Jews and non-Jews existed in nearby villages.² Twenty Jews from the Moghilev ghetto were held from April to the end of June 1943 in a camp in Alexandrovca (today: Oleksandrivka), 18 kilometers (11 miles) from Ovidiopol. At the end of their assignment, they were sent to the Bogdanovca camp (Golta județ) instead of being returned to the Moghilev ghetto.

In October 1942, 267 Jews from Bucharest were deported because of their absence from or tardiness in reporting to forced labor duties. After arriving in Tiraspol, they passed through Ovidiopol on their way to the Sevchenko-Berezin farm (*sovkhoz*) in Vigoda in the Belaevca (or Bilaevka) raion (today: Bilyavka), approximately 41 kilometers (25 miles) north of Ovidiopol.³ Agricultural gendarmes (*jandarmi agricoli*), under the command of Sergeant Fanache, conducted the Bucharest group to their destination in Ovidiopol and beyond. The Sevchenko-Berezin camp held 284 Jews at some point in a former villa that was only partly damaged by war. The commandant of the Ovidiopol Gendarmes Legion appointed Avram Creștinu, an informer for the state security services, as chief representative of the Bucharest Jews. A rudimentary medical office, headed up by 14-year-old "nurse" Sonyah Palți, was created in the camp, as was a makeshift shower where everyone washed and shaved their bodies in order to ward off epidemics. Work usually consisted of harvesting sunflowers. A young Jewish woman from the camp was sexually abused by the chief agricultural engineer, Gogleață, who controlled the farm. In November 1942, after completing their work assignment, the Jews were transferred to the Alexandrovca farm

where they stayed a month tending to the vineyard of the Transnistrian governor, Gheorghe Alexianu. On December 26, 1942, they left Alexandrovca for Ochakov, then Bogdanovca, and finally Golta, where they arrived in March and stayed until November 1943.⁴

An additional contingent of 136 Jews was quartered in a second, separate camp in Belaevca, where they were deployed in forced labor in the electrical factory there. The Jews gathered peat to use as fuel for the boilers and transported it to the factory. When the assignment was completed, 26 Jews were redirected to the peat field near Tulcin, and the rest of the Jews were sent back to the Moghilev ghetto.

The Franzfeld raion's praetor, Gheorghe Lehrer, requested 10 skilled and 10 unskilled workers from the Moghilev ghetto in September 1943 for a building project. Large ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) communities populated the Franzfeld raion. The 20 Jews were returned to the Moghilev ghetto (or killed, the phrasing is unclear) on November 8, 1943.⁵

Jewish doctors from Romania served 30-day forced labor stints in various capacities in medical centers or as medical personnel attached to military and civilian units in Transnistria. Doctors Adolf Doifing (from Braila) and Lazar Roșianu (from Bucharest), both internal medicine physicians, completed their term in August 1943 in Ovidiopol. In the fall of 1943, three pharmacists—Isu Schlesinger, Mihail Safir (both from Bucharest), and Iulius Segal (from Iași)—took their place.⁶ Individual aid from family and friends in Romania was sent from late 1942 through 1943 via the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) and reached a few fortunate Jews held in the Alexandrovca and Belaevca camps.⁷

A temporary labor camp (*lagăr de muncă*), apparently for non-Jews, also existed in Ovidiopol. Inmates in the camp worked as skilled and unskilled construction workers for the new prefecture being erected in Ovidiopol's city center, under the direction of chief engineer Gorbov. Other such labor camps existed alongside many collective farms throughout the Ovidiopol raion. Forty Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were held in the summer of 1943 in a camp in the Belaevca raion. Formally belonging to the camp for Soviet POWs (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*, LPRS), LPRS No. 5, Tiraspol, the POWs worked in road building and maintenance for Ovidiopol's Road Directorate (*Diracția Drumurilor*) and its Forestry Department (*Ocolul Silvic*).⁸

The Red Army liberated Ovidiopol in March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews in Ovidiopol can be found in the following publications: "Ovidiopol," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 957; "Ovidiopol," in *Rosiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 107; "Ovidiopol," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 237;

Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews, Soviet POWs, and others detained in forced labor camps around Ovidiopol are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004), DAMO (RG-31.008), and MAE (RG-25.006M). VHA holds five testimonies in three languages (Romanian, English, and Russian) from Jewish survivors held in camps in the Ovidiopol județ.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For the April 1942 census of Jews in Transnistria, see "Situație numerică de everii evacuați din Transnistria," USHMM, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 135, but see also pp. 139–140.
2. See reports on the situation of Jews in Ovidiopol for the government of Transnistria, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, pp. 107, 141–142 (RG-31.004M, 15/2357/1/352, pp. 107, 141–142); and, in the same collection, the Ovidiopol raion's report, p. 205.
3. Ovidiopol Gendarmerie Legion's note to the prefecture, USHMM, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1/352, p. 124.
4. VHA #18100, Sonyah Palți testimony, July 31, 1996.
5. Praetor Lehrer's note, USHMM, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1/352, p. 206, but see also p. 120. For the other camps mentioned, see in the same collection, pp. 2–5, 27, 32, 35–36, 44, 53–54, 57, 64–66, 74, 107, 120, 131–150, 186, 204–206; and delo 35, pp. 11–13.
6. See tables with names, dates, and placements of Jewish doctors and pharmacists, USHMM, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/5, pp. 280–281.
7. Receipts of remittances for Alexandrovca and Vigoda, USHMM, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 519, pp. 162, 164, 180, 182, 184, 186, 188.
8. For official correspondence regarding Soviet POWs and other camp inmates, see USHMM, RG-31.004M/15/2357/1/352, pp. 60–61, 76, 115, 152, 187.

OZARINȚI

Ozarinți, a village in the Iarișev raion in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria

(today: Ozaryntsi, Ukraine), is situated along the Nemiya River, a tributary of the Dniester. It is located 11 kilometers (7 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 581 Jews in the Iarișev raion, of whom 509 were in the town of Iarișev (data for Ozarinți are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Ozarinți and its surroundings during the early part of July 1941. During the short German military occupation, the village's Jews were severely mistreated and their homes robbed while they were crowded inside the village's synagogue; 79 Jews were killed on July 21, 23, and 25.¹ The area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Ozaryntsy to Ozarinți (occasionally spelled Ozarineț, Ozarenți, or Ozarineți) and the name of the raion from Yarișev to Iarișev. The praetor in the Iarișev raion was Gheorghe Oșanu.

A ghetto was created in Ozarinți either during the German occupation or shortly after the installation of the Romanian administration. Jews deported from Romania (Bukovina and northern Bessarabia) were brought to Ozarinți in October and November 1941. They were crowded inside the homes of local Jews, with multiple families sharing each room. They survived on barter, begging, the generosity of some non-Jewish villagers, and the little employment available with the village administration. Still, many perished in the ghetto in the winter months of 1941, their bodies left unburied and as prey to wild animals.²

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 400 Jews deported from Romania to Ozarinți in October 1942.³ According to an estimate by Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), 50 percent of the deported Jews in the Moghilev județ and district perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus, chief among other fatal diseases.⁴

Among the leaders of the ghetto were Lupu Vicder and Aron Grisar. They visited with the representatives of the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER), who held a regional conference in Moghilev in January 1943 to learn firsthand of the needs of the deported Jews in Transnistria. The total number of Jews in the Ozarinți ghetto at that time was 850 (300 local Jews; 550 from Săveni and Dărăbani in the Dorohoi district, Bukovina).⁵ By March 1943, the known number of deported Jews in Ozarinți was 448, likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 87 Jews in the camp (40 from Bessarabia, 47 from Bukovina).⁶

Relief in the form of medicine, sent by CER, arrived for the Jews held in the Ozarinți ghetto in the fall of 1942 and through 1943. CER also facilitated the transfer of sums of money from undeported relatives or friends in Romania to their loved ones in Ozarinți.⁷ Even so, the suffering remained great among the deportees, because only a small fraction benefited from such help and then only rarely.

During 1942, small groups of Jews from the Ozarinți ghetto (especially those who happened to be in the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto at the time of the roundups) were sent to the Pecioara camp; in June 1943, others were drafted for forced labor at the Trihati camp.⁸ The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi județ and the Regat took place in December 1943; the orphaned Jewish children in Transnistria also returned at that time. Only a few Jews in Ozarinți were so repatriated. The Red Army recaptured the village in April 1944, liberating the ghetto. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most deportees made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Ozarinți can be found in the following publications: "Ozarintsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 678; "Ozarintsy," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 239–240; "Ozarintsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 123; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Ozarinți can be found at USHMM, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002M). VHA holds 61 survivor testimonies in five languages (English, Russian, Ukrainian, Hebrew, and Yiddish) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time. For an Ozarinți ghetto survivor's memoir, see Boris Khandros, *Mestechko, kotorogo net* (Kiev: Alterpress, 2000).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 2171, pp. 57–58.

2. February 8, 1942, entry, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3:282.

3. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

4. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

5. See post-visit report, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 131.

6. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

7. See CER money transfer receipt for Ozariņi, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564.

8. USHMMA, RG-50.226*008, Boris Naumovich Chandros testimony, August 8, 1994.

PECIOARA

A village in the Spikov raion, Tulcin județ (today: Pechera, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Pecioara (pre-1942, Pechora) is located near the western bank of the Bug River, 22 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,291 Jews in the Spikov raion. At most, 62 Jews lived in Pecioara.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Pecioara on July 23, 1941. The Jews of the village were placed in a ghetto in the town of Spicov on September 24, 1941. Later they were moved to the Rogozna ghetto, and the surviving remnant returned to Pecioara in September 1942. The village came under Romanian control in the fall of 1941, and its name was romanianized as Pecioara (in some documents spelled Peciora or Peciara) as part of the Tulcin județ. In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaș were Tulcin's prefects. The Tulcin Gendarmes Legion commander was Căpitan Ion Fetacău. The commandant of the Pecioara gendarmes was Sergeant major Strățulat.

In September 1941, the Romanian authorities converted the summer estate of the aristocratic Potocki family at Pecioara, a former sanatorium for Red Army officers, into a “death camp” (*lagărul morții*) for Jews. Sergeant major Strățulat, who commanded the gendarmes, was put in charge of the camp as well. The camp's purpose was extermination through starvation. Except for the rear area facing the Bug, the camp was well fenced. Romanian and Ukrainian guards patrolled the fence, while German soldiers watched the camp's rear from across the river. Inside the camp were two large three-story residential buildings, a cellar, a family tomb, stables, a greenhouse, and large statues. Most of the buildings were damaged by war. The rooms lacked doors, the windows lacked glass, and prisoners slept on the ground or straw. The first floor of the larger building housed the camp's Jewish leaders and a makeshift soup kitchen. The noncontagious sick were on the

second floor, and women lived on the third floor. The second building housed inmates with communicable diseases, especially typhus. Next to the two buildings was a garage repurposed as a morgue. Inside, bodies were piled up each day before being thrown in the mass grave outside the camp. In addition, there were a few stables and barracks where prisoners of both sexes and various ages were crammed together.¹ The camp held 400 to 500 people when it functioned as a sanatorium.

Two large transports of Jews are documented, in addition to smaller roundups of escapees and transfers from Bratslav, Trostineț, Rogozna, and other places. In the first wave of deportations, 3,005 Jews were marched from the Tulcin ghetto to the Pecioara camp in November/December 1941. The chief inspector of Transnistria's gendarmerie, General Mihail Iliescu, ordered the Moghilev ghetto's poorest 3,000 Jews to the Pecioara camp. The order acknowledged that those sent to Pecioara were doomed. Its implementation was delayed for months, and so the order was reissued in June 1942. Because the camp's horrible conditions were well known, Jews hid in basements, attics, and fields to avoid deportation, but were hunted by police dogs and loaded onto freight cars. Still, between September and November 1942, the 3,000 Jews (600 Ukrainian Jews and the rest from Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Moldavia) were transported from the Moghilev ghetto to the Pecioara camp.² After two or three days of travel by train without food or water, during which time the very sick died, groups of 400 to 500 Jews from Moghilev disembarked at Israilovca and marched the 14 kilometers (8.6 miles) to Pecioara under the beatings and curses of gendarmes.³

The conditions inside Pecioara were abysmal. A sign hanging on the camp's gate read “death camp.” There were no work assignments, and consequently, the prisoners did not receive food, water, or soap. Approaching the fence to barter goods with villagers for food was forbidden, but some did so anyway. In one incident, Ukrainian guard Smetansky murdered two inmates caught buying a bucket of cherries at the fence.⁴ A small water faucet at the bottom of a slope leading to the Bug could only be approached at night when the guards were not watching. Extreme hunger quickly reduced the prisoners to eating plant roots, twigs, leaves, human excrement, and even dead bodies. Romanian and Ukrainian guards raped Jewish young women, who in turn killed themselves. Such conditions fostered mental illness and suicide.

A Jewish Council was formed under the leadership of President Motel Zilberman-Lipcani, but its pleas for assistance came to nothing. In 1943, the doctors in the Pecioara camp were Huna Vijnievschi and Bertha Vijnievschi.⁵

Overcrowding, malnutrition, cold, and squalor resulted in as many as 30 to 40 deaths each day. Typhus, dysentery, tuberculosis, scabies, and organ failure were common. Corpses piled up in the morgue, especially when the ground was frozen and too hard to dig large ditches. The valuables remaining on the bodies, namely gold teeth, were immediately removed from the dead for use as barter and to prevent their falling into the gendarmes' hands. Samarenco, the head of the

Ukrainian police, terrorized the Jews, beating and killing them for the slightest infraction.

Between 1941 and 1943, approximately 4,000 Jews perished in the Pecioara camp. Dozens more were shot trying to escape. Despite enhanced security patrols, some inmates succeeded in escaping and returning to Moghilev. Those recaptured were usually shot on the spot.⁶

Across the Bug, Nazi SS units recruited Jews from Pecioara on the pretext of their doing “labor.” Instead, those selected were taken to the German side and killed. On October 16, 1942, Hans Rucker, who commanded a camp across the Bug, demanded that all young Jewish girls aged 14 to 20 serve as nurses in German hospitals in the Vizhnitsa area. One hundred and fifty young women were transported to a forest between Bar and Vizhnitsa, where they were raped before being shot (one woman escaped). Similarly, on November 30, 1942, 500 Jews were shot on arrival on the German side. On May 10, 1943, another 600 Jews were transported to the other side of the Bug and shot. Finally, on August 3, 1943, another 100 Jews were handed over to the Germans, probably as forced laborers deployed on the Nicolaev Bridge.⁷

In February 1943, Căpitan Fetecău and Colonel Loghin visited Pecioara. Repulsed by the camp’s awful appearance, they refrained from entering any building. A few days later, Fetecău announced that the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) in Bucharest was permitted for the first time in 18 months to send assistance to the camp. Wood and financial support were delivered to set up a soup kitchen that served 1,600 prisoners daily.⁸ Fearing the spread of disease to soldiers, the authorities encouraged the creation of a clinic where the sick received food and purified water. The situation improved slightly as additional support arrived from CER. On March 15, 1943, the healthiest 220 men were recruited for labor on the state farm at Rakhnei (today: Rakhny, 22 kilometers [13.6 miles] southwest of Pecioara), which enabled them to survive.

The number of Jews imprisoned in the camp varied significantly over time. There were 3,591 (Romanian and Ukrainian) Jews in April 1, 1942; 1,200 in March 1943; and 535 in November 1943.⁹ At the end of February 1944 there were 550 Jews in the camp, those from the Old Kingdom and the orphans having already been repatriated. By early March 1944 the number decreased further, as more inmates escaped and sought refuge in nearby villages. On March 17, 1944, the Red Army liberated the camp’s remaining 350 Jews.

SOURCES Additional information about the Pecioara camp can be found in the following sources: “Pechera,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossphen, 2009), pp. 743–744; “Pecioara,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-ad le-ahar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’alam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 488–490; “Pechera,” 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: 977; Mordechai

Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* and vol. 8: *The Regat and Southern Transylvania, January–August 1944, Anti Jewish Legislation, Addenda* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Lya Benjamin, ed., *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*, 4 vols. (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1996); Fabius Ornstein, *Suferințele deportaților în Transnistria* (Bucharest: Asociația Foștilor Deportati în Transnistria, 1945); and Rebecca L. Golbert, “Holocaust Sites in Ukraine: Pechora and the Politics of Memorialization,” *HGS* 18: 2 (2004): 205–233.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews in the Pecioara camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004), and AME (RG-25.006M). The ChGK investigation of the Pecioara camp can be found at USHMM in RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1271; and reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1341. USHMM also holds a number of unpublished survivors’ accounts from Pecioara, such as Yeva Taran, “A memoir relating to Jews in Pechora,” n.d. (Acc. No. 1995.A.437), and oral history interviews, including Ester Yankelovna Bartik, August 13, 1994 (RG-50.226*0005). A Yiddish song on the Pecioara camp is available at NBUV in the Moisei Beregovskii archive of Jewish music. In collection 243BO6, YVA holds a photograph of the mass grave at Pecioara. For the photograph of a monument erected in memory of those who perished at Pecioara, see USHMPA, WS #56477. VHA holds 505 testimonies in seven languages that refer to the Pecioara camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. “Pecioara,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 8: 443–444.
2. See Order 30320, June 4, 1942, signed jointly by Governor Alexianu and Inspector Iliescu, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1488, pp. 83–84 (USHMM, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488, pp. 83–84).
3. VHA #651, Leah Kaufman testimony, January 18, 1995.
4. VHA #24165, Minna Varshavskay testimony, December 27, 1996.
5. See “Tabel nominal al medicilor evrei aflați în județul Tulchin,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 218.
6. VHA #12907, Lea Klinghoffer Rechler testimony, March 11, 1996.
7. See a list of skilled workers available from Pecioara, “Tabel de evrei meseriași disponibili din jud. Tulcin,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.

8. For the government's approval, see a copy of Order No. 84714, November 28, 1942, reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 301.

9. For April 1, 1942, see "Situația numerică a evreilor aflați neevacuați din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre și ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbați, femei și copii," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 143 (USHMMA, RG-25.006M/10/33/21, p. 143); for March 1943, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for November 1943, see "Situație numerică de toți evreii ce se află în raza județului Tulcin precum și de toți lucrători și funcționari aflați la diferite instituții," USHMMA, RG-25.006M/11/33/21, p. 585.

PODUL ILOAIEI

Podul Iloaiei, a town in the Iași județ, in the northeastern part of the Romanian Regat (the Old Kingdom), is 26 kilometers (16 miles) west of the city of Iași. According to a Romanian census, there were about 1,550 Jews in Podul Iloaiei on April 1, 1941, representing approximately 37 percent of the town's population.¹

Following the pogrom against the Jewish residents of Iași that unfolded June 26–30, 1941, hundreds of mostly Jewish men and a handful of women of all ages were transported from the Iași Police Office (*Chestura*) to Podul Iloaiei. They were transported by train, in sealed freight cars, in extremely overcrowded conditions (80 to 150 people in a car). This was the second "death train" (*tremurile morții*) that transported Jews out of Iași, and it left in the morning of June 30, 1941, carrying 1,902 Jews. Although it did not travel a long distance (approximately 26 kilometers), the train moved very slowly. It also made frequent stops during which time the deportees could not open the car doors or windows to get fresh air because the doors were tightly shut and the windows were covered. Anyone trying to escape by squeezing between the floor planks was shot. Asphyxiation, exhaustion, and extreme thirst in the overheated cars killed the majority of the Jews before they reached Podul Iloaiei eight hours later: 1,114 perished that day and were buried in the local Jewish cemetery, and only 708 survived.

At first, the surviving Jews were placed in a local synagogue, but were then dispersed among the Jewish families of Podul Iloaiei. The newly arrived Jews were thus placed in the same part of town as the local Jews and shared their fate. This area was guarded by a handful of Romanian gendarmes belonging to the Podul Iloaiei gendarmes post.

An open ghetto was thus created in Podul Iloaiei. The authorities referred to it by the designation "camp" (*lagăr*) or "concentration camp" (*tabără de concentrare*), but it can be more accurately described as an open ghetto. How many people were included in the ghetto, in addition to the Jews from Iași, is hard to determine. If the local Jewish population and the group from Iași are added together, then it can be estimated that more than 2,200 Jews lived in the ghetto. A telegram to the Cabinet



Survivors wait outside the open railcar of the Iași death train after it reached Podul Iloaiei. The railcar is filled with the corpses of Jews who died along the way, June 1941.

USHMM WS #27455, COURTESY OF AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE.

of the Romanian Interior Minister in Bucharest puts the number of Jews from Iași at 783, with the following breakdown: 693 men, 20 women, and 70 children.²

Living conditions inside the ghetto soon deteriorated, mainly due to overcrowding and limited access to food and work. A curfew was introduced for the evening and night hours, and leaving the ghetto area without a permit was severely punished. The Jews brought from Iași arrived with only what they were wearing when they were arrested or picked up from the streets. In addition, they were not permitted to receive parcels of food or clothing. Many of these Jews barged the prefect's office with written petitions asking that they be allowed to return to Iași under escort for a day or two to pick up a small amount of clothes (especially as the cold season was fast approaching) and other basic necessities; some were granted permission, but others were not. In these circumstances, it was not uncommon, as the commandant of the Iași Gendarmes Legion appreciated, for the internees to resort to unruly behavior or intentional disobedience in order to be arrested and sent back to Iași for trial. Their hope was that, while

in police custody in Iași, their family would visit them and care for their needs.³

On October 27, 1941, 21 women and 5 children younger than 10 years old who were deported from Iași were released and returned. Soon thereafter, the remaining 757 Jews from Iași were released from the ghetto as well, but only gradually. The first groups left on November 10, 1941. The released Jews, however, were to be made available for forced labor for the needs of various local and regional enterprises and institutions, as stipulated by the orders of the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM).⁴ By the end of that year, the ghetto in Podul Iloaiei ceased to exist. In April 1942, all the Jews of Podul Iloaiei were deported to Iași where they were housed in the city's synagogues and supported by the city's Jewish community.

In addition to the ghetto, a small room in the Junimea School (*Școala Junimea*) was repurposed and became a prison for 15 Jews who were held hostage to ensure the good behavior of the community; another 4 Jews were also held there on charges of being communists.⁵ The hostages were released after the dissolution of the ghetto in January or February 1942.

SOURCES Additional information about the Podul Iloaiei detention site can be found in the following publications: “Podul Iloaiei,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kebilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-‘ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-‘olam ha-sheniyah*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 197–200; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Radu Ioanid, “The Holocaust in Romania: The Iași Pogrom of June 1941,” *Contemporary European History*, 2/2 (1993): 119–148; Maris Mircu, *Pogromul de la Iași* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 3 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR, Iași Branch (RG-25.029M) and SRI (RG-25.004M). The VHA contains 10 testimonies (in six languages) from survivors of the Iași pogrom who were deported to Podul Iloaiei, as well as from other Jews who were deported from Podul Iloaiei to Iași.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For population figures, see the confidential letter of Colonel D. Căptaru, the prefect of Iași, to the Romanian Interior Ministry, April 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.029 (ANR, Iași Branch), reel 4, file 10, p. 155.

2. USHMMA, RG-25.029M (ANR, Iași Branch), reel 5, file 16, p. 21.

3. Secret letter from Maior Aristotel Alexandrescu, the Iași Gendarmes Legion commandant, to the Iași Prefecture,

October 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.029M (ANR, Iași Branch), reel 5, file 16, p. 113.

4. Interior Ministry letter to the Iași Prefecture, November 10, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.029M (ANR, Iași Branch), reel 5, file 16, pp. 199, 277. See also information report, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 6, file 7635, p. 12.

5. Statistical report of the Siguranța Bureau, USHMMA, RG-25.029M (ANR, Iași Branch), reel 5, file 16, p. 27.

POPIVȚI

Popivți, a small town in the Copăigorod raion in the Moghilev județ in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Popivtsi, Ukraine), is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, of the 1,903 Jews living in the Copăigorod raion, 850 lived in Popivți. Although some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities after the invasion of June 1941 and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Popivți in the second part of July 1941. After a short military occupation, during which time the Jews were mistreated, the Romanian civil administration took control of the town beginning in September 1941. The town's name was romanianized from Popovtsy to Popivți (also spelled Popiveț or Popovți in some documents). The praetor in the Copăigorod raion was Ion Vodă.

A ghetto was established in Popivți probably in August or September 1941, initially for the local Jews. Additional groups of Jews deported from Bukovina (especially the Hotin, Dorohoi, and Cernăuți județe) and northern Bessarabia (Soroca județ) were brought to Popivți between October and late November 1941. The majority of these people entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk before being marched farther northeast toward the Bug River. The deportees in the convoys were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route to their deportation place, adding substantially to their misery. Once in Popivți, they were crowded into the houses of the local Jews, with 15 to 18 people to a room. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion killed 790 Jews over the frigid winter of 1941.¹ Local police, made up of gendarmes and local auxiliaries, regularly robbed the deportees. Wearing the yellow star became obligatory.

The deportees took some steps to cope with this disastrous situation. There existed in the camp an underground group, led by a man named Kotsman, whose objective was to sabotage the activities of the local administration and assist the local partisans. An orphanage was set up to provide for the children whose parents had perished. The surviving Jews searched for work throughout the ghetto and, at great risk, beyond it; children went begging through the village. Barter was a key means of survival, as was the generosity of a few kind

local non-Jews.² A small number of deported Jews were fortunate enough to still have surviving relatives or friends who were not deported and who sent them on occasion a small sum of money to purchase food from the local market.³

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 905 Jews deported from Romania living in Popivți in October 1942.⁴ The Relief Commission of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 8 and 9 in Moghilev. The commission, led by Fred Șaraga, learned from the leaders of the Copeigorod ghetto assembled in Moghilev at that time that 1,400 Jews (deported as well as local Jews) were held in the Popivți ghetto. The commission planned future shipments of goods to reach them.⁵ By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Popivți was 791, most likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 829 (752 from Bessarabia, 77 from Bukovina).⁶ In February 1944, the number of Jews deported from Romania living in the entire Copeigorod raion was 2,339; the majority lived in the Copeigorod ghetto, although some were held in the Popivți ghetto.⁷

In the spring of 1943, small groups of skilled and unskilled Jews from the Popivți ghetto were taken for forced labor to the bridge-building construction site in Trihati (Trikhaty), in the southeastern part of Transnistria, and to the peat extraction site near Tulcin (Tulchyn); others were moved as and when they were needed during the rest of 1943.⁸ In both locations, the forced laborers endured even harsher conditions than in the ghetto.

Repatriations of deported Jews originally from the Dorohoi județ and the Regat took place in December 1943, with a few cases applying to the Popivți ghetto. The next to be repatriated were orphaned children up to age 18, with again a small number in Popivți. The Romanian administration retreated from Popivți at the beginning of March 1944, several weeks before the Red Army's recapture of the town at the end of that month. The Jews who remained in the ghetto were liberated at that time and began their difficult journey back to Romania.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Popivți can be found in the following publications: "Popovtsy," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1015; "Popivți," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 487; "Popovtsy," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 779; "Popovtsy," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 262; "Popovtsy," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 278; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrai-*

nian Jews in 1941–1944 (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Popivți can be found at USHMM, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). A list of Jews imprisoned in the Popivți ghetto can be found in the Chernivtsi Jewish Organization Affidavits, RG-31.020M, Microfiche 22, folder 5, vol. 540. VHA holds 70 survivor testimonies in six languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Hebrew, Yiddish, Spanish, and Portuguese) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Estimate derived from reports produced by the ChGK, April 1945, USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1239, p. 13.
2. For an example of a local giver of aid, see VHA #48078, Efrosin'ia Krivoruchko testimony, August 26, 1998.
3. USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1180, p. 518.
4. USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.
5. For a visitor's report, see USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 115.
6. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.
7. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev district, USHMM, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5 (see also p. 6 for a population figures according to religious affiliation).
8. See a list of movements of Jews in Copeigorod raion, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, opis 1, delo 6, p. 182.

RÂBNIȚA

Râbnița (pre-1941: Rybnitsa) is a town in the Râbnița județ (today: Rybnitsa raion, Moldova), on the southwestern border of central Transnistria, located near the eastern banks of the Dniester River, across from the smaller town of Rezina in Bessarabia. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 3,216 Jews lived in Râbnița, representing 28 percent of the town's population. Approximately 1,500 Jews remained in the town after the outbreak of war, the rest having left with the retreating Red Army.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Râbnița on August 5, 1941. A small number of Râbnița's Jews were killed by the occupation forces on arrival. Shortly after its occupation, control of the town was transferred to the Romanian civil administration, which romanianized its name as Râbnița. The commandant of the Râbnița Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion D. Popescu. The chief of the Râbnița police bureau was Plutonier Neculae Mesarciuc.

Râbnița was an entry point into Transnistria and a transit site for almost 25,000 Romanian Jews (24,570 according to a November 1942 gendarmerie report) who were deported across the Dniester River. After crossing the river, most deportees were marched toward camps and ghettos near the Bug River in the Tulcin județ (to places like Bobric and Crivoie Ozero) and the Golta județ.¹

In late August 1941, the Romanian authorities created a fenced-in ghetto around two or three modest streets in the city's Jewish district (around Shalom Aleichem Street). The ghetto's population quickly climbed to more than 3,000 Jews, half of whom had been deported from transit camps such as Mărculești and Vertujeni in Bessarabia. Living conditions and sanitation were deplorable. By late December 1941, more than half the prisoners had died from hunger, typhus, and cold, and only 1,467 were still alive. The ghetto area became smaller in 1942 because of building projects for the city organized by the local authorities. By November 1943, the ghetto numbered 87 houses with a total of 309 rooms. There also existed a soup kitchen within the ghetto for 250 to 300 of its neediest residents.

Life in the Râbnița ghetto was fraught with restrictions and dangers. The Jews were allowed to leave the ghetto twice a week, on Thursdays and Sundays, for one hour each day to visit the market and buy food. Those without cash bartered goods in exchange for foodstuffs; others with nothing left roamed the roads in search of beets fallen from trucks on their way to the sugar-beet factory near Râbnița. Leaving the ghetto without permission was risky, but many were forced to do so to search for food; others, who escaped from elsewhere, broke into the ghetto. Forty-eight Jews were shot on April 4, 1942, for leaving the ghetto without permission. Random shootings by gendarmes were a frequent occurrence. The frequency of shootings increased with the German (re-)occupation of the town in March 1944.

The Râbnița ghetto had a Jewish committee headed by Nahman Ghelfman. Haim Roizman directed the ghetto's Jew-

ish labor committee. In January 1943, Roizman's assistants were Nachman Stuchman, Moise Ahtemberg, Mordeo Prodanejisch, and Moise Torgan. As of December 6, 1943, the following doctors were working in Râbnița: Friderich Herșcovici and Segal Mendel in the Râbnița hospital; Benjamin Schwartz in the Râbnița's praetor's medical office; and Lida Rusnac, Mendel Șut, and Mihail Șandor Mihail in the ghetto itself.²

The Jews in the ghetto undertook forced labor, cleaning streets and building the "Ion Antonescu" park in Râbnița. The ghetto also supplied forced laborers for the building of a new bridge over the Bug at Trihaty in the summer of 1943. Financial aid sent by family members or friends from Romania reached some of its intended recipients in the ghetto.³

The ghetto's population fluctuated from one year to the next. On April 1, 1942, it held 1,371 Jews (254 men, 548 women, and 569 children). At the beginning of 1943 a large group of Jews was transferred to the Balta ghetto to relieve Râbnița's overcrowded conditions at a time when it was already plagued by typhoid fever. In March 1943, there were approximately 600 Jews in the ghetto. The figure may not have included local Ukrainian Jews, or if it did, it reflected the population loss due to the Balta ghetto transfer. A subsequent census in September 1943 found 407 Romanian Jews among a total of 1,458 Jews.⁴

On October 14, 1943, the Wapniarca concentration camp (in Juguștru județ, north of Râbnița) was shut down. A group of 50 to 60 of the Jews from Wapniarca, condemned for what the Romanian authorities deemed "subversive activity," was transported by freight train to the Râbnița prison. The prison was located on the city's outskirts in what used to be the buildings of a former frontier army unit. The prison's commandant was Maior Delcea, and its chief guard was named Văluță. The prison held 200 prisoners, mostly Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and former members of communist groups and *kolkhoz* (collective farm) leaders. On the evening of March 19, 1944, as the retreating German authorities took control of the prison, the prisoners were shot in their cells by a small Kalmyk unit belonging to Andrey Vlasov's army attached to a Waffen-SS division that was withdrawing. The prison was subsequently set on fire. Three or four Jews survived.⁵

From October 1943 to March 1944, Râbnița was the base for several groups of Jewish forced laborers from the 120 Balta Labor Battalion commanded by Colonel Pătrășcoiu. One such group looked after cow herds held in large animal sheds in Ghidirim, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) south of Râbnița. Another group from the same labor battalion was assigned construction duties for the German Army. The laborers lived in cowsheds with the animals, slept on lice-infested hay, and were fed watery pea soup.⁶

The Red Army liberated Râbnița on March 30, 1944. During the war, some non-Jewish residents of Râbnița provided assistance to their Jewish friends or neighbors from the ghetto.

For their kindness, the following families were recognized as Righteous Among the Nations: the Chinkovskaya, Koblas, Liubinskaya, Marnchenko, Migilevski, Nikolayeva, Pozdnia-kova, Plugar, Stratulat, and Tontysh families.

SOURCES Additional information about the Râbnița ghetto can be found in the following sources: “Rybnitsa,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 882–883; “Rybnitsa,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2007), 6: 397–398; “Rabnitsa,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds. *Pinkas ha-kebilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivisdam ve-‘ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-‘olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 509–511; “Rybnitsa,” 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: 1108; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26. For the Righteous Among the Nations at Râbnița, see the Moldova chapters in *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 5 (Europe, part 2) and supplementary volumes 2000–2005, Israel Gutman et al., eds. (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2010 and 2011) and db.yadvashem.org/righteous/familyList.html?placeTemp=Rybnitsa&results_by=family&placeFam=Rybnitsa&language=en.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in Râbnița are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and AME (RG-25.006M). USHMM, collection RG-54.003 (SISRM), microfiche 01, 06, and 44, contains the trial records of other prominent figures from the Râbnița ghetto. VHA holds 214 testimonies in seven languages about the Râbnița ghetto, prison, and forced labor detachments. Liza Lyuber’s memories of life in the ghetto appear in “The Greatest Value: Those Who Helped and Rescued,” in Svetlana Shklarov, ed., *Voices of Resilience* (Calgary: Jewish Family Service), pp. 41–48. For a description of the Râbnița prison massacre, see two accounts by former prisoner Matei Gall, *Masacrul* (Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură, 1956); and *Eclipsa* (Bucharest: Du Style, 1997). Also useful is a pro-communist publication from the Banat region containing a short article on the Râbnița prison: Comitetul regional din

Banat al Apărării Patriotice, eds., *Apărarea Patriotică contra teroarei fasciste* (Timișoara, 1945), esp. pp. 71–75 (a photograph with three victims of the prison massacre appears on p. 71).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Transnistrian Gendarmes Inspectorate report for Transnistria Government, November 9, 1942, but based on earlier reporting, USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 161.

2. “Tabel cu medicii evrei aflați în Județul Râbnița,” USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 6, p. 166a (USHMM, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/6, p. 166a); for Jewish labor heads, see governmental decision, “Decizia Nr. 385,” USHMM, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 62.

3. “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportati în Transnistria și aflați la Râbnița (Jud. Râbnița),” USHMM, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1501, p. 146.

4. For the April 1, 1942, census, see “Situația numerică a evreilor aflați neevacuați din Transnistria, la data de 1 Aprilie 1942, pe lagăre și ghetouri cu specificarea: bărbați, femei și copii,” USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 143; for the March 1943 count (based on CER estimates), see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for the September 1943 count (of the Transnistria Gendarmes service), see “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442; “Tabloul cuprinzând ghetourile și situația numerică a evreilor aflați în raza Județului Râbnița la data de 1 Octombrie 1943,” September 30, 1943, USHMM, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.

5. VHA #9632, Matei Gal testimony, February 14, 1996.

6. VHA #1162, Eugen Leonida testimony, February 28, 1995; VHA #20058, Salomon Marcu testimony, September 24, 1996.

REZINA

Rezina, a small town in the Rezina raion, Orhei județ (today: Rezina raion, Moldova), in the northeastern province of Bessarabia, is situated near the western bank of the Dniester River. The town is located about 83 kilometers (52 miles) north of Chișinău. According to the 1930 Romanian census, there were 2,889 Jews living in Rezina. In 1941 the Soviet authorities deported to Siberia some of Rezina’s Jews deemed hostile to the regime. After the attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, some of the remaining Jews retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper inside the Soviet Union (where many of them were later captured).¹ Approximately half of the Jewish population remained in the town.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Rezina in mid-July 1941. Control over Rezina went to the Romanian authorities immediately after its capture. Bessarabia’s chief gendarmes inspector was Colonel Teodor Meculescu, and his

deputy was Locotenent-colonel Lazăr Radu. Maior Filip Bechi was commandant of the Orhei Gendarmes Legion. During the deportation of Jews from Bessarabia to Transnistria, two improvised transit camps existed near Rezina in the villages of Mateuți and Ceneșeuți for one month's duration, due to their proximity to the Dniester. The two holding places, which held deportees from the Vertujeni transit camp and the Chișinău ghetto, were not fenced, but the sites were closely guarded.

An operation aimed at "cleansing" Bessarabia of "Judeo-Bolsheviks" was planned by General de corp de armată Constantin Z. Vasiliu, the inspector general of the gendarmerie, prior to the start of the war. According to Vasiliu's orders, rural Jews were to be shot on sight, "suspect" citizens arrested, and urban Jews ghettoized for further deportation, all in the interest of "national security." Acting on these orders, the gendarmes and local policemen proceeded in the second part of July 1941 to shoot Rezina's Jews on the streets and in their homes. After three days of rounding up Jews who were hiding or trying to escape town, the gendarmes and policemen shot 500 in the town's slaughterhouse and impaled some children with bayonets. They herded another 600 into the town's stables. Of them, 350 were shot, and the remaining 250 were allegedly burned in the limekiln and their remains scattered in the Dniester River. These murderous actions occurred before or concomitantly with Order No. 61 of July 24, 1941, issued by the governor of Bessarabia, General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu, which decreed the institution of camps and ghettos for Bessarabia's Jews. In total, 1,265 Jews were murdered in Rezina between 1941 and 1942.

In mid-August 1941, some 13,000 Jews from southern Bukovina and northern Bessarabia who had already been deported to Transnistria were returned by the German authorities to Bessarabia. They were marched to the Vertujeni camp near the Dniester in the Soroca județ where they were soon joined by more than 7,000 Jews from the smaller camps of Rublenița and Alexandru cel Bun (Soroca County). Their treatment by the Germans and Romanians was cruel. General de brigadă Ion Topor, the 3rd Romanian Army's great praetor, ordered the (re)deportation of Bessarabia's Jews to Transnistria in early September.

On September 12, 1941, the Vertujeni transit camp, which held 22,150 Jews at that point, was evacuated. On Colonel Meculescu's orders, half the deportees marched 90 kilometers (56 miles) south to Rezina. Meculescu instructed that columns of 1,600 Jews escorted by the Soroca Gendarmes Legion were to march a distance of 30 kilometers (approximately 19 miles) per day, so they would reach Rezina three days later. The first crossing over the Dniester at Rezina-Râbnița was scheduled for September 15, 1941. Gendarmes commanded by Locotenent Constantin Popoiu, deputy commandant of the Orhei Gendarmes Legion, were to meet the convoys one day before they reached Rezina and escort them across the river. The crossing was to be done quickly. Obtaining food for the duration of the journey was the deportees' responsibility, the authorities providing 50 carts to carry the very old and sick, as well as some

of the luggage. Those dying along the way, or killed because they were unable to keep up, were to be buried in designated common graves dug in advance.²

Almost none of Meculescu's orders were implemented as given. Many of the Jews on the march were elderly or young mothers with small children. This situation slowed down travel despite the gendarmes' constant threats. Rainy days made the winding, dirt roads almost inaccessible by carts and difficult to travel on by foot. Resting places were in open fields or forests on the outskirts of villages or between villages; purchasing or bartering for food (or water) became difficult so many went hungry and thirsty for a long time. The gendarmes and cart conductors abused deportees and robbed them; at other times they allowed villagers to rob them in exchange for a bribe. On a few occasions when a robbery by a villager was reported, the thieves were not pursued. Exhausted and weakened, many Jews fell prey to illnesses of all kinds. The dying and the dead were left unburied wherever the convoy stopped; those shot because they were unable to keep up were pushed into small ditches along the side of the road. The Vertujeni camp's evacuation and the crossing operation lasted about a month.

In October 1941, half of the approximately 11,500 Jews ghettoized in Chișinău were also deported to Transnistria via Rezina. The Chișinău ghetto's evacuation was similar to that of the camp at Vertujeni: large groups left every other day, marched on foot to Rezina (also 90 kilometers [56 miles] away) escorted by gendarmes, rested on the outskirts of villages, and avoided the main roads. Just like the Jews from the Vertujeni camp, these Jews from the Chișinău ghetto were robbed and beaten by gendarmes and villagers, while young women were raped by guards. Those unable to keep up, usually the elderly, were shot. This evacuation, too, lasted about a month.³

During the deportation to Transnistria, a number of sites along the way from Vertujeni and Chișinău served as stopping places. The convoys rested in such places for a day or more, at which time more Jews were added to the convoy, guard forces were changed, and carts were repaired or replenished. At two such sites near Rezina, the convoys were held for slightly longer periods of time so as not to congest the crossing area. Gendarmes, young men enrolled in pre-military school, and local police patrolled the areas. The first improvised transit camp was 3 kilometers (1.8 miles) north of Rezina on the outskirts of Mateuți village. The Jews held here were under the supervision of Vitan Paun, chief of the gendarmes post, and Sergeant major Dumitru Gavrilă, chief of the gendarmes section. The second transit camp was at the outskirts of Ceneșeuți village, three kilometers southwest of Rezina. Sergeant major Gavrilă was in charge here too, assisted by Sergeant Grigore Maritz and Sergeant major Ion Neaga. Both places had been "cleansed" of Jews in July 1941. At Ceneșeuți, 27 Jews were shot on the village outskirts, and a 14-year-old Jewish girl handed over to the Mateuți gendarmes was raped and shot outside the village by the two soldiers escorting her. Convoys reaching Rezina from both directions were handed over to Locotenent Constantin

Popoiu and Sergeant major Traian Saftenco for the crossing to Transnistria at Râbnîța.

On January 28, 1942, only nine Jews, deemed useful to the town's administration, remained in Rezina.⁴ Bessarabian orphans were repatriated from the Balta ghetto in Transnistria in the winter of 1943; some of those orphans had been deported via Rezina.⁵ In 1949, the Bucharest's People's Tribunal sentenced to hard labor the heads of the Rezina, Mateuți, and Ceneșeuți gendarmes posts.

SOURCES Additional information about Rezina can be found in the following sources: "Rezina," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 841; "Rezina," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 6: 341–342; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* and vol. 6: *War Crimes Trials* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască*, vol. 2 (parts 1 and 2) (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Paul A. Shapiro, *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941–1942: A Documentary History*, with Chronology by Brewster Chamberlin and Radu Ioanid (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press in association with USHMM, 2015).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Rezina's Jews and those interned there are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AMANR (RG-25.003M), and ANRM (RG-54.001M). Twenty VHA testimonies in French, Hebrew, Russian, and Spanish offer additional information about Rezina and are available at USHMM.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #27785, Ivan Barbul testimony, February 4, 1997.
2. "Instrucțiuni relative la evacuarea evreilor din lagărul Vertujeni-Soroca," USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 126, file 29, pp. 94–95, reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 85–87 (a map showing the routes the deportees were to follow on their way to Rezina is on p. 87).
3. "Raport de anchetă al comisiei instituită conform ordinului domnului Mareșal Ion Antonescu, Conducătorul Statului, pentru cercetarea neregulelor de la ghetto-ul Chișinău," USHMM, RG-54.001 (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 69, pp. 1–46, augmented by a second and shorter report, pp. 48–55.

4. "Tabel nominal de evreii ce se gasesc in Tg. Rezina," USHMM, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 13, fond 680, opis 1, delo 4476, p. 171.

5. "Tabel nominal de copii orfani de ambii parinti de la 1–15 ani plecati in Romania," USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 674, p. 43.

SĂDĂGURA

Sădăgura, a town in the Cernăuți județ (today: Sadhora, Ukraine), in Bukovina, in the northeastern part of Romania, is 7 kilometers (4 miles) northeast of Cernăuți. In 1930, Sădăgura's Jewish population was 1,459. The Soviet authorities deported many Jewish tradesmen and former business owners to Siberia prior to their retreat from Sădăgura in June 1941. At that time, some Jews retreated with the Red Army, whereas military-aged Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army. Approximately 654 Jews remained in place in Sădăgura.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Cernăuți and its surroundings on July 5, 1941. A few days later, a squad of Romanian soldiers entered Sădăgura, encouraging the locals to mistreat the Jews for 24 hours. Forming a leadership group called the "national guard," a group of locals, headed by Vladimir Rusu, took over the town hall and immediately began a pogrom against the Jewish population. Armed with guns, they searched for Jews, some of whom were their neighbors, and rounded up 72 people, depositing them at the town hall in the nearby village of Jucica Nouă. At midnight the Jews were led to some trenches outside the village and shot. Among the victims were elderly people and children; a few were only wounded and survived the ordeal. The following day, all of Sădăgura's Jews were rounded up and detained at the town hall for a few days, during which time a committee searched for "communist Jews" among them. Those found to have been involved with the Communist Party during the Soviet occupation of Bukovina (June 1940 to June 1941) were imprisoned in a camp erected at or near the town hall; the rest returned to their homes, which had meanwhile been broken into and looted by their neighbors.

While still in Sădăgura, the remaining Jews undertook forced labor and were stigmatized. Jewish men and women were routinely ordered to do forced labor (without pay) by the town's public institutions and private citizens. The renowned rabbi of Sădăgura, Mr. Landau, along with his Hasidic followers, was forced (apparently by Mayor Bartoi) to clean the town's streets wearing dress clothes on the Sabbath. A group of armed civilians guarded them as they worked. Soon thereafter, in early August 1941, the remaining Jews of the town of Sădăgura and those from nearby villages were congregated in a school yard and, taking with them only what they could carry, were force-marched in the direction of the Dniester River toward Transnistria.¹ Around the same time, small groups of Jews who had fled with the retreating Red Army were overtaken by the rapidly advancing German and Romanian armies before they could reach safety. They were forced back and held in a

camp in Sădăgura for a short while, before also being marched to Transnistria. Forced marches typically lasted four to five weeks, or longer, before the deportees, reaching transit camps such as Edineț, Vertujeni, and Atachi, crossed into Transnistria and continued walking for a few more weeks toward their destination. While in transit, the Jews were brutalized, molested, and repeatedly despoiled of their possessions by military authorities as well as by the civilian population.²

A penal camp (*lagăr de detinuți*) existed in Sădăgura on the grounds of the 12th Artillery Regiment. The camp commandant was Locotenent D. Burghilea. The camp had a number of barracks and was surrounded by barbed wire. Beds inside the barracks were multitiered to hold three times more people than the normal capacity. Some 1,500 Jews were held there from August to October 1941, many having been brought there from Cernăuți police prisons or holding centers. The prison population was organized into platoons and companies, with their own respective leaders. The inmates had to procure food for themselves, because the camp administration did not issue rations. Endless roll calls, beatings, and hard labor (street cleaning, road repairing, and camp maintenance) made camp life difficult. By rotation, a number of prisoners were required to remove waste from camp lavatories using buckets, dishes, and cups, and even their bare hands, and transport it to a dumping ground outside the city. On October 15, 1941, the entire camp population was escorted by gendarmes to Cernăuți.³ At night, they were loaded onto a freight train and transported to Bălți (in Bessarabia), where, after a short rest period, they were taken by train to Mărculești and placed in a camp there. At Mărculești, they stayed for a few days in dirty and damaged houses, surrounded by barbed wire. Brought before representatives of various committees, they were searched and required to exchange money; jewels and other precious metals were bought for uncompetitive prices, if not confiscated. A convoy was formed and prisoners had to walk 30 kilometers (19 miles) to Cosăuți on the Dniester River; they crossed the river at night over a pontoon bridge toward Iampol in Transnistria.⁴

Jews and non-Jews were interned in the Sădăgura camp for various infractions. For example, between November 1941 and May 1942, hundreds of Jews (men and women) from all over Bukovina were interned at Sădăgura for failing to wear a yellow star. Internment usually lasted 10 or more days.⁵

On June 1, 1942, there were 45 Jews (men and women) in the Sădăgura camp, most of whom had been recently transferred there from the Videle internment camp, in the Vlasca județ (today: Teleorman județ, 49 kilometers [30 miles] southwest of Bucharest), where they had been held since June 1941. A few other Jews were interned there because they were suspected of communist activity, whereas still others were there because they had been caught gathering food supplies for the Jews deported to Transnistria the previous year. The Police Bureau in Cernăuți reviewed the files of the entire group and determined that there were “good grounds” for suspecting

them of illicit activity, and thus they were eligible for deportation.⁶ On June 5, 1942, 76 “undesirable” Jews from Bukovina province were interned in the Sădăgura camp for two days, as they awaited deportation to Transnistria alongside the 1,705 Jews from Cernăuți; they all left on June 8.⁷ The camp continued to hold other detainees until late June or early July 1942, when it moved to the town of Edineț with a contingent of 264 prisoners.⁸ The Romanian Army then repurposed the camp for its own uses.

The Red Army recaptured the area in April 1944. In May 1944, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and Hungarian and Czechoslovak Jews were held on the outskirts of Sădăgura, most likely in the former camp. Some of the Jewish POWs escaped into Cernăuți looking for work, whereas others were enlisted into the Red Army and Czechoslovak armies and sent to the front in Hungary and beyond.⁹ In 1945, the People’s Tribunal in Bucharest sentenced Bukovina’s governor and other military authorities to many years of hard labor and confiscation of private property for crimes committed against the town’s Jewish population.¹⁰

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Sădăgura’s Jews can be found in the following publications: “Sadagura,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1117–1118; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 279; “Sadgora,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2007), 6: 407–408; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3a: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Doroboi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945), particularly pp. 61–65 dealing exclusively with the town of Sădăgura; and Boris Nidergofer, *The Path of Death*, trans. Aliza Brayer (Tel Aviv: B. Nidergofer, 2009).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews interned in the Sădăgura camp are available at USHMM, in collections DACO (RG-31.006M), SRI (RG-25.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and FUCER (RG-25.021M). Relevant information in Soviet sources can be found in ChGK (RG-22.002, reel 15, fond 7021, opis 79, delo 69, and delo 79). VHA holds 30 survivor testimonies, in several languages, about the fate of Sădăgura’s Jews as well as the fate of Jews held in the Sădăgura camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See a list of Jews from this camp hospitalized in the Jewish Hospital in Cernăuți, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 22, fond 38, opis 6, delo 73, pp. 1, 3–4. The ill Jews were from the “Rosa camp,” most likely the name of the school where they were held in Sădăgura.
2. VHA #33158, Michael Surkis testimony, August 17, 1997.
3. See Sădăgura camp registry, October 14, 1941, entries no. 436 and no. 442, USHMMA, RG-25.021M (FUCER), reel 100, file III-1075, n.p.
4. VHA #41577, Herbert Gropper testimony, March 17, 1998.
5. See a table listing their names, place of origin, and dates of internment and removal from the camp, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 2, fond 307, opis 3, delo 75, pp. 369–371 (and verso).
6. See correspondence and annexed tables, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 3, fond 307, opis 3, delo 14, pp. 210–213 (and verso). A handwritten insertion in the typed text indicates the opposite—that there were “not” sufficient grounds to suspect the listed Jews of any illegal activity.
7. Bukovina’s governor General de divizie Corneliu Calotescu’s report to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, June 12, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 196–198, 205.
8. See correspondence regarding the moving of the Sădăgura camp to Edineți, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 10, fond 307, opis 1, delo 2246, pp. 1–40.
9. VHA #25734, Jacob Lefkowitz testimony, February 4, 1997; VHA #18062, Carl Berger Lieber testimony, August 6, 1996.
10. See survivors and witness depositions against, for example, Vladimir Rusu, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 15, fond 1241, vol. 1, pp. 136–145, and vol. 2, pp. 1–8.

ȘARGOROD

A small town and a raion center in the Moghilev județ in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Șargorod (pre-1941: Shargorod; today: Sharhorod, Ukraine) is located 39 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,664 Jews in Șargorod, representing 74 percent of the town’s population. A general mobilization took place at the outbreak of the war against the Soviet Union in June 1941. Military-aged Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army, and others fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, but more than half of the Jewish population remained in the town.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Șargorod on July 22, 1941. Authority over the town was transferred to the Romanian civil administration in September 1941, and its name was romanianized as Șargorod. The prefects in the Moghilev județ were Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaș, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels. The deputy prefect, who later became the second praetor in Șargorod, was Iosif Dindelegan. Dimitrie (or Dumitru) Rusu was the first

praetor. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Aurel Dănulescu, Gheorghe Botoroagă, and Romeo Orășeanu, all army majors. Plutonier Barbu (Ilie) Ciortuz and Sergeant major Florian were the chiefs of the Șargorod gendarmes post.

Convoys of Jews deported from Bessarabia started arriving in Șargorod in early September 1941. In October 1941, additional convoys arrived from southern Bukovina (Suceava, Câmpulung, and Gura-Humorului). The convoys entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point to Moghilev-Podolsk. Just before crossing the Dniester River or after arriving on the other side, some Jews were robbed of their possessions. After a short stay in Moghilev-Podolsk, the convoys were sent on to Șargorod. Thanks to bribes offered to Romanian officials in Moghilev-Podolsk, the deportees were able to rent German trucks and carts to carry their smuggled luggage to Șargorod. People followed on foot, walking for three days.

The Ukrainian Jewish community from Șargorod, which numbered approximately 1,100, offered hospitality to the arriving deportees. They first took in 700 Jews from Bessarabia in August 1941, then another 1,200 from Bukovina in October 1941, and an additional 900 Jews from Dorohoi (Bukovina) in mid-November 1941. Smaller groups fleeing from other detention sites, or those unable to march farther because of inclement weather, also arrived and remained in Șargorod. At the end of December 1941, approximately 7,000 Jews lived in town, in 337 houses with a total of 842 rooms; all public buildings (synagogues, schools) that were not completely destroyed were also occupied.

An open ghetto was formed at the end of 1941 in Șargorod’s former Jewish quarters. Its limits were clearly demarcated through verbal instructions. Going beyond the stated boundaries without permission was punishable by shooting; seven Jews who were found roaming outside ghetto limits were indeed shot.¹ Wearing the yellow star was mandatory. Major epidemics erupted due to overcrowding, frigid temperatures, extreme hunger, and poor sanitation. At their peak in the winter of 1941, hundreds of people died every day of typhus, typhoid fever, and dysentery. In the beginning delousing facilities did not exist. Bodies were collected each day on a sleigh and left on the frozen ground; they were interred in the local Jewish cemetery in the spring of 1942.² Twelve Jewish doctors succumbed to typhus.³

Twenty-five leaders in the ghetto formed a council to respond to the tragedy. Another executive committee of five members, led by Dr. Meir Teich, a lawyer from Suceava, was set up as well. In the course of time, the councils expanded the canteen for the poor and established a bakery; set up general and contagious disease hospitals; established a pharmacy; and improvised a delousing station. Teams of nurses and doctors visited the sick in their homes and inspected houses daily.⁴ These measures eventually brought the epidemics under control, but not before 1,500 deportees died. Other improvements in the ghetto were the restoration of a power station, a waterworks, and a steam bath. Drinking water was secured from old wells that were freshly cleaned, fenced in, and guarded

to ensure that only clean buckets were used to draw water. A system for collecting sewage in closed barrels was put into effect and public toilets were built. A soap factory was also built in 1942.

The Șargorod Jewish police force rigorously enforced discipline in the ghetto. This force was created to replace the Ukrainian police and the Romanian gendarmes who terrorized the population. Groups of laborers were recruited from the ghetto to undertake forced labor. Some worked inside the ghetto cleaning streets, offices, and public institutions; others were taken to work on nearby collective farms (*kolkhozes*), whereas still others performed road-building duties on sites away from the ghetto. In 1943, a few dozen workers were sent to dig peat in Tulcin and to build the bridge over the Bug River in Trihati, Oceacov județ. This work was very hard and dangerous, and a few of the forced laborers fell ill and died or were shot for allegedly trying to escape. Jewish workshops (*ateliere*) for tailoring, smithing, and shoemaking were set up in the ghetto.⁵ Government instructions regulating Jewish life in Transnistria (Ordinance No. 23) prescribed that workers were to be paid German-issued scrip that circulated only in Transnistria (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) at the rate of 2 RKKS per day for skilled labor and 1 RKKS per day for unskilled work, but this rarely happened. In most cases, remuneration came in the form of goods or food coupons. Occasionally Romanian authorities paid Jewish councils in produce (barley or cabbage), and on rare occasions money.

Religious life in the ghetto took place in the reopened synagogue. On the eve of Yom Kippur in 1942 prayers were said for the victims of the epidemics. Life-cycle ceremonies for weddings, Bar Mitzvah, and Brit Mila (ritual circumcisions) also occurred there. A market inside the ghetto permitted villagers to bring produce and to sell or exchange their goods for articles of clothing. The Jewish community also sold ghetto-manufactured goods like soap and received aid from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER). With the proceeds from such sales and the donations, the Jewish committee in Șargorod enlarged and modernized the orphanage that was established in 1942. The expanded orphanage housed about 200 children who received full care, medical attention, and education. Individual aid sent from Romania arrived in the ghetto from July 1942 onward.⁶ According to a census of the ghetto population, there were 3,085 Jews (not counting Ukrainian Jews who at the time numbered 1,800); in September 1943, there were 2,971 Jews deported from Romania (240 from Bessarabia, 2,731 from Bukovina).⁷

A partisan formation near Șargorod became active in the spring of 1943. In addition, a few ghetto inmates were partisans. When wounded, partisans turned to the ghetto for assistance in the form of treatment and medication. The ghetto also sent food to partisans hiding in the nearby forests. Romanian authorities suspected ghetto leaders of helping the partisans, but were unable to prove it. In December 1943, a commission from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), led by Charles Kolb, visited the ghetto and spoke with

its leaders. Repatriations of orphans and deportees originally from the Dorohoi județ took place in successive waves from December 1943 to March 1944.

The Red Army liberated Șargorod on March 20, 1944. A few days later, the Soviet authorities robbed the ghetto of medicine and money and conscripted healthy men of military age into the Red Army or forced labor units. In 1945, Praetor Dindelegan, along with other gendarmes officers, was tried and sentenced to prison.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Șargorod can be found in the following publications: “Șargorod,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 1084–1085; “Șargorod,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1168–1169; “Șargorod,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreistva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 346; “Șargorod,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2011), 7: 382–383; “Șargorod,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyab shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-‘ad le-abar Sho‘at Milhemet ha-‘olam ha-sheniyab* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 511–516; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vols. 1–3 (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For an account of religious life in the Șargorod ghetto, see Iacov Geller, *Rezistența Spirituală a Evreilor Români în Timpul Holocaustului* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2004), p. 356. A memorial book documenting the fate of Jews from Câmpulung in southern Bukovina deported to Șargorod is Veronica Bărlădeanu, ed., *Viața și Martiriul Evreilor din Câmpulung-Bucovina*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Lucrare Colectivă, 1990). For the activity of the ICRC in Romania, see Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources about the fate of Jews in the Șargorod ghetto are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), SRI (RG-25.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and AME (RG-25.006M). Ion Stănculescu’s report regarding the state of the Jews living in ghettos in Transnistria is available at USHMM, RG-25.006M

(AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 147–151. Fred Șaraga's report of CER relief commission that met with Șargorod ghetto leaders in January 1943 is available in RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 106–156. CER's records are found in USHMMA, RG-25.016M (ANR, fond CER). For partisan activity around Șargorod, see USHMMA, RG-68.112M (BLH), reel 100, file 11389; the same collection, reel 182, file 5520, contains a testimony about Șargorod ghetto. VHA holds 405 video testimonies, in 12 languages, from Holocaust survivors who passed through or remained in the Șargorod ghetto. An important published testimony on the Șargorod ghetto is the memoir of the former ghetto leader, Dr. Meir Teich, "The Jewish Self-Administration in Ghetto Shargorod (Transnistria)," *YVS* 2 (1958): 219–254.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #49978, Sarina Feyer-Ionescu testimony, July 18, 1999. For a more detailed account, see Meir Teich's memoir partially reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 337–339.
2. VHA #50017, Siegfried Blaustein testimony, June 7, 1999; VHA #49964, Chaje-Sara Lucescu testimony, June 8, 1999.
3. Their names are listed in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 350.
4. Information note of the Moghilev județ medical service, October 17, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.
5. "Lista meseriașilor evrei întrebuințați în ateliere," USHMMA, RG-31.011 (DAVINO), reel 20, p. 48.
6. Remittances, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1504, p. 115; see reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 111; and reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1567, p. 484.
7. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al Evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; for the September 1943 count, see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

SAVRANI

Savrani (pre-1941: Savran), a township in the Savrani raion, Balta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Savran', Ukraine), is located a short distance from the Bug River. It is 41 kilometers (25 miles) northeast of Balta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,101 Jews (representing 21.2 percent of the total township's population) in Savrani and 1,227 Jews in the Savrani raion. About half of Savrani's Jewish population retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper inside the Soviet Union at the outbreak of war in June 1941, but the rest stayed in the town. By March 1944, only three indigenous Jews lived in the Savrani raion (not including those held in the ghettos).¹

The German and Romanian armies occupied Savrani on July 30, 1941. At the beginning of September 1941, the Roma-

nian civil administration assumed sole control over Savrani; it romanianized the raion's township's name from Savran to Savrani (or Săvrani). Colonel Vasile Nica became prefect of the Balta județ, and his deputy was Alexandru Cojocaru. Locotenent-colonel Ștefan Gavăț was commandant of the Balta Gendarmes Legion. The praetor in the Savrani raion was Dumitru Niculescu.

In October 1941, the local Ukrainian Jews of Savrani who had not already fled to Berșad were deported to Obodovca, a township 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) west of Berșad, in Balta's northern territory. A small number of mostly elderly people and children remained and were confined in a few abandoned houses on the township's outskirts. This ghetto was separated from the rest of the town by the Savranka River, a tributary of the Bug River, and was not encircled by barbed wire. The bridge over the river was guarded by Romanian gendarmes, and none could cross it without their permission. To relieve overcrowding in the Berșad ghetto and fight the typhus epidemic that erupted there in the winter months of 1941–1942, about 150 Jews were moved from there to Savrani at the end of 1942. Due to deaths in the camp, their numbers decreased to 133 in March 1943.² In May 1943, an additional 127 Jews were released and transferred from the Vapniarica high-security concentration camp to Savrani.³ Renting rooms in the houses of local Ukrainian villagers, they were grouped according to their region or town of origin in Romania. A second ghetto was thus created in Savrani. The two ghettos were separated by the river and were about a half-kilometer (547 yards) from each other. Close ties developed between the Jews from each ghetto, however.

Life in the ghettos was harsh, but particularly so in the first (the "Ukrainian") ghetto, which housed a large number of elderly, women, and children who could not or were not taken to work. Living conditions were poor and unsanitary; most people slept on the floor on a layer of straw. Overcrowding and lack of food facilitated the spread of typhus and typhoid fever, which struck Balta's villages in the winter of 1941–1942 and again in 1942–1943.⁴ Jews found temporary work on villagers' farms or as cleaners in the Romanian administration buildings; skilled internees worked in the local tradesmen's cooperative and received scrip to exchange for food from the local grocery store. Wearing the yellow star on the chest was mandatory for everyone who walked out of the ghetto area. Among the ghettos' inmates were former Romanian government functionaries, decorated war veterans, and widows of Romania's earlier wars.⁵

Thanks to their collective effort, their receipt of material and financial aid, and good relations forged with the local Romanian authorities, the Jews were permitted to open a soup kitchen for the needy among them. Jewish doctors from the second ghetto opened a small dental office and a medical consultation office in the house in which they lived. In addition, a small synagogue was set up in a room in a house in each of the two ghettos. The High Holidays were observed in the autumn of 1943. A Torah scroll and a rabbi were shared between the two ghettos. Individual and collective funds, as well as mate-

rial aid (salt, coal, glass), sent from family, friends, and the Jewish communities in Romania via the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER), provided additional relief throughout 1943 and early 1944.⁶

The official leaders of the Jewish Committee of Savrani were Felix Schechter (colony chief), Mayer Iosipovici (secretary), Carol Beiniș (labor service), and Nicolae Feckette (social services), assisted by members Henric Aufleghe, Iosif Epstein, Sali Zaharia, and Filip Cohn.⁷ Doctors Epstein, Aufleghe, and Iosipovici, who were also the ghettos' doctors, were assigned as main doctors to villages in the Savrani raion.⁸

A network of partisans operated in the area. In the autumn of 1943, some Ukrainian-speaking Jews made contact with and assisted the partisans who attacked the local gendarmes post. The gendarmes discovered the collaboration between the partisans and the Jews in Savrani and arrested Carol Beiniș, the leader of the Jews who were involved. The other ghetto leaders secured his release from prison after presenting Locotenent Ștefănescu, the gendarmerie sector commandant, with a substantial bribe.

In November 1943, the Romanian government issued a repatriation edict for Jews deported from Transylvania and the Old Kingdom. Former state functionaries, widows and orphans of Romania's earlier wars, and orphans (under age 18) whose parents were killed in the deportations to Transnistria were also to be repatriated. From Savrani's (second) ghetto, 65 Romanian Jews who had been imprisoned in the Vapniarca camp were repatriated to Romania on December 21, 1943, and another 57 Jews, including some from the Dorohoi area, were repatriated on January 11, 1944.⁹ There remained in the ghetto a few Romanian Jews from other parts of Romania. According to the September 1943 count, there were two Jews from Bessarabia and eight from Bukovina.¹⁰ By mid-February 1944, there were 51 Jews (from Bessarabia and Bukovina), in addition to local Ukrainian Jews.¹¹ All the remaining Jews were liberated by the Red Army on March 27, 1944.

The Savrani forest was a densely wooded area south of Savrani township. It provided an excellent hiding place for partisans, and in the late autumn of 1943 a Roma (Gypsies) colony was temporarily moved to the area (closer to the village of Slyusareve) from the Golta județ to cut wood. The colony numbered 1,756 Roma and was housed in huts in the forest. After receiving axes and saws, the Roma rebelled against the gendarmes because of the miserable conditions in which they lived. They used the tools to produce wooden articles (washing basins, spoons) to sell for money or to be exchanged for food.¹² The gendarmes were eventually able to subdue the Roma. From July 1942 to March 1943, 300 Soviet POWs from the Tiraspol camp were also deployed in the Savrani forest. They were brought there as woodcutters, employed by the Golta prefecture, and guarded by 35 gendarmes and 1 officer.¹³

The Red Army recaptured Savrani at the end of March 1944. By that point, the remaining Jews from Romania were in the

process of being repatriated, while the Ukrainian Jews dispersed or remained in place. The following year, in April 1945, the Bucharest's People's Court tried Balta's military and civilian leaders for mistreating the Jews deported to Savrani.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews and Roma in Savrani can be gleaned from the following sources: "Savran," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2007), 7: 406; "Savran," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 885; "Săvrani," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 480–481; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for a collection of documents relating to the deportation of Romanian Roma in Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources about the fate of Jews, Roma, and Soviet POWs in Savrani are found at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and DAMO (RG-31.008M). For a Jewish survivor's account, see Ihel Benditer, *Vapniarca: Lagărele Vapniarca și Grosulovo, închisoarea Ribnița, ghetourile Olgopol, Savrani, Tribudi, Crivoi-Ozero și Tribati* (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995).

A name list of 112 Jews imprisoned in Savrani ghetto, prepared by the Claims Conference in Tel Aviv, Israel, can be found at USHMM Resource Center, File no. RT-1124, www.ushmm.org/online/hsv/source_view.php?SourceId=29862. VHA holds 85 testimonies in four languages (English, Russian, Hebrew, and Ukrainian) from Jewish survivors of the deportations from Savrani and the subsequent ghettoization.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Census report, Savrani raion, February 28, 1944, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 675, p. 40 (USHMM, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/675, with page); for other census indexes, see pp. 12 and 19 in the same collection.

2. Census report, "Situația asupra numărului de populații specifică după națiuni: ucrainieni, țigani," USHMM, RG-31.004M/17/2358/1/711, pp. 2–3. The Jews were also counted, despite the title that refers only to Ukrainians and Roma.

3. See official correspondence announcing the release of Jews from the Vapniarca camp to three destinations in Transnistria: Olgopol, Savrani, and Tridubi; reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442–445 (Docs. 230–232).

4. See Prefect Nica's reports, "Proces Verbal," December 7, 1941, USHMM, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/695, pp.

142–143, and the following report, December 4, 1941, on p. 145 (and verso).

5. “Tabel nominal de evrei din Jud. Balta intrând în prevederile ord. Direcțiunii Muncii Nr.115647/943,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, pp. 2–3.

6. “Tabel de remiterile facute evreilor din tara deportati in Transnistria si aflati la Savrani (Jud. Balta),” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2242/1/1567, p. 496.

7. “Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organiz. a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta și a Comitetelor evreiești din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 72.

8. See a list of Jewish doctors and their assignments in the Balta județ, “Referat,” August 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.

9. For their names and place of origin, see “Tabel de evrei din Colonia Savrani care au fost repatriați în țară pe data de 21/XII/1943,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/674, p. 47 (and verso), and “Tabel nominal de evreii din colonia Savrani care au fost repatriați în țară pe data de 11.I.1944,” in the same collection, p. 48 (and verso).

10. For the September 1943 count, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.

11. Statistical figures provided by Savran praetor’s office, USHMMA, RG-68.130M (OOYV), reel 2, M-39/27 (fond 2358, opis 1, delo 110), p. 90.

12. See correspondence between Slyusarevlo Forestry Office and Golta Prefecture regarding the incident, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 369, pp. 127 (and verso), 132, and delo 224, p. 68.

13. See “Contract,” August 16, 1942, signed by Maior Grosu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20, pp. 5–7.

SCAZINEȚ

Scazineț (pre-1941: Skazintsy), a village in the Moghilev raion, Moghilev județ (today: Ukraine), in the western part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated along the Derlo, a Dniester River tributary. It is 12 kilometers (7.4 miles) north-east of Moghilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 8,703 Jews in the raion of Moghilev, representing 39.7 percent of its population (census figures for Scazineț are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Scazineț in July 1941. After a short period of occupation, the town came under Romanian administration, which romanianized the village’s name from Skazintsy to Scazineț (also Scazenți, Scaziñți). In succession, Constantin Dimitriu, Ion C. Băleanu, Constantin Năsturaș, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels, were Moghilev’s prefects. Successive commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Dănulescu, Romeo Orășeanu, and Gheorghe Botoroagă, all army majors. The praetor in the Moghilev raion was Dr. Octavian Oancea.

On August 6, 1941, convoys of Romanian Jews deported from northern Bessarabia, roughly 21,000 people in total, were stationed in Scazineț for a week, having just entered Transnistria through the Atachi-Moghilev crossing point. During that time, the very elderly and the sick among them were shot by Einsatzkommando units of Einsatzgruppe D and buried in an antitank ditch near the camp. Water was not provided to the rest of the Jews, and anyone who approached the nearby well was shot. After a week the Germans tried to force the Jews back across the Dniester River inside Bessarabia, via the southern Iampol-Cosăuți crossing point. However, Romanian soldiers prevented them from crossing the river. For 10 days, they remained in limbo between Iampol and Scazineț. The deportees were outdoors and in constant danger of being robbed, beaten, raped, and shot at by German and Romanian soldiers while preparing to cross the river or en route to a holding place. Neither authority provided food or water to those stranded, and many Jews died during that period of great travail. After 10 days the remaining 13,000 (of the original 21,000 deportees) were placed in the Vertujeni transit camp on the Romanian side of the river.

From May 29 to June 2, 1942, 3,000 Jews from the Moghilev ghetto and an additional 1,000 Jews from smaller ghettos in the Moghilev județ, such as Vendychany, Yaruha, Ozaryntsi, and Krasnoe were marched to Scazineț, where they were placed in a makeshift camp. Colonel Mihai Iliescu, chief of the Transnistria Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie, reiterated in May 1942 the deportation order to Scazineț that had been issued by Transnistria’s governor, Gheorghe Alexianu, in April 1942.¹ The Moghilev Jewish Committee was asked to prepare for the deportation of the designated ghetto inhabitants. After inspecting the Scazineț barracks in advance of deportations, the leader of the Moghilev Jewish Committee proposed that the camp be turned into an agricultural settlement for Jews and be provided with land, cattle, and medical care. The recommendations were ignored.²

The camp was set up in the dilapidated military barracks of a former Red Army school, situated in a hilly area near the village. Surrounded by barbed wire, the camp was bisected by a road running through it. Six buildings on the road’s west side were in slightly better shape than those on the other side, and most deportees were placed in them. Across the road were two heavily damaged buildings, lacking roofs, windows, and doors. The poorest and the sick were housed there. Lavatories were in an open field. Moving between the two parts of the camp was punishable by murder, and the few who attempted to cross the road were shot. Shortly after the camp’s opening, Banderovci brigades (Ukrainian nationalist collaborators associated with Stepan Bandera) took over the guard duties from Romanian gendarmes.³ A small Jewish police unit also operated within the camp.

Inside the camp, hundreds of deported Jews died of starvation, thirst, and disease (diarrhea, dysentery, scabies, and typhus). According to one account, Orășeanu liked to address convoys entering the camp with these intimidating words: “I brought you here to die. You’ll have nothing to eat but the grass

on the ground, leaves on the trees, and lice on yourselves. When you finish that, you can start eating each other.”⁴ Indeed, the problem of feeding prisoners was raised by Prefect Năsturaș to Governor Alexianu soon after deportations began. The latter replied that “they will work in fields, or wherever else is needed, and the kolkhozes will feed them.”⁵ His answer meant death for those too ill to work, those not taken to work (women, elderly, children), and those not requisitioned for labor for days or weeks. The only food the authorities allowed to be delivered a few times a week was a watery pea soup, which was transported in large barrels from Moghilev. The Moghilev Jewish Committee was entrusted with feeding the camp, but its resources were stretched too thinly to provide even a minimal amount for each prisoner. The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) contributed very small sums toward the purchase of food for the camp.⁶

A market existed near the camp where Jews bartered personal items for food once a week, but Orășeanu soon closed it down, probably for fears of contamination. Clandestine bartering continued at night, but all those involved risked their lives by doing so. Occasionally, local Ukrainians walking by the barbed-wire fence threw potato peels or fruit pits at the prisoners (a jam factory where local Ukrainians worked was not far from the camp). In the absence of any other means of procuring food, some prisoners ate grass and tree leaves. Trying to escape was extremely difficult and dangerous, yet a resourceful few managed to do so with help from local Ukrainians.⁷ The prisoners observed Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in September 1942. The observance occasioned the visit by a Jewish woman living in the better-off side of the camp. Her report reveals the conditions in which some of the Jews lived:

I passed through a large building that was formerly used as a stockyard. A dead silence ruled this [part of the] camp, the atmosphere was heavy, the air filled with the stench of human urine and excrement. Deformed people, some of them naked, some covered in rags, some moving silently and looking like living scraps. I then entered a long and clean room in which the smell of death was also present. Stones of various sizes were placed on the room's floor and the believers who came to lift their prayers before God's face were sitting upon them. An improvised closet, made from four wooden planks, sat at the back of the room; a torn woman's skirt covered the Torah scroll . . . Those praying were women, men, and older children, some of them bloated beyond recognition, almost moribund, while others were almost blue of color, their bodies covered in large skin-disease plaques. All were shaking from cold and sickness, nearly naked, with uncovered breasts, eyes popping out of sockets . . . Suddenly the shape of a tall and skinny man appeared; he was the cantor. Walking toward the improvised tabernacle, he began

to pray, crying and moaning from the bottom of his heart. The public also cried with him. The odor of death and decomposing bodies filled the air. Here and there a few cried out “*Shema Israel*” (“Hear, O Israel”) and “*L'shanah baba'ah b' Yerushalayim*” (“Next year in Jerusalem”).⁸

By July–August 1942, the number of camp inmates had decreased to 2,900 people.⁹ The dead were buried unceremoniously near the camp in common graves. Those who were able to work did road maintenance, agriculture, and lime preparation. Scazineț did not have a Jewish committee, but the Moghilev Jewish Committee coordinated certain aspects of camp life. The members of the Jewish labor office serving on the committee were Sigfried Jägendorf (president), along with Mihail Danilof, Dr. Ionas Kassler, Moses Katz, and Josef Laufer.¹⁰

In September 1942, Alexianu decided to dissolve the camp. The majority of the surviving Jews were marched on foot toward the Bug, while a small group of skilled workers returned to Moghilev. Only a few—the very sick or dying—remained in Scazineț for a few more days until they died. The 1,500 who left the camp were placed in three villages near the Bug: Voroshylivca, Tivriv, and Krasnoe. From there, the surviving Jews from the Old Kingdom were repatriated to Romania in December 1943; the others were liberated by the Red Army in March 1944.

The Bucharest's Peoples' Tribunal tried and sentenced Orășeanu and Danilof each to 15 years' hard labor in prison for war crimes against the Jews.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Scazineț can be gleaned from the following publications: “Skazintsy,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2011), 7: 20; “Skazintsy,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspon, 2009), p. 904; “Scazineț,” in Jean Ancel et al., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 485–486; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), pp. 23, 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime*,

1940–1944, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, published in association with USHMM, 2000). A memorial book mentioning the camp is *Bălți Basarabia: A Memorial of the Jewish Community* (Balti: Jewish Union, 1993).

Primary sources documenting the Scazineț camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), MAE (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds 68 testimonies in seven languages on the Scazineț camp. A published testimony mentioning the Scazineț camp is Siegfried Jägendorf, *The Jägendorf Foundry: A Memoir of the Romanian Holocaust, 1941–1944* (New York: Harper-Collins Publisher, 1991).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See Iliescu's letter informing the government of Transnistria that measures were taken to deport 4,000 Jews from Moghilev to the Scazineț barracks, and see Governor Alexianu's instructions following his visit to Moghilev in April 1942 (summarized by Prefect Năsturaș), USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1488, pp. 57, 60–61 (USHMM, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488).

2. See Jägendorf's report to the commandant of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion, March 26, 1942, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 347–349.

3. VHA #45947, Iosif Adler testimony, September 1, 1998.

4. VHA #45650, Gisela Tamler testimony, September 10, 1998.

5. Năsturaș's confidential letter to Alexianu, June 4, 1942, USHMM, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488, p. 92 (and verso).

6. Jägendorf's memorandum addressed to the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews, September 15, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289.

7. VHA #45947, Iosif Adler testimony, September 1, 1998; VHA #50186, Rebeka Bajora testimony, August 17, 1999; VHA #39389, Felix Garfunkel testimony, February 17, 1989; VHA #17412, Arie Erez testimony, July 12, 1996; see also the memoir by the former head of Moghilev ghetto, M. Katz, reprinted in part in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 357–358.

8. *Bălți Basarabia*, pp. 609–610 (in Hebrew); for a Romanian translation, see Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României*, vol. 2, part 2, 77.

9. "Situația numerică pe comune din jud. Moghila a evreilor evacuați aflați în comunele mai jos notate," USHMM, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

10. Government appointment letter, "Decizia Nr. 385," January 25, 1943, USHMM, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 62.

SECURENI

Secureni, a town in the Hotin județ, in Bukovina province, in the northeastern part of Romania (today: Sokyryany, Ukraine), is located 7 kilometers (5 miles) from the Dniester River. It is 111 kilometers (69 miles) east-northeast of Cernăuți. In 1930 there were 4,200 Jews in Secureni, representing 73 percent of the town's total population. By June 1941, the number of Jews

had decreased, after some of the wealthiest and Zionist Jews were deported by the Soviet authorities to Siberia. The commandant of the Hotin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Traian Drăgulescu. The prefect of the Hotin județ was Joe Gherman, who was succeeded by Colonel Virgil Popovici.

The Romanian Army occupied Secureni on July 10, 1941. The first army units that entered the town denigrated the Jews and incited the local population to mistreat them. The locals abused the Jews for a few days, ransacking their homes, injuring some, and killing 87 who were thought to be pro-Soviet. Torah scrolls were desacralized and torn into pieces by vandals. Jewish leaders and rabbis buried the broken scrolls in the Jewish cemetery, as was the custom. Shortly after the occupation, the entire Jewish population was ordered to assemble in a place near the Jewish cemetery. Thinking they would be shot, the Jews discovered that the locals instead demanded their belongings. The Jews were not shot at that time, but were told to support Romania's war efforts against the Red Army. All returned to their homes, some of which had been looted.¹ A week after, in late July or early August 1941, the Jews were ordered to gather again, this time with the expressed purpose of deportation. The convoy was marched to Briceni, a town 26 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Secureni.

From Briceni the convoy returned to Secureni, and its members were crowded into Jewish homes along a few designated streets. Twenty or more people occupied a single room. The Romanian authorities did not provide food or water, leaving everyone to survive through barter. As soon as the convoy left Secureni for Transnistria, via the Atachi-Moghilev-Podolsk crossing point, other convoys from Bukovina (from Briceni and Hertza) were directed to Secureni.²

In early August 1941, the Germans refused to accept more Jews in Transnistria (which they controlled at that time) and returned some across the Dniester into Bessarabia and Bukovina. The German decision set off a domino effect, resulting in massive crowds of Jews remaining stranded for days near the crossing points along the western shore of the Dniester River, where food, shelter, and water could be found only with great difficulty. On August 8, 1941, some 27,849 Jews were held in an open field between Secureni and Atachi. They came from villages and small towns in the Cernăuți județ, Storoiineț județ, Rădăuți județ, and Briceni județ. On August 11, 1941, a camp was set up in Secureni, in the town's former Jewish district, to which 20,852 Jews were sent. By August 15, a second camp opened at Edineți, also in the Hotin județ, to alleviate the overcrowding in the Secureni camp.³

The Secureni camp became a hellish site in a matter of weeks. The Jews lived in misery and agony, needing written authorization to leave the camp in search of food and medicine. Having bartered their clothes for food along the way, a good number ended up poorly dressed (some almost naked), starving, thirsty, and dirty. The camp was not surrounded by barbed wire, but was guarded by gendarmes from the 60th Police Company. The commandant of the 60th Police Company and of the Secureni camp was Locotenent Augustin

Roșca.⁴ Because the military and civil administrative authorities in the Hotin județ had a great deal of difficulty coping with the large number of deportees, the prisoners suffered accordingly. In addition, Einsatzkommando 10B made repeated requests for Jews from the camp, on the pretext of needing them for labor.⁵

The camp exhibited some level of self-organization. It had a leadership committee and an internal Jewish police force, and the population was organized into groups led by representatives. Jewish doctors set up a primitive infirmary, but lacking medicine, its utility was dramatically reduced. A large, bare room became the “home for the elderly.” A delousing oven and a public bath were soon installed as well. On a few occasions, 650 prisoners were taken to repair roads, clean streets, and harvest the fields. On one occasion the Hotin prefecture allocated the camp some 1,400 kilograms (3,100 pounds) of sugar, 450 liters (475 quarts) of oil, 80 kilograms (180 pounds) of salt, and 200 loaves of bread; some county funds were allocated for the camp as well.⁶

After inspecting the camp in early September 1941, Colonel I. Măneucă, the Bukovina gendarmes inspector, reported on the dire situation inside the camp. Măneucă advised that there were 10,201 Jews (8,302, according to a different count), including many women, children, and elderly, in the camp. Although some had a few possessions, most were penniless, lacked cooking implements and medicine, were almost naked, and (probably because of the combined effect of these deprivations) were unable to work in exchange for food.⁷ The camp also held 1,698 Jews from Lipcani (Hotin județ) who had been deported by the Soviet authorities to Iampol (south of Moghilev-Podolsk) prior to the outbreak of hostilities against the Soviet Union. The German Army pushed them back across the Dniester River into Bessarabia. They were interned on August 24, 1941. Colonel Măneucă described their state as “deplorable,” being “without food for four days, broken, and full of lice.”⁸

On August 19, 1941, the president of the Federation of Jewish Communities from Romania, Dr. W. Filderman, wrote to the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry, asking that the Jewish authorities be allowed to send help: “At Secureni (Bessarabia) there have been gathered 25,000–30,000 Jews evacuated from localities including Storojineț, Seletin, Putila, Plosca, Văscăuți, Vijnița, Lujeni, Lipcani, etc. They lack shelter, food, clothes, and medical attention. Nobody is allowed to send them aid. The filth that reigns among them destines them all to death, but it can also become a dangerous threat to the public.”⁹ Indeed, some Jews perished in the camp due to disease, their bodies buried uncereemoniously in unmarked graves. In September 1941, the Jews observed the High Holidays in the camp.¹⁰

Deportations from the Secureni camp started in the middle of October 1941, and the camp was closed in November 1941. The operation lasted about two weeks, during which time groups of 1,500 Jews left the camp almost every other day. The deportees marched to Atachi. On the way there, those who could not walk anymore because of age or illness were shot,

their bodies buried in holes dug in advance or simply abandoned on the side of the road. Further robbing and despoiling at the hands of the escorting gendarmes took place on the way to Atachi. Those who crossed over into Transnistria at Moghilev-Podolsk continued marching deeper into Transnistria amid freezing temperatures. Illness and crippling hunger prevailed.

A Romanian military court began investigating Praetor Margoș in the summer of 1942, after repeated denunciations accused him of robbing the Jews at the Secureni camp of their valuables in exchange for unfulfilled promises of privileges. At his orders, the Jews who complained about being robbed were shot.¹¹ In 1945, the People’s Court in Bucharest tried and convicted former military leaders responsible for deporting Bukovina’s Jews, including Roșca, the commandant of the Secureni camp.¹²

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Jews imprisoned in the Secureni camp can be found in the following publications: “Secureni,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1155; “Sekuriani,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 896–897; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3a: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască: 1933–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Moses Rosen, ed., *Martiriul evreilor din România, 1940–1941: Documente și mărturii* (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1991); and Michael Stivelman and Raquel Stivelman, *A Marca dos Genocídios* (Rio de Janeiro: Imago, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in Secureni camp are available at USHMM, in collections DACkO (RG-31.006M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AJDC (RG-68.066M). Trial records pertaining to the Secureni camp can be found at USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1; and reel 123, file 21227, vol. 2. VHA holds 136 testimonies, in eight languages, from Jewish survivors who were held in the Secureni camp or passed through the town on the way to other camps.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #49113, Ben Tsion Flom testimony, August 14, 1998.

2. VHA #29959, Esther Grauer testimony, June 8, 1997; VHA #47770, Liviu Beris testimony, November 29, 1998.

3. Reports "Nr. 528," "Nr. 862," "Nr. 619," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 36, 40, 46, respectively.

4. Report on the situation of camps and ghettos in Bessarabia and Bukovina prepared for General de divizie Ioan Topor, the Great Praetor of Romania, September 4, 1941, "Situația de numărul lagărelor de evrei aflate în Bessarabia și Bucovina," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 74.

5. See correspondence reproduced in *ibid.*, 5: 44.

6. Mănecuță's report to the Office of the Great Praetor, based on earlier reports from the Hotin Gendarmes Legion, August 28, 1941, reproduced in *ibid.*, 5: 71–72. Also, see schedule of fund allocations and other assistance from the prefect's office, USHMMA, RG-25.004 (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1, pp. 182–197.

7. Report "No. 7438," September 11, 1941, reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 82–83.

8. Mănecuță's report to the Office of the Great Praetor, reproduced in *ibid.*, 5: 71–72.

9. Filderman letter, August 19, 1941, reprinted in Moses Rosen, *Martiriul evreilor din România*, p. 154.

10. VHA #29959, Esther Grauer testimony, June 8, 1997.

11. See investigation reports, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 15, fond 30, opis 4, delo 230, pp. 1–12 (and verso).

12. See court depositions and declarations, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 15, file 9614, vol. 1, pp. 1–8; for Gherman's file, see pp. 139–167 in the same file and volume.

SEREBRIA

Serebriya, a village in the Iarișev raion in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Serebriya, Ukraine), is situated along the Serebriya River, a tributary of the Dniester. It is located 5 kilometers (3 miles) west of Moghilev-Podolsk.

The German and Romanian armies overran the village and its surroundings at the beginning of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Serebriya to Serebria. The praetor in the Iarișev raion was Gheorghe Oșeanu.

In the summer of 1942, a second wave of Jews was deported to Transnistria from a number of cities, especially Cernăuți and Dorohoi, in the Bukovina province. Many of these Jews found out shortly before being deported that their previously obtained permits to remain in Romania had been revoked by a reevaluation commission operating with the support of the province's governor, General de Divizie Corneliu Calotescu. In addition to those whose permits to stay were revoked, there were others whom the Romanian authorities had deemed "dangerous" and "undesirable." Some 4,290 Jews were deported in June 1942 in transports on June 8, 11, 15, and 29.¹

The transports of Jews from Bukovina converged in Cernăuți. From there convoys of deportees were loaded onto trains. Crowded into freight cars, the Jews traveled from Cernăuți to Atachi on the Dniester River. Robbed of possessions

along the way, these Jews finally crossed the Dniester River and arrived at Moghilev-Podolsk; from there they walked in columns to Serebria, where a selection camp had been set up for them.²

The Serebria camp was controlled by the Transnistria Inspectorate of Gendarmes, created especially to conduct a selection of the Jews arriving from Bukovina. The Moghilev Gendarmes Legion closely guarded the camp. Whatever its administrative purposes, the camp was clearly a facility for robbing the Jews. Central to the activity of the camp's civilian and military personnel was to "search" the Jews before deciding where to send them and how. The Jews were marched to the train station in Serebria, from where they and other deportees from the Moghilev ghetto were transported deeper inside Transnistria.³ The camp was in operation from June 9 to July 1, 1942.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews held in the Serebria camp can be found in the following publications: Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnitsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews taken to the Serebria camp can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds three survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and Hebrew) from Jews held in Serebria or passing through the camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See the secret correspondence reporting on the deportation program from the Bukovina governor's office to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Bucharest, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 196–215.

2. USHMMA, RG-50.572*0029, Maria Bulgara testimony, February 29, 2008.

3. For more information on Serebria camp, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 8, fond 2255, opis 1s, delo 254, p. 3 (and verso).

ȘIRIA/102 BRIGADE FOR JEWS

Established by the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) in August 1941, the 102 Brigade for Jews (*Detășamentul de Evrei 102*, DE 102) consisted of approximately 1,000 Jewish men aged 18 to 50. They were drafted for forced labor by army recruitment centers in southwestern Romania (Timiș, Severin, Arad, Caraș, Hunedoara, and Mehedinți) that were part of the VII Army Corps. A series of high-ranking officers commanded DE 102, the most notorious being Locotenent-colonel Nicolae Vitcu (June 1943 to April 1944). The DE was headquartered in Șiria in the Arad județ, 405 kilometers (251 miles) northwest of Bucharest, and was part of the 7th Pioneer Regiment, 3rd Pioneer Brigade.

As an exterior forced labor unit, DE 102 was divided into two companies (*companii*), with approximately 450 to 500 Jews per company, guarded by 60 soldiers (30 per company). Each company consisted of four platoons, and each platoon was subdivided into four sections of approximately 30 to 35 laborers.¹ Locotenent (reserve) Dumitru Popescu commanded the 1st Company; Locotenent (reserve) Mihai Botilă commanded the 2nd Company. One company's main office was at Pâncota and the other at Ghioroc (both in the Arad județ), but their platoons periodically moved to new locations as dictated by labor needs.² DE 102 was tasked with digging a system of water canals, 8 to 9 meters (26 to 29 feet) deep and extending more than 30 kilometers (over 18 miles) in length. The canals were created to connect the Mureș and Crișul Alb Rivers and to help prevent flooding.

The Jews' overall experience in the DE's camps and sub-camps was more tolerable in 1942, but became dreadful under Vitcu's command. Accommodations for the entire DE were at times extremely inadequate. MSM's policy was to avoid housing the Jews in non-Jewish villages. Instead, authorities were encouraged to place Jews in empty barns, warehouses, barracks, or abandoned houses, regardless of their condition, on village outskirts near work sites. Sleeping in rough, crowded, and dirty conditions was typical. In winter, heating was non-existent for the most part.

A daily digging quota was set at 2 to 3 cubic meters (71 to 106 cubic feet), depending on the season. The authorities obsessed about extracting this work quota at any cost. For a few weeks in May and June 1943, a new practice, well received by the forced laborers, was introduced that granted weekend leave to those workers who fulfilled their quota. The authorities were also pleased because the Jews worked eagerly to meet the forecasted work program, while the measure saved them money on salaries and board. Vitcu's arrival as commandant changed the working conditions as he introduced a regime of terror (the higher authorities worried that his harshness would adversely affect productivity).³ Digging was done using pickaxes and shovels.

Dressed in their own clothes and wearing an armband (*brasardă*) as a distinctive sign, the Jews marched under escort to and from the canals with their tools. They typically worked 9 to 10 hours per day (fewer in the winter months), six or seven

days a week. Food was generally poor, consisting of a bowl of bean soup and bread. (Monthly field reports recognized this deficiency, but generally blamed inadequate rations on the high cost of food, which was set at 60 lei per day.)⁴ Drinking water was not readily available. Many who did not have the means or occasion to purchase additional food worked in a prolonged state of hunger. After 180 days of labor, the Jews who still had an unfulfilled labor requirement could be granted a maximum two-week break, depending on the discretion of the commandant.⁵ Payment was a meager soldier's pay, 2 lei per day, in addition to meals and board.⁶

A Jewish shop existed at the main company base. Food and tobacco could be purchased from the shop by those with means. A small number of skilled Jews were retained as typists or clerks in the DE administration. Jewish doctors were requisitioned from the VII Army Corps area and assigned for 90-day cycles to staff the DE's infirmaries. Regional Jewish offices strived to supply medicine for the infirmaries.⁷

The physically demanding work soon took its toll. Illnesses spread, from blisters, sores, colds, and flu to widespread furunculosis, rheumatism, and ulcers.⁸ Existing illnesses (such as diabetes) were exacerbated by the harsh labor. Those needing urgent care were treated at the Jewish hospital in Arad, but the Romanian state refused to absorb the cost of the Jews' rehabilitation. A bath and delousing train periodically arrived at Șiria, providing probably the only times when Jews (and troops) could wash completely. Clothes gradually wore out. On hot summer days, laborers undressed and worked in undergarments, in part probably to preserve their clothes for the cold season.

When he took over the brigade, Commandant Vitcu made life considerably harder for the Jews in DE 102. He not only instituted severe beatings (25 or more lashes on the back) for the smallest violations of his imaginary code of behavior (not to mention tardiness or work negligence) but he also kept the workers in camps during the winter rather than sending them home. He only reluctantly agreed to the scheduled leave of 15 days for those who qualified for it. In addition, he insisted on having Jews return from the infirmaries as soon as possible or replacing those who were incapacitated with new conscripts. To his credit, he allowed Jews to observe the High Holidays in the fall of 1943 after they completed their work. Intellectuals (doctors, lawyers, even rabbis) were not exempt from manual labor, although the law protected them from hard physical labor. He increased the work schedule to 14 to 16 hours a day, regardless of the weather. At the same time, food rations were decreased, resulting in substantial savings to the DE's operational budget. A military jail existed at Șiria where Jews working in the camp administration (the so-called *titrați*) and troops sometimes spent days for various offenses.⁹ Vitcu's periodic inspections in the field were brutal. On February 11, 1944, before the 7 A.M. roll call, Vitcu made a surprise inspection of Jews in the Pauliș commune. He found some 40 Jews still getting dressed. According to his postwar indictment, he ordered them to be lined up naked in the street, made them lie flat in the snow, and administered 25 lashes to each, to the utter

dismay of the local population. Some soldiers applied gentler lashes, which attracted the commandant's wrath; they too were given 25 lashes in front of everyone gathered there.¹⁰

After Vitcu's departure, in July 1944, DE 102 was moved near the Eastern Front, in Băținești, Putna județ (today: Vrancea județ), to build fortifications.¹¹ The Jews were removed from the DE at the end of August 1944, after the coup d'état against Marshal Antonescu on August 23, 1944; their place was taken by Hungarian minorities. In May 1946, the Cluj People's Court tried and convicted Vitcu to 15 years of hard labor for the inhumane treatment of Jews while commandant of DE 102.¹²

SOURCES A number of published sources attest to the mistreatment of Jews in DE 102. Describing the experience of one Jewish survivor is Vali Corduneanu, "Fotoreporterul Emeric Robicsek—victimă și martor al istoriei," www.banaterra.eu/romana/print/194. A book written by the Banat region pro-communist faction, Patriotic Defense (*Apărarea Patriotică*) also describes DE 102: Comitetul regional din Banat al Aparării Patriotice, ed., *Apărarea Patriotică contra teroarei fasciste* (Timișoara, 1945), esp. pp. 88–89 (on p. 89 there is a picture of the canal and its Jewish diggers). For a collection of documents regarding legislation surrounding forced labor for Jews, as well as documents about individual labor groups, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews enlisted in DE 102 are available at USHMMA, in collection RG-25.003M (AMAN), reels 98, 99, 105, 106, 107, and 345; other documents are available at RG-25.011M (AMAN), fiche *17*01 and *17*02. Graphic representation of the national system of forced labor for Jews is available as RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86. VHA contains a few testimonies from Jewish survivors of the DE 102 sites (Pâncota, Păuliș, Ghioroc).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For the names of Jews working in DE 102 on August 15, 1943, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 98, file 4155, pp. 131–173.

2. Graphic representations of the Jewish forced labor groups within the VII Army Corps, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 345, file 36, pp. 3–7. For their general organization, see reports sent by the Jewish Office of the VII Army Corps, RG-25.003M, reel 105, file 4193, pp. 118–120, 141–142.

3. Report by Commandant of 3rd Pioneer Brigade, General Virgil Stănescu, to the National Defense Ministry, Corps Command, July 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 105, file 4193, p. 246 (but see pp. 232, 245, 247 on how authorities commented on the new measure).

4. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 107, file 4196, pp. 84, 86.

5. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 99, file 4177, pp. 401–414.

6. Payment lists covering the period October to December 1943, for example, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*17*01, pp. 3–21 (and verso).

7. For a list of the Jewish doctors, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 98, file 4155, p. 101; for those working in the administration, see p. 109 in the same collection.

8. Charts reviewing medical situation of Jewish forced laborers, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 106, file 4194, p. 398; and reel 107, file 4196, p. 124.

9. Centralized reports on the disciplinary situation in the camps, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 107, file 4196, pp. 50, 62, 107, 143, 155.

10. Closing statement, Cluj Tribunal, September 5, 1949, USHMMA, RG-24.004M (SRI), reel 77, file 40028, vol. 24, pp. 105–109 and verso (esp. p. 107 verso); see also corroborating survivor testimony in the same collection, reel 86, file 40028, vol. 2, pp. 23, 32, 34, 40.

11. National Defense Ministry, Direction Fortifications, Communication No. 166.346, July 18, 1944, USHMMA, RG-25.011M*17*02, p. 197 (but see earlier communications, pp. 184–196).

12. Vitcu's appeal, USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 77, file 40028, vol. 24, pp. 1–2.

SLIVINA

Slivina is a village in the Varvarovca raion, Oceacov județ (today: Stryvne, Ukraine), in the southeastern corner of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. Located on the west bank of the Bug River, Slivina is 49 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Oceacov. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 275 Jews in the entire Varvarovca raion (census figures for Slivina are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Slivina in the second half of August 1941. Operations aimed at eliminating "undesirable" groups of people from behind the front line occurred immediately after the occupation, but it is unknown whether any Jews fell victim to such treatment in Slivina. Authority over Slivina was transferred to the Romanian civil administration starting in September 1941. The prefect in the Oceacov județ was Locotenent-colonel Vasile Gorsky, who was succeeded by Colonel I. D. Constantinescu. The commandant of the Oceacov Gendarmes Legion was Căpitan Ion Florian. The deputy legion commandant was Locotenent Ion Domășneanu, and the chief of the Police and Security Bureau was Sublocotenent Adrian Suciu. The praetor in the Varvarovca raion was Dan Grigore Anton.

In the fall of 1941, the Romanian administration established a penal camp in Slivina. It was the third prison center in the second internment region of Transnistria (*Regiunea II Internare, Centrul Nr. 3 Lagărul Slivina*), after the Vapniarca and Tiraspol detention camps. Consisting of a repurposed, dilapidated collective farm (*kolkhoz*), the camp had two large stables and a few smaller structures; it was encircled by three rows of barbed wire. Romanian gendarmes guarded the camp, occupying two houses outside the camp. Non-Jewish prisoners condemned for common law offenses were held in one stable, and the Jews were interned in the second stable. Occasionally, conflicts erupted between the two groups, which was incited (or at

least permitted) by camp authorities. The first commandant was Locotenent Lucian Popescu, who was followed by Locotenent Gheorghe Giugiuc, a lawyer, in the summer of 1942. Giugiuc instituted a very harsh regime in the camp, punishing any insubordination with 20 to 50 lashes; he even punished the gendarmes guarding the camp for making any kind gesture.

There were four categories of Jewish prisoners interned in the Slivina penal camp: Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina who fled along with the retreating Red Army in June 1941, Jews from Transnistria, Jews from Romania who committed “crimes” and were punished with deportation, and Jews who had been extradited by the police in Bucharest to the gendarmes headquarters in Odessa.¹ Groups of 40 or more of such “offenders” were periodically gathered from Romania and Transnistria and transported to Slivina (often by train in freight cars) throughout the spring and summer of 1942. A prisoner’s family was sometimes deported with him or her to make the punishment more severe. The camp population was thus mixed, containing men, women, and children of various ages. The camp facilities were primitive at best or nearly uninhabitable at worst.

On arrival, the detainees were stripped naked, had their possessions meticulously checked, and were then examined by a medical team. Such medical teams included Jewish military doctors who were either mobilized as army officers or were performing forced labor duties. Food in the camp was very poor. A small loaf of bread of 200 to 300 grams (7 to 10.6 ounces) mixed with straw, supplemented by a potato or a small fish, was the daily ration. Those few who brought in or received foodstuffs from home were able to supplement their daily intake for a while, but most detainees relied entirely on what the camp provided. After months of incarceration, detainees were near starvation, and some 96 died of hunger.² Over the course of a few days, July 19–27, 1942, a total of 1,260 Jews in the Slivina camp were deloused.³

The Jews in the camp came from all social strata and professions. Some were doctors; others were builders and painters. Some had their tools with them and were ready to work in the field in which they were trained or in a similar field; others had none and needed to be provided with tools.⁴

It is unclear what activities prisoners undertook inside or outside the camp during their internment. A formal Jewish committee does not appear to have existed. In December 1942, a group of 650 Jews (other reports give a figure of only 187) were marched under escort to Domanovca (Golta județ) in frigid temperatures.⁵ Some died along the way, unable to keep up and stay warm. In the late spring of 1943, the German authorities established a labor camp for Jews on the grounds of the Slivina penal camp, so it is possible that the remaining non-Jewish detainees were also moved to other detention centers in Transnistria, such as the one in Tiraspol, for example.

After the war, in 1945, the Bucharest Peoples’ Tribunal tried Popescu and Giugiuc for the inhumane treatment of prisoners in the Slivina camp while they were in command.⁶

Giugiuc committed suicide in a police prison while awaiting trial.

SOURCES Additional information about the Slivina camp can be found in the following publications: “Slivino,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 909; “Slivino,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreistva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 289; “Slivina,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kebilot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyab shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 483–484. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 55; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). A song commemorating the experience of the Jews in the Slivina camp was produced by a Jewish survivor (available in “Slivina,” *Pinkas ha-kebilot*, cited earlier). For more, see a collection of similar songs from other camps and ghettos in Transnistria in David Rubin, *Cântecul Popular Evreesc* (Bucharest: Editura Bucurim, 1946).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews in the Slivina penal camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds 24 video testimonies in six languages from Holocaust survivors who passed through or remained in the Slivina camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Report Nr. 238 of Odessa Gendarmes Inspectorate to AMI, Office of State-Undersecretary, August 19, 1943, reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 433.

2. VHA #49829, testimony of Froica Wainstein, April 26, 1999.

3. See the name list of inoculated and deloused from the Slivina camp, “Tabel al tuturor lucrătorilor evrei care au fost inoculați antiholerici și antitifoși. Toți aceștia au fost tunși și deparazitați prin etuvare, fierbere, și petrolizare,” USHMM, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 1591, opis 4, delo 202, pp. 1–6.

4. For name lists of Slivina camp inmates and their professions, see “Tabel nominal de indivizi evrei deținuți în lagărul Slivina repartizați pe profesii, preum și materialele și

unelte necesare lor,” USHMMA, RG-31.008M, microfiche, fond 1028, opis 1, delo 86, p. 69; see also “Tabel Nominal Model Nr. 1 de utilizarea evreilor din Transnistria lagărul Slivina,” USHMMA, RG-31.008, microfiche, fond 1028, opis 1, delo 98, pp. 57–59.

5. Report of security service agent, December 5, 1942, reprinted in Achim, ed., *Documente privind deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2: 24–29 (esp. p. 26). See also December 1942 remittances sent from Romania to Jews in the Slivina camp and redirected to Golta where the Jews were transferred. USHMMA, RG-031.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1509, pp. 187–191.

6. See indictment letter “Jurnal Nr. 426,” March 19, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 41, file 108233, vol. 31, p. 287.

SLOBOZIA/LPRS NO. 1

Slobozia is in the Ialomița județ, 101 kilometers (63 miles) east of Bucharest, in southeastern Romania. After the attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Romanian Army created Slobozia POW Camp No. 1 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici Nr. 1 Slobozia*), LPRS No. 1, on September 1, 1941. The camp was under the administration of the II Territorial Command, Army Staff, Bureau 2 (*Comandamentul II Teritorial, Stat Major, Biroul 2*). Located in an open field two kilometers away from the town of Slobozia, it consisted primarily of two large buildings—a former cavalry school barrack (*Cazarma Negru Vodă*) and a former mansion called “Fuerea House” (*Casa Fuerea*). There were also abandoned houses and barns. The compound was encircled by barbed wire and guarded by gendarmes (*santinele*). Between 3,500 and 4,000 POWs were imprisoned in this camp and in its subcamps in the Ilfov and Constanța județe. There was also a special disciplinary camp (*lagăr disciplinar*) in Slobozia for recalcitrant prisoners.

The first camp commander was Locotenent-colonel Aristide Ursu (September 1941 to January 1942), seconded by Căpitan Mihai Rădulescu. Following Ursu’s dismissal, Maior Chiricuță took over in February 1942, but due to illness was replaced by Maior Aurel Mucenica in March 1942. Maior Gheorghe Chiribașa commanded the camp from 1943 to 1944. The supply officers were Căpitan Victor Tomulescu, I. Mustăciosu, and Locotenent Nicolae Cernăianu; Sublocotenent Vasile Nițescu was the quartermaster, and Colonel Sandu Manolescu was camp inspector.

The living conditions in the Slobozia camp in the autumn and winter of 1941–1942 were harsh, particularly after the dismantling of other labor subcamps when ill prisoners returned to the main camp. The rooms were completely unfurnished, and most doors and windows were broken. Prisoners slept on the floor on a thin layer of straw. Thirty-five to 40 POWs were crammed into a room, and 500 to 600 lived in each of the two large buildings. Shoeless prisoners strapped straw and wood onto their feet to walk. The camp did not have a dining hall or laundry. Due to a lack of organization, food supplies quickly

ran out, so porridge made out of frozen potatoes, with an occasional bean or potato soup or uncooked corn grits, became the daily food. Lavatories were uncovered ditches in the ground. In contrast to the guard’s equipped infirmary, the POWs’ infirmary was an abandoned house, with only one bed and two rooms that were completely unfurnished.

During the typhus epidemic that erupted from late December 1941 to April 1942, the infirmary housed 80 sick prisoners. About 300 POWs, 10 to 12 guards, and 2 Romanian officers died in the epidemic.¹ As a result, a team of 16 to 20 conscripted Jewish doctors was brought to the camp on January 22, 1942, after the previous 6 Jewish doctors had completed their duty or had succumbed to typhus (Drs. Mochi Făgădău and Ferdinand Gothly were two of those six doctors). Having insufficient medicine and only scarce and primitive delousing equipment, the new doctors contracted typhus as well, and a few died. Heavy snowfall delayed the arrival of bathing trains, so the prisoners remained lice infested for weeks on end. Colonel Dr. Zambra, who tormented the camp’s Jewish doctors, worsened the situation by introducing a “moral cure”—forcing ill POWs to line up in the morning in the bitter cold and to recite the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments 10 times.²

During the winters of 1941–1942 and 1942–1943, 415 Soviet POWs (393 soldiers, 22 officers) died from cold, hunger, and illness (including malaria, dysentery, enteritis, and typhus). The deceased prisoners were buried in the Slobozia Veche township cemetery, as well as in other cemeteries in the immediate vicinity of the work sites.³

Except for the prisoners deemed too weak to work and a few others who formed the Slobozia contingent—about 800 Soviet POWs in all—the rest of the prisoners were deployed to work in four places. A detachment of 1,500, commanded by Căpitan Dionisie Herlea, was placed in Giurgeni. Prisoners repaired train lines and took part in the building of a bridge over the Danube River at Hârșova. A second detachment of about 600, under Locotenent-colonel Ștefan Vasiliu, was deployed along the 120-kilometer-long (nearly 75-mile-long) Giurgeni-Urziceni highway. Small road-building detachments were at Piuia Pietrii, Țândăreni, and Urziceni, where they were housed in abandoned barns, barracks, schools, private homes, or lived outdoors. A third group of prisoners, formed exclusively of Soviet officers, was created at Fierbinți (Ialomița județ). The Fierbinți subcamp had 300 officers and 4 Serbian pilots and was located in the technical school, but due to overcrowding, it was moved in November 1941 to Barbu Catargiu castle in Maia (Ilfov județ). Căpitan Ilie Constantinescu commanded this camp. The POWs worked on a farm in Maia.⁴ A fourth group of about 1,000 POWs was allocated to landowners and small entrepreneurs (like Duru Tache, Georgescu Zamfir, N. Săceleanu) throughout the Ialomița, Ilfov, and Constanța județe.

Slobozia gendarme units guarded the POWs, while employers were responsible for providing suitable living conditions, medicine, and meals. Money paid for prisoner labor went to the II Territorial Command for covering the camp’s administrative and maintenance costs. Small amounts of 100 to 250

lei should have been paid directly to the working POWs at the end of each month, in addition to daily allocations of soap and tobacco, but often this was not the case. Living or working conditions in the subcamps did not improve for many months. This injustice, in addition to constant hunger and illness, reduced the POWs' effectiveness and motivation to work.⁵

The end of 1942, however, saw a slow but constant improvement in the general treatment of Soviet POWs at Slobozia, a trend that continued well into 1943. The new camp commanders—Mucenica and Chiribaşa—significantly improved the prisoners' accommodations, food, medicine, and hygiene. Although discipline was strictly enforced in the camp, some employers gave their laborers freedom to move about in the villages where they lived and worked.⁶

Prisoners refusing to work or those caught trying to escape were placed in the Slobozia disciplinary camp. Mostly Soviet but also U.S. and British POWs of various ranks were imprisoned in this camp. The regime in the disciplinary camp was strict: there were half-rations, daily recreation was limited to two hours, and only Russian-language newspapers or magazines, especially for reeducation, were allowed.⁷

Physical abuses against Soviet POWs were common until 1943, when the authorities abolished the practice. Military personnel and employers were ordered to refrain from hitting or beating the prisoners without formally recording the incident. The new orders, which applied also to the treatment of Romanian soldiers, provided for a verbal warning for first offenders, five blows for a second offense, and imprisonment in the disciplinary camp for a third offense.⁸

On August 29 to 30, 1944, the Romanian 10th Infantry Division and Soviet troops fought against retreating German units around Slobozia. Some 340 Germans were taken captive. The Slobozia camp prisoners eagerly participated in the fight, partly to improve their standing before the Soviet authorities. A few Soviet POWs were armed and fought alongside regular armies, but most were handed over to the Soviet authorities on September 2, 1944.

Ursu and Rădulescu were court-martialed on September 19, 1943, for the typhus outbreak in the Slobozia camp. The court acquitted Ursu, but condemned Rădulescu to six months in prison.⁹ In April 1946, Bucharest's People's Tribunal sentenced Ursu to five years' imprisonment for war crimes and inhumane treatment of Soviet POWs and Romanian personnel under his command. Ursu's sentence was revised and lengthened to 10 years in prison in May 1955.¹⁰

SOURCES For more information about the fate of Soviet POWs imprisoned in Slobozia, see Vitalie Buzu, "Lagărul de prizonieri sovietici de la Slobozia," <http://ionelperlea.wordpress.com/2009/11/07/lagarul-de-prizonieri-sovietici-de-la-slobozia/>; Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); and Andrei Șiperco, *Comitetul Internațional al Crucii Roșii și România, 1944–1947: Prizonierii de Război și Internați Civili Germani, Unguri și Austrieci; American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee și Ajutorarea Evreilor* (Bucharest: Editura Oscar Print, 2009).

Primary sources are available at USHMMA, in collection SRI (RG-25.005M), and in Moscow, at TsAMO and TsAFSB. For a list of deceased Soviet POWs in the Slobozia camp, see "Lagarul de Prizonieri 1 Slobozia, Judetul Ialomita," TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 3–45. Published primary sources on the Slobozia camp can be found at "Cum erau asinați sistematic prizonierii sovietici din România: Lagărul de prizonieri No.1 Slobozia," parts 1 and 2, *Scântea*, 10–11 (October 1944); and a short memoir by a former Soviet POW held in the Slobozia "Fuerea" House, A. Podvinskii, "V bede," *VIA* 7 (2009): 144–159.

Ovidiu Creangă and Oleksandr Marinchenko

NOTES

1. Supply officer Victor Tomulescu's court deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, pp. 170–171 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, pp. 170–171); see also camp inspector Colonel Sandu Moldoveanu's court deposition, in the same collection and volume, pp. 172–174 (and verso).

2. On conscripted Jewish doctors, see Dr. Alfred Brüll's court deposition, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 169 (and verso), and in the same collection and volume, see Dr. Aurel Steinberg's court deposition, p. 199 (and verso), Sergeant major Ion Duță's, p. 200 (and verso), and Dr. Maximilian Lesner's, pp. 295–296 (and verso).

3. "Lagarul de Prizonieri 1 Slobozia, Judetul Ialomita," TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 3–45.

4. Aristide Ursu's court deposition, June 1, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, pp. 157–159 (and verso).

5. Ibid.; see also in the same collection and volume, General Vasile Popovici's court deposition, pp. 175–178; for an example of a labor contract, see "Proces Verbal," December 8, 1941, in the same collection and volume, p. 238 (and verso); for a general overview of labor practices and support at the Slobozia camp, see also chief officer camp 7 Bucharest, Vasile Butmy's "Memoriu," in the same collection and volume, pp. 27–28; for guidance on POW payments and other support, see also Vintilă Davidescu, Defense Ministry General Secretary, "Deciziune Nr. 2132," November 26, 1942, in the same collection and volume, pp. 50–51.

6. Camp commander Chiribaşa's report, "Nr. 61 din 3 Noembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 11.

7. Camp commander Chiribaşa's "Buletin informativ și contrainformativ pe timpul dela 25 Martie la 25 Aprilie 1944" and "Buletin informativ și contrainformativ pe timpul dela 25 Aprilie la 25 Maiu 1944," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, pp. 9–10; in the same collection and volume, see also Nicolaie Cernăianu's court deposition, June 2, 1945, pp. 162–164; Vasile Nițescu's court deposition, pp. 300–301 (and verso); and General de armată Constantin Pantazi's interrogation by Soviet authorities, TsAFSB, storage unit 18, 767.T.1.L. 108, pp. 119–121.

8. Camp commander Chiribaşa's report, "10 Iunie 1943," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 12.

9. Ursu's court deposition, June 1, 1945, pp. 157–159 (and verso) and his "Memoriu," in the same collection and volume, pp. 310–311 (and verso).

10. See prosecution's request for Ursu's arrest, on August 20, 1945, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/5, p. 77 (also p. 79); the indictment document, "Actul de acuzare," USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/7, pp. 123, 134–138; see transcript of court session, May 16, 1955, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/126/24361/1, pp. 113–114 (and verso), and the court's concluding remarks, "Note de concluziuni," in the same collection and volume, pp. 115–121.

ȘMERINCA

Șmerinca (pre-1941: Zhmerinka; today: Zhmerynka, Ukraine), a town in the Moghilev județ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is less than 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) west of the Bug River. Șmerinca is 70 kilometers (43 miles) north-northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 4,630 Jews lived in Șmerinca, representing 17.8 percent of its population. Approximately 1,200 Jews remained in the town at the outbreak of war in June 1941, after the rest of the Jewish population relocated deeper inside the Soviet Union and Jewish men of military age were drafted into the Red Army.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Șmerinca on July 10, 1941. After the signing of the Tighina Agreement for the administration of Transnistria on August 30, 1941, Șmerinca fell under Romanian administration. The German authorities, however, controlled the Șmerinca rail station junction, which linked the northern part of Transnistria to Odessa in the south and Kiev in the northeast. The Romanian civil administration romanianized the town's name as Șmerinca (or Jmerinka) and appointed Colonel Constantin Dimitriu (1941 to 1942) and later Constantin Loghin, the former prefect of Berezovca județ (1943 to 1944) as Moghilev's prefects. It also allocated a Gendarmes Legion (*Legiunea Jandarmeriei Moghilev*), with four gendarmes platoons, and an entire Gendarmes Battalion (*Batalionul Jandarmeriei 11*) for the județ, from which the security of Șmerinca was maintained. The praetor in Șmerinca was Dr. Aurel Groza, and the chief of the praetor's office was Gheorghe Grosu.

At the end of August 1941, a Jewish ghetto was established in Șmerinca around the town's Jewish neighborhood, near the downtown market. Initially unfenced, it was eventually encircled by barbed wire. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto without permission from the Jewish Council and local authorities. Convoys of Jews deported from Romania first arrived in Șmerinca in October 1941, occupying Jewish homes abandoned by their former inhabitants. The Șmerinca-Odessa rail line divided Transnistria longitudinally, and Marshal Antonescu's plan was to deport all Jews to the east of this line by the end of 1941, with the goal of transferring them across the Bug River in the following year. Although the plan was not fully executed by the time set, of the 70,000 Jews (deported and local) who lived in Moghilev at the end of 1941, 17,500 (25 percent) had already been deported east of the Șmerinca-Odessa rail line by December 1941.¹

The wearing of a yellow star sewn on the front of clothing and of an armband with a blue star was required of every Jew age 11 and older. Living conditions in the ghetto worsened during the winter months of 1941–1942, but the ghetto escaped the typhus epidemic that killed thousands of Jews throughout Transnistria. Food and wood for heating homes were in short supply.

The ghetto supplied forced labor to German construction companies that were rebuilding bridges, power stations, railroads, railcars, and warehouses in the area. The laborers worked under a regime of terror, receiving beatings for not working fast enough, while at the same time being poorly fed. Workers labored 24 hours a day, in shifts, and were usually paid 1 or 2 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*) per day (a loaf of bread cost on average 1.5 RKKS), in accordance with the Transnistria government's Ordinance No. 23, Article 6.²

The ghetto was led by a Jewish Council, headed by Iosif Jukelis and Adolph Herschmann. The Council oversaw the creation of ghetto departments, such as the departments of labor, food supplies, social care, and children's education. Under its administration and with support from the Relief Commission, Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Comisia de Ajutorare, Centrala Evreilor din Romania*, CER) in Bucharest, the ghetto was able to set up a soup kitchen for the needy, a dining hall, a hospital (with 12 beds), an ambulatory clinic (with 3 doctors), an infirmary for contagious diseases, a laundry with delousing facility, a hospice for the elderly, a school with nine grades (for 250 pupils studying in Russian, Romanian, German, and Yiddish), and a kindergarten (for 60 children aged 6 years old or younger). Ezra Krakopolskiy was a rabbi in the ghetto's prayer house. The ghetto also had a Jewish police unit and a jail, in addition to various types of workshops (shoemaking, carpentry, and tailoring) and small factories (soap, nails, brushes, rope, liquor, and carbonated water). A Jewish theater was established in 1943. Among the ghetto's skilled specialists recognized for their advanced training were doctors Leib Drobner, Efsel Lapsker, Marc Lunchin, Ifim Lucianschi, Larissa Burstein, and Ana Neiner. There were also carpenters Avram Hochstädt and Elias Stolerman.³

Jews fleeing killing actions in the neighboring Reichskommissariat Ukraine, as well as the Jewish Soviet POWs who escaped from the Șmerinca POW subcamp, found refuge in the Șmerinca ghetto. There they received shelter, food, clothes, and medical attention. Almost 300 Jews from Brailov, for instance, were discovered hiding in the Șmerinca ghetto in the summer of 1942. The German authorities had these Jews sent back to Brailov, where they were shot on arrival, in December 1942. Although living conditions in the Șmerinca ghetto were better compared to other camps or ghettos, many basic needs went unfulfilled. Six to 15 people still lived in one room, and there were also 200 orphans in the ghetto's care. In December 1943, the Romanian gendarmes arrested hundreds of Jews from Moghilev and sent them to Șmerinca for hard labor. CER assisted the ghetto materially and financially, as did individual family members who sent money to their loved ones imprisoned in the ghetto.⁴ Partisan supporters (if not forma-

tions) were active in the ghetto, particularly toward the end of the war. The ghetto's leaders protected the partisan movement and offered them assistance (medicine, foodstuffs).

A member of the Relief Commission of CER, Fred Șaraga, visited the Șmerinca ghetto on January 5, 1943. He found 3,274 Jews (1,200 local Ukrainian Jews and 2,074 Romanian Jews) in the ghetto and left lists of material aid to be shipped to the ghetto. The aid included clothing, medicine, and windows to help the inmates fight off the cold and related illnesses.⁵ Other reports put the total number of Jews in the ghetto at 2,187 Jews (Stănculescu's January 1943 report), but this figure probably did not include local Jews.⁶ A later count, in September 1943, found 271 Jews from Romania in the ghetto, without counting local Ukrainian Jews. In June 1944, three months after the ghetto's liberation, there were still more than 1,000 Ukrainian Jews living in the former ghetto.⁷

Despite playing a critical role in ensuring the ghetto's survival until its March 1944 liberation, a Soviet military tribunal sentenced Șmerinca ghetto leader Herschmann to death on December 18, 1944, for collaborating with the occupation authorities.⁸

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of the Jews deported to Șmerinca can be found in the following publications: Vadim Altskan, "On the Other Side of the River: Dr. Adolph Herschmann and the Zhmerinka Ghetto, 1941–1944," *HGS* 26:1 (Spring 2012): 2–28; Albert Kaganovich and Martin Dean, "Brailov," in Martin Dean, ed., *Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe*, vol. 2 of *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*, ed. Geoffrey P. Megargee (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with USHMM, 2012), pp. 1520–1521; "Zhmerinka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1507; "Zhmerinka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 450; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 23.

Primary sources regarding the fate of the Jews and Soviet POWs deported and incarcerated in Șmerinca are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), DASBU (RG-31.018M), PCMCM (RG-25.002M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). For names and dates of military officers in charge of gendarmes services at the platoon and bat-

alion levels, see USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, pp. 36, 46; for Herschmann's Soviet trial record, see RG-31.018M, reel 8, case no. 10875; for Fred Șaraga's report following his visit to Transnistria and to the Șmerinca ghetto, see RG-25.004M, reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 112–114; for the names of a fraction of Jewish specialists incarcerated in the Șmerinca ghetto, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 227, and in the same collection, reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 23, n.p.; for individual money transfer receipts, see RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1504, p. 136, and in the same reel, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1506, p. 225.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Raport SSI "Nota," January 4, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.002 (PCMCM), reel 18, file 86/1941, pp. 325–327.

2. "Ordonanța Nr. 23," November 11, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/1/1, p. 268); for salary rates according to various trades and professions, see "Tabel de Salarizare," RG-31.004M/1/2242/1/1, pp. 252–257.

3. Gendarmes Legion Moghilev, "Tabel nominal de evreei specialiști disponibili din raza județului Moghilev," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.; "Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflați în ghetoul Moghilev și în Județ," signed by Moghilev's prefect, Colonel C. Loghin, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 227.

4. See financial records, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/5/2242/1/1504, p. 136; and USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1506, p. 225.

5. See "Raportul oficial al comisiei evreiești care a fost în Transnistria," January 31, 1943, signed Fred Șaraga, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 112–114.

6. "Raport în legătură cu situația evreilor aflați în ghetourile din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 594–598.

7. "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

8. For Herschmann's interrogation file, see USHMMA, RG-31.018M (DASBU), reel 8, case no. 10875, pp. 19–56.

SOROCA

Soroca, the seat of the Soroca județ and raion in Bessarabia in eastern Romania (today: Soroca raion, Moldova), is located on the Dniester River. It is 138 kilometers (86 miles) northwest of Chișinău and 176 kilometers (109 miles) east of Cernăuți. The number of Jews in the town of Soroca reached 5,452 in 1930, representing 36 percent of the total population, whereas the number of Jews in the Soroca județ in 1939 was 29,191. The Soviet authorities deported a few hundred Jews from Soroca to Siberia in 1940 because of their wealth and political views. Jews of military age were drafted into the Red Army in June 1941,

and other Jews retreated with the Soviet administration deeper inside the Soviet Union at the outbreak of war, together about 1,135 people.¹ The remaining Jews, numbering about 4,000, remained in town.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Soroca at the end of June or the beginning of July 1941. An intensive campaign of "territorial cleansing" ensued, with a primary focus on Jews and communists. The Jewish population was rounded up and held in a few places within the Jewish area (the synagogue and Jewish hospital) in extremely crowded conditions and without food. Jewish businesses and cultural places were vandalized and Jewish books burned. The Einsatzgruppe D commando units 12 and 10a passed through the Soroca județ and town, killing Jews indiscriminately. Some 200 Jews were shot at that time in Soroca. Acting under German tutelage, but also independently, Romanian soldiers participated fully in the murder of Jews, especially in the villages surrounding Soroca.

The Romanian administration established itself in Soroca by early July 1941. The commandant of the Soroca Gendarmes Legion was Maior C. Cetățianu until August 1941; he was succeeded by Maior Dumitru Iliescu. The chief of the Soroca police was Aurelian Isar. The prefect in the Soroca județ was P. Popovici.

Wearing the yellow star and a host of other restrictions on businesses and mobility were introduced immediately. The Jews were released from the temporary camps inside the town where they had been held and confined to a small area inside the town's Jewish district. An open ghetto comprised a few streets, guarded by police and gendarmes. Meanwhile, Jews from villages in the Soroca județ were gathered in the town's great synagogue.² It is unclear whether all the Jews who were in the town at that time (residents as well as those from the surrounding area) were then marched to the Cosăuți Forest camp or only the rural Jews held in the Soroca synagogue were sent there. On July 24, 1941, the Soroca chief of police reported that "the city's Jews have been interned in camps,"³ presumably in the town, whereas a report on August 11, 1941, states that the Soroca județ's Jews were "moved to a different camp," namely the camp in Târgu Vertujeni, without any mention of the Soroca town's Jews. As of September 1, 1941, the Jews in the Soroca județ were detained in the following places: 1,277 Jews in the Soroca town (ghetto), 10,737 Jews in the Mărculești camp, and 24,000 Jews in the Vertujeni camp, among them the rural Jews of the Soroca județ formerly held in the Cosăuți Forest camp.⁴

The Cosăuți Forest camp was on the Dniester River, a short distance away from the Cosăuți-Iampol crossing point over the river. It was also only 5 kilometers (3 miles) north of the town of Soroca. The Jews brought to Cosăuți remained there for up to six weeks, awaiting deportation to Transnistria. The camp, which was in the forest, was unfenced but closely guarded and had absolutely no amenities. The authorities did not provide food or water, and in addition, the guards (to the lowest of ranks) embarked on a campaign of rape and despoliation using force, influence, and arms to obtain Jewish valuables and women. Hundreds of

the Jews of the Soroca județ perished in the camp at that time from hunger, disease, exposure to the elements, suicide, or simply being shot for refusing to hand over personal items. Bodies were barely buried, if at all. Finally, by mid-August, the Jews were marched inland to the Vertujeni camp, due to the temporary suspension of deportations to Transnistria.⁵

After weeks of incarceration in the Vertujeni camp, enduring great deprivations that led to many deaths, the Jews of Soroca and the Soroca județ, along with a thousand others, were deported to Transnistria along two routes: a northern route passing through the town of Soroca and onto the Cosăuți bridge and another route that led southward to the Rezina-Râbnița crossing point. Deportations began on September 16 and concluded on October 8, 1941. Convoys of 1,200 or more left the Vertujeni camp every other day for Cosăuți, stopping for one night in Soroca, most likely in the dilapidated great synagogue.

A change of guard took place at Soroca. Căpitan Victor Ramadan, an officer from the Soroca Gendarmes Legion attached to the Vertujeni camp, escorted the convoys to Soroca. He returned to Vertujeni the following day and escorted another convoy the next day. The Soroca gendarmes took over the convoys in Soroca and marched them to the Cosăuți Bridge. Marches from Vertujeni to Cosăuți were brisk, lasting three days. A few wagons accompanied each convoy to carry luggage and the elderly, disabled, or small children. Those who could not keep up were routinely shot. All of this was in keeping with the orders of Bessarabia's chief gendarmes inspector, Colonel T. Meculescu, who provided strict deportation instructions, containing clear directions and a map, as well as a schedule.⁶

Searches and robberies took place again at the Cosăuți customs point, where the Romanian administration installed a border checkpoint before reaching the bridge. Border guards carried out body searches and removed identity papers; the office of the Romanian National Bank exchanged foreign currency for a German-issued scrip that circulated only in Transnistria (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS) and purchased jewelry for derisory prices.

A contingent of an exterior brigade of Jews from the Regat undertook forced labor in Soroca at some point in 1943. A part of the 8th Roads Battalion was quartered in Florești, in the Soroca județ, where the Jews repaired roads in the area, working and living in harsh conditions.⁷ Members of religious minorities in the Soroca județ were persecuted, among them Inochentists and Old Calendar Believers (*Stiliști*). They were tried in military courts in Iași and Chișinău. The Inochentists (112 in the Soroca județ) were deported to Transnistria in August 1942.⁸

While in Transnistria, Soroca's Jews were scattered in camps in the Moghilev, Ananiev, Balta, and Berezovca județe. The survivors returned to Romania in March 1944. The Red Army recaptured Soroca in April 1944. The People's Court in Bucharest tried and sentenced Iliescu and Ramadan to many years in prison for mistreating the Jews of Soroca.

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Soroca's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Soroca," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1218–1220; "Soroka," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel hayishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivassdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 2: 372–382; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Wolf Moskovich, "Soroca," in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, available at www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Soroca; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia și Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuții la Istoria Încercării de Exterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947); Arkadii Mazur, *Stranitsy istorii sorokskikh evreev: Vtoraiâ polovina XIX veka i XX vek* (Chișinău: Editura Ruxanda, 1999); and Victor Eskenasy, "Despre 'pustiul' și Holocaustul sau Soroca anului 1942," available at www.revista22.ro/despre-pustiul-si-holocaust-sau-soroca-anului-1942-673.html. For forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2103). Information about the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime can be found in Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Față de Culele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in Soroca are available at USHMMA, in collections ANRM (RG-54.001M and RG-54.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), IGJ (RG-25.010M), and DAOO (RG-31.004M). Under RG-50, USHMMA also holds a few oral history interviews by victims and witnesses of the persecution of Jews in Soroca. VHA holds 122 testimonies in six languages from survivors of the Soroca camp and ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. On the deportation of Jews from Soroca by the Soviet authorities, see the Soroca Gendarmes Legion synthesis report, June 1940, USHMMA, RG-25.010M (IGJ), reel 11, file 139, pp. 2–4. For name lists of Soviet deportees and those leaving with the Soviet administration, see also USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 129, files 313 and 314.

2. For their names, see "Tabloul sorocenilor din lagarul Soroca," USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 5, fond 696.1, file 32; see also the name list in file 31. For a testimony,

see USHMMA, RG-50.233*0101, Eva Peker testimony, March 1992.

3. USHMMA, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 5, fond 696.1, file 31, p. 16.

4. Statistical figures for Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Doro-hoi județ, reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 45–46.

5. USHMMA, RG-50.233*0042, Matvey Gredinger testimony, April 24, 1992.

6. Reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 84–87.

7. For details, see USHMMA, RG-54.004M (ANRM), reel 10, fond 706, inventory 1, file 522, p. 2; for treatment of Jews, see USHMMA, RG-54.001M, reel 19, file 4641; RG-25.003M, reel 41, file 7250.

8. See monthly reports August–December 1941 of the Soroca Gendarmes Legion, USHMMA, RG-25.010M, reel 11, file 139; statistical evidence for Bessarabia, 1941–1942, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, reel 131, file 32; deportation order: RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 35, file 40010, vol. 89, pp. 23–25.

SPICOV

Spicov (pre-1941: Shpikov), a village in the Spicov raion, Tulcin județ (today: Shpykiv, Ukraine), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located near the Bug River. It is 24 kilometers (15 miles) northwest of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 895 Jews in Spicov (representing 17.7 percent of the entire village population) and 1,291 Jews in the raion (amounting to 3.6 percent). Some of the Jewish men of military age from Spicov were mobilized by the Red Army while others retreated during the June 1941 invasion, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Spicov on July 22, 1941. Spicov came under Romanian control in the fall of 1941, and its name and that of the raion were romanianized from Shpikov to Spicov. In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaș were Tulcin's prefects. The Tulcin Gendarmes Legion commander was Căpitan Ion Fetacău. The praetor in the Spicov raion was Mihail Rusu. The mayor of Spicov was Odijenschi Ivan Emilian. He was later removed from office for assisting a Jew and allegedly possessing communist and Ukrainian nationalist literature.

In addition to Jewish community leaders, some of those killed immediately after the occupation by Einsatzgruppe D were local leaders and former and active Communist Party members. The remaining Jews were moved to one street, which became the ghetto after September 22, 1941, when Prefect Lazar issued Ordinance No. 3 for the internment of Jews of Spicov in a ghetto within three days (the fourth point in the ordinance). Jews from the surrounding area (e.g., Pecioara) were gathered there too, and it appears that a small contingent of Jews from Bukovina was also deported there.¹ The ordinance required that a Jewish police force be formed. In cases of Jewish disobedience, rebellion, or terrorism, the culprit and 100 other Jews along with him or her were to be shot. Further restrictions, particularly regarding travel, were issued by the

same prefect on November 17, 1941: Ordinance No. 6 severely sanctioned Jews who traveled without authorization and threatened with a court-martial all Romanian or Ukrainian authorities who permitted Jews to depart without papers.²

In the overcrowded ghetto, the Jews lodged everywhere they could (in homes, barns, and attics), with 15 to 20 people in a single room. Life in the Spicov ghetto was punctuated by a few regular occurrences. Every morning a number of Jewish men and women aged 14 to 60 were selected for forced labor. Men were taken to clean the village's streets, and women and schoolchildren cleaned offices and other administrative buildings. Their work was never compensated in money or food.³ At night, police forces (Romanian and Ukrainian policemen and guards) raided Jewish homes and harassed and raped young women.

After almost three months, the ghetto was dissolved. In early to mid-December 1941, almost all of the Jews in the Spicov ghetto, some 850 in total (with the exception of 27, who were later expelled to the same place), were marched to Rogozna (today: Rohizna, 12 kilometers [7 miles] north of Spicov) near the Bug River, where they were held in the local ghetto.⁴ The deportation was intended to minimize the potential for a large-scale typhus epidemic in strategic locations inside the Tulcin județ. In August–September 1942, however, the Rogozna ghetto internees were deported to the Pecioara death camp, where approximately 300 of Spicov's survivors of the most cruel and torturous regime in Transnistria were liberated by the Red Army in March 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the Spicov ghetto can be found in the following sources: "Shpykov," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 1094–1095; "Shpykov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 398; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainiskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 349; "Shpikov," 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: 1172; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival*

and vol. 8: *The Regat and Southern Transylvania, January–August 1944, Anti Jewish Legislation, Addenda* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews in Spicov are available at USHMM, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M). Also at USHMM is collection RG-22.002M (Selected Records of the Extraordinary State Commission to Investigate German-Fascist Crimes Committed on Soviet Territory, 1941–1945; GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1258, which contains various declarations about the murder and ghettoization of Jews in the Spicov raion. VHA holds some 70 oral testimonies about the Spicov ghetto in four languages (English, German, Russian, and Yiddish), which are available at USHMM as well.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Meier Teich's memoirs, fragments of which are reprinted in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 309–314.
2. Colonel Ion Lazar, Tulcin județ prefect, "Ordonanța Nr. 3," September 22, 1941, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 546, p. 65. For Ordonanța Nr. 6, see in the same collection, reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p.
3. VHA #50110, Sonya Perl testimony, August 19, 1999.
4. Tulcin Gendarmes Legion's report for December 1941, "Situația evreilor din județul Tulcin la sfârșitul lunii Decembrie 1941," reprinted as Doc. No. 127 in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 214.

STANISLAVCIC

The seat of the Stanislavcic raion, Stanislavcic is a small town in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-occupied Transnistria (today: Stanislavchik, Ukraine). Located near the Murafa River, it is 62 kilometers (38 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 301 Jews in the Stanislavcic raion, all living in the town.¹ During the 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Stanislavcic on July 17, 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time some of the town's Jews were maltreated and their houses robbed by the Nazi SS and Ukrainian collaborators, the Romanian civil administration took control of the region in September 1941 and established a ghetto. The name of the town and raion was romanianized from Stanislavchyc to Stanislavcic (occasionally spelled Stanislavcia). The praetor in the raion was Gheorghe Iosa.²

Jews deported from the provinces of Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in Romania arrived in Stanislavcic probably in late October 1941, typically after a period of forced marches. The majority of them entered Transnistria via the Atachi crossing point over the Dniester River and made a short stop in Moghilev-Podolsk, before being sent on foot farther east

or northeast toward the Bug River. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many possessions at the entry point into Transnistria, as well as en route, adding substantially to their misery.

The Jews deported to Stanislavcic were crowded for a few months inside the homes of local Ukrainian Jews. At the beginning of 1942, however, a ghetto was created on the grounds of the town's former cultural center. The perimeter was surrounded by barbed wire, and Romanian gendarmes from the Stanislavcic gendarmes post acted as guards. The chief of the ghetto was Dr. Arthur Kula, assisted by Dr. Koch. Both were Jews from Cernăuți. The chief of the Jewish police was named Badia. Wearing the yellow star was mandatory for all Jews older than age 11. The artisans and skilled Jews, as well as those fit for work, were retained in the ghetto to meet local needs; the rest—the unskilled, elderly, women, and children—were relocated to a dilapidated cattle farm in Noschiveț (today: Noskivtsi). Located 10 kilometers (6 miles) west of Stanislavcic, Noschiveț was previously called Zatiș'e, and it is by this name (spelled Zatiș'cea or Zatiș'a in Romanian) that it appears in many Romanian-language documents from the Holocaust period. This Zatiș'e should not be confused with other locations in Transnistria by the same or similar name (for example, Zatyshne, Vinnitsa oblast', or Zatiș'shya, Odessa oblast').

The camp was situated just outside the Noschiveț/Zatiș'cea village, on the grounds of a former manor house with elegant buildings and hunting grounds that had been turned into a farm after the Soviet Revolution. Having then moved to another nearby location, Alexandrovca (Oleksiivka, 2 kilometers [1.2 miles] southwest of Stanislavcic), the farm in Noschiveț/Zatiș'cea was abandoned and soon became a ruin. When the Jews were brought there from Stanislavcic in the spring of 1942, the buildings that they occupied lacked doors, glass in the windows, beds, stoves, and running water. The entire farm looked significantly shabbier than the ghetto. The deportees improvised with what they could find to meet their basic needs. Led by Loew Shtivelman, the Jews in this camp were essentially left to die; they survived on charity, barter, seasonal fruit and vegetables left unharvested by the locals, and the rare arrival of a money order deposited on their behalf by a relative from Romania who had not been deported.³ Many perished from hunger, cold, and disease in the following winters. A mass graveyard was created outside the camp for disposing of the many corpses.

Back in the Stanislavcic ghetto, those fit for work were enlisted for forced labor beginning in the summer of 1942. Some were taken to work for the German authorities in nearby Șmerinca (sorting captured goods in military warehouses or repairing railways); others removed snow or repurposed building materials from abandoned or badly damaged houses. The pay was the food that the workers received. As unnutritious as it was, it still helped in their survival.

The Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on

January 4 in Șmerinca, some 9 kilometers (5 miles) north of Stanislavcic. The commission, led by Fred Șaraga, learned from the Jewish leaders of the Șmerinca ghetto that 200 Jews were amassed in Stanislavcic and 1,500 were in Zatiș'cea. It does not appear the commission left any aid for them at that time, but future shipments of goods most likely included both ghettos.⁴ By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Stanislavcic was 84, and there were 357 in Zatiș'cea (perhaps not counting the Ukrainian Jews in either place); on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 81 Jews in Stanislavcic (all from Bukovina) and 331 in Zatiș'cea (206 from Bessarabia, 125 from Bukovina).⁵ In February 1944, a total of 970 Jews deported from Romania were living in the entire Stanislavcic raion, some of whom (probably around 80 or more) were in the Stanislavcic ghetto and an additional several hundred were in the Zatiș'cea camp (the rest were from the Cațmazov ghetto).⁶

At the request of the liaison staff of the German Army for Transnistria (*Verbindungsstab der Deutschen Wehrmacht für Transnistrien*), the Romanian Labor Office in Odessa requested in April 1943 that the Moghilev Jewish Labor Committee produce a list of building specialists from the district, including from Stanislavcic. These Jews were to be sent to Trihati, a bridge-building site in the southeastern part of Transnistria. There the selected Jews were to undertake forced labor in building a railway bridge over the Bug, a project coordinated by the Reich's Traffic Directorate in Kiev (*Reichsverkehrsdirektion Kiev*). The Jews were transported by train, under guard, and had to bring their personal items (blanket, bowl, and spoon).⁷ The work was demanding, and the living conditions were primitive. Sleeping in crowded barracks, the Jews were held in a fenced-in camp under strict supervision. Their promised pay consisted only of the food that they received. Many were barely dressed and in poor health soon after their arrival in Trihati, so when the cool temperatures arrived in October 1943, many suffered even more. The survivors were returned to the Moghilev District in December 1943 or January 1944.

The repatriation of the Jews originally from Dorohoi and the Regat began at the end of 1943, with only a few Jews from Stanislavcic and Zatiș'cea qualifying for it; the remaining Jews were permitted to return to Romania at the beginning of March 1944, on the eve of Red Army's recapture of Stanislavcic on March 17, 1944. Those still in the ghetto were liberated at that time.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Stanislavcic and/or Zatiș'cea can be found in the following publications: "Stanislavchik," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 2: 1233; "Stanislavcic" and "Zatiș'cea," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivvasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 482, 439; I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik*

(Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004); and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vols. 1–3 (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HolMod* 2/8 (2010): 18–26. The International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies, International Jewish Cemetery Project, provides a description of the Stanislavcic ghetto and the Noschiveț/Zatișcea camp, along with a description of the related Jewish cemeteries: see "Stanislavchik, Vinnytsya oblast," available at www.iajgsjewishcemeteryproject.org/ukraine/stanislavchik.html.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Stanislavcic can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). VHA holds forty-two survivor testimonies in four languages (English, Russian, Hebrew, German) from Jews held in the ghetto. A list of Jews from Stanislavcic who perished during the Holocaust is available at USHMMA, ReferenceCollection\EE3507\EE3507.PDF. The names of the Holocaust victims are extracted from Yizkor books for Galicia.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR*, p. 49.

2. For the praetors in the Moghilev județ, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, pp. 9–10.

3. See an example of one such money order for pharmacist Moishe Weinstein, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1181, p. 115.

4. For a visitor's report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 115.

5. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, and for the September 1943 census, see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația

la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

6. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev județ, USHMMA, RG-31.011M, reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5.

7. For correspondence between the German and Romanian authorities regarding the Trihati bridge, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 23, p. 37 and the following unnumbered pages; for the list of specialists from the Stanislavcic ghetto in June 1943, see the same collection, reel, and fond.

STEPANCHI

Stepanchi, a village in the Copaigorod raion in the Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Stepanky, Ukraine), is situated along the Nemiya River. It is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. This village should not be confused with Stepanky in the Balchi raion, Moghilev județ. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,903 Jews in the Copaigorod raion, most of whom were living in the town of Copaigorod; it is unknown whether any lived in Stepanchi (census data for the village of Stepanchi are not available).

The German and Romanian armies overran Stepanchi and its surroundings during the middle part of July 1941. After a short period of German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Stepanki to Stepanchi (occasionally spelled Stepanca). The praetor in the Copaigorod raion was Ion Vodă.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 371 Jews deported from Romania living in Stepanchi in October 1942.¹ An estimate by Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Jewish Council of Moghilev (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM), says that 50 percent of the deported Jews in the Moghilev județ perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus, chief among other fatal diseases.² In 1945, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (*Cbrevzvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiiia*, ChGK) found that of the Jews deported to Stepanchi some 180 perished there during 1941 and 1942.³

Those deported to Stepanchi were placed in a camp, which was repurposed from the village's collective farm (*kolkhoz*). By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Stepanchi was 221; it is not clear whether the Ukrainian Jews were included in this figure. On September 1, 1943, without counting the Ukrainian Jews, there were 178 Jews in the camp (10 from Bessarabia, 168 from Bukovina).⁴ In February 1944, 2,339 Jews deported from Romania were living in the entire Copaigorod raion; some were held in the Stepanchi camp.⁵

The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi județ and the Regat took place in December 1943, and the orphaned Jewish children in Transnistria were returned. Only a few Jews in

Stepanchi qualified for repatriation. The Red Army recaptured the village at the end of March 1944, liberating the camp. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Stepanchi can be found in the following publications: “Stepanki,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 946; “Stepanki,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 301–302; “Stepanki,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2011), 7: 117; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, “The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive,” *HM* 2:8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Stepanchi can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002M). VHA holds eight survivor testimonies in two languages (Russian and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265).

3. USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1239, p. 17.

4. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345, and for the September 1943 census, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintr-acei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația

la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

5. See population figures according to nationalities in the raions of the Moghilev județ, USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, p. 5 (see also p. 6 for population figures according to professions).

STOROJINEȚ

The seat of the Storojineț județ in the Bukovina province, in the northeastern part of Romania (today: Storozhynets', Ukraine), Storojineț is located near the Siret River. It is 22 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Cernăuți and 180 kilometers (112 miles) northwest of Iași. According to Romanian censuses, in 1930 there were 2,480 Jews in the city and 15,397 in the județ; in 1939 there were 14,832 Jews in the Storojineț județ; and in September 1941, there were 4,311 Jews in the județ.¹

The Soviet authorities controlled the town from June 1940 to June 1941, closing Jewish private businesses, nationalizing Jewish estates, and shutting down religious services. On June 13, 1941, some 256 Jewish business owners and intellectuals from Storojineț were deported to Siberia.² Before the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, military-aged Jewish men from Storojineț were drafted into the Red Army. Although some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, most stayed in place. The commandant of the Storojineț Gendarmes Legion was Maior Gheorghe Berzescu. The commandant of the Storojineț Army Territorial Center was Căpitan C. Cojan. The regional police inspector was M. Păun.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Storojineț on July 4, 1941. The Jews were immediately apprehended. Some were shot when rounded up, and others were beaten when in custody. Jewish homes were looted and vandalized by soldiers and their neighbors. On July 5, after gathering the Jews in the central park, Romanian authorities divided them: women and children were locked in the building of the town's primary school, situated on Panca Street, whereas the men were housed in the high school boys' dormitory. Prisoners in both sites did not receive food or medical attention during their internment and were guarded continuously. They stayed there for 8 to 10 days. A few Jews obtained small favors from the authorities (Mayor Petru Bruja, for example), allowing them to leave the camp to search for food, but most survived only with what they had with them. Refusing to place the Jews in a ghetto, Bruja resigned from office and was replaced by an antisemitic mayor, Dimitrie Rusu.

On July 20, 1941, the Jews locked in the two schools were gathered in a ghetto in town. The ghetto, formed in the southern part of the city, consisted of a few streets in the Jewish quarter (Gudiniți, Ieronim, Malcinschi, Lumea Nouă, and the former Nicolae Filievici Streets). Vacated earlier, the houses had been robbed by the local population and were empty. Although the ghetto was not fenced in, strict measures

were introduced. The Jews were forced to wear the yellow star, a curfew was set for 7 P.M., and leaving the ghetto usually required a special written permit signed by city or military authorities. Colonel Alexandrescu, commandant of the Storoiineț Army Recruitment Center, had authority over the ghetto as well. Peasants came into the ghetto to sell produce. Searching the ghetto for “communist Jews,” the authorities placed certain Jews who had held positions during the Soviet administration in jail; they were returned to the ghetto two weeks later to be deported along with everyone else. A primitive infirmary existed in the ghetto.

The Jews stayed in the ghetto until late September 1941, after the High Holidays. The news of imminent deportation produced a great panic; a few people committed suicide.³ Deportations started in early October and ended on October 13.⁴ Approximately 1,300 Jews were assembled at the train station in town and forced into freight trains, 90 people per railcar. Escorted by Romanian gendarmes, the trains took the Jews to Mărculești in the Soroca județ. From the train station everyone walked to the Mărculești ghetto, bringing only what they could carry. After a few days’ stay in the ghetto, dwelling in and among small, filthy houses, with dead bodies buried at the entrance, the Jews walked to Soroca (while the sick were taken in wagons), before crossing into Transnistria at Iampol. On the way to Soroca, they slept in forests, eating what they could forage in the fields or obtain from bartering. It was the second half of October 1941, already cold and snowy, by the time they entered Transnistria.⁵ A subsequent transport from Storoiineț went to Edineț, in the Hotin județ. Before entering the Edineț camp, which was fenced with barbed wire, the Jews came before representatives of the Romanian National Bank. They were searched, their personal documents were confiscated, and their money and jewelry were exchanged for worthless German-issued scrip (*Reichskreditkassenschein*, RKKS), the currency of Transnistria. A day later, they too were taken to Transnistria and scattered among camps and ghettos in the Moghilev and Tulcin județe.

The authorities in Storoiineț retained a small number of Jews because their expertise was needed for running the city. Among them were a pharmacist, a dentist, blacksmiths, and electricians. They worked as forced laborers for the town’s city hall, hospital, and other agencies.⁶ On December 2, 1941, there were 34 Jews in the Storoiineț județ, of whom 31 lived in the city.⁷ Preparations for a second wave of deportations of Jews from Bukovina began in the spring of 1942. On April 1942, after the authorities investigated the status of the 65 Jews in the Storoiineț județ, they decided that only 26 were to be retained; the remaining 39 Jews were deemed “deportable.” On June 5, 1942, the Romanian authorities deported seven Jews from Storoiineț who in one way or another broke some laws or whose activities during the Soviet occupation had aroused official suspicion. They were transported to the Sădăgura camp, near Cernăuți; from there they embarked on a train and were transported, along with Cernăuți’s Jews, to Atachi. From Atachi they were sent to Transnistria via Moghilev-Podolsk.⁸

A handful of Jews from Storoiineț survived the camps and ghettos of Transnistria and returned in March and April 1944, when the general repatriation of Jews deported from Romania occurred. The Red Army entered Storoiineț in late April 1944. The Bucharest’s People’s Tribunal convicted Bukovina’s military and civilian leaders to many years of hard labor and confiscation of property for crimes committed against the Jews of Storoiineț.

SOURCES Further information regarding the fate of Storoiineț’s Jews can be found in the following publications: “Storoiineti,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1248–1249; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 303; “Storoiinets,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossen, 2009), p. 950; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contributii la Istoria Romaniei: Problema Evreiasca: 1933–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Doroboi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Moses Rosen, ed., *Martiriul evreilor din România, 1940–1941: Documente și mărturii* (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1991); and Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente* preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Storoiineț’s Jews are available at USHMM, in collections DACkO (RG-31.006M), SRI (RG-25.004M), IGJ (RG-25.010M), AME (RG-25.006M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). For internment in the Sădăgura camp, see also FUCER (RG-25.021M, reel 100, file III-1075). Relevant information in Soviet sources can be found in ChGK (RG-22.002, reel 15, fond 7021, opis 79, delo 69 and delo 79). The ITS contains resettlement applications of Holocaust survivors from Storoiineț; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMM. VHA holds 90 testimonies, in seven languages, about the fate of Jews from Storoiineț județ and town.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. CER census figures, 1930–1942, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 17.

2. VHA #02654, Arnold Buxbaum testimony, May 18, 1995.

3. VHA #14356, Hilda Frenkel-Lockspeiser testimony, April 17, 1996.

4. Monthly information report for November 13, 1941, indicates that “all Jews had been removed from the district *județ*.” USHMMA, RG-25.010M (IGJ), reel 3, file 27, p. 143.

5. VHA #02654, Arnold Buxbaum testimony, May 18, 1995.

6. See the table listing their names, professions, and institutions employing them, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 89, file 182, pp. 769–770; for further information regarding forced labor for Storojineț’s Jews, see reports generated by the MSM: RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 149, file 2950, pp. 73–75; and in the same collection, reel 25, file 6531, pp. 521 (and verso), 522.

7. “Situația evreilor rămași în Provincie, pe județe,” USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 5, fond 307, opis 3, delo 10, p. 232.

8. Statistical figures and records of deportation prepared by the Bukovina Military Cabinet for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers of Romania, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 130–131, 196–197, 205, 217. For internment of Storojineț Jews in the Sădăgura camp for various periods from October 1941 to June 1942, see RG-31.006M (DACkO), reel 2, fond 307, pp. 369–377.

SUHA BALCA

Suha Balca (pre-1941: Suha Balka; today: Sukha Balka), a village in the Vaselinovo raion, Berezovca județ in the southeastern part of Romania-controlled Transnistria, is located about 34 kilometers (21 miles) north-northeast of Berezovca. German and Romanian forces occupied the village in mid-August 1941, and shortly afterward, by early September 1941, authority over the village and its surroundings was transferred to the Romanian civil administration. Under this new administration, the village’s name was romanianized as Suha Balca (Suhaia Balca in some documents).

High-ranking representatives of the Romanian authorities in the Berezovca județ were Colonel Leonida Popp, who was appointed prefect in Berezovca, and his deputy, Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The first commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu, who was replaced by Octavian Ursuleanu. The head of medical services for the Berezovca județ was Dr. Aurel Juga. The praetor in the Vaselinovo raion, which included the village of Suha Balca, was Zacheu Buligă.

In late October and early November 1941, the Romanian authorities in Berezovca revamped a dilapidated Soviet state farm (*sovkhos*) in Suha Balca and turned it into a government farm, known as *Ferma de Stat Suha Balca*. The farm served as a Jewish and Roma labor camp. Prisoners were placed in the several large buildings where animals and grain were once housed. The facility was enclosed and guarded by Romanian gendarmes led by a Romanian sergeant.

Initially, some 500 Jews deported from Romania were held on the farm, in addition to local Ukrainian Jews who were also brought there for forced labor. Work in the fields and inside

the farm buildings (feeding animals, cleaning stables, refurbishing the farm) usually lasted for 12 hours a day, under strict discipline and surveillance. Jews imprisoned in this camp lived in filthy stables, crammed into small spaces with small windows and barred doors. A layer of straw served as beds. When their daily work was done, the laborers were forced back to the stables and kept there behind locked doors. The food that the administration distributed was a watery soup and cornmeal mush. Clothes and other personal belongings were bartered in exchange for food to the point when many Jews were covered in rags. Due to these precarious work and living conditions, a large number of those imprisoned in the camp fell ill. Some died as a result of the cold during the extremely frigid winter of 1941. Typhus alone claimed dozens of lives and infected more than 100 prisoners. Alarmed at the danger that the epidemic in the camp posed to the local population and military personnel passing through or stationed in the area, the prefect of Berezovca, who was informed about the epidemic by a camp escapee, required that the camp be inspected immediately by a medic. A doctor then visited the camp, but his treatment was limited to isolating the ill and the dying in a cellar.

Local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) periodically demanded Jews from Suha Balca for forced labor in agriculture. Those unable to work or those ill were shot. At other times, Jews were murdered simply to relieve the population strain in the area in advance of the arrival of other convoys from Odessa and Romania. Thus, on September 23, 1942, 413 Jews from the Suha Balca camp were marched to Rastadt (8 kilometers [4.9 miles] west of Mostovoi), where they were murdered and their bodies incinerated by the ethnic German police (*Selbstschutz*).

In January 1943, workshops (*ateliers*) were set up in the camp, which were supplied exclusively with Jewish trained personnel (*specialiști*). There existed tailoring, hairdressing, electrical, accounting, and lathe workshops.¹ They were designed to be for-profit enterprises. The money from selling goods or services was intended to cover the administration’s cost of keeping the Jews in Suha Balca and to improve living conditions (which never happened, with all improvements being funded by contributions from Jewish individuals and organizations). A committee for coordinating all Jewish labor in Berezovca was also formed in January 1943, with Dr. Bruno Gross as president. He was assisted by Efraim Fleișman, Rudolf Hirchem, and Marcu Kirenman (treasurer).² Iancu Lazarovici was president of the Jewish Committee in Berezovca. Dr. Gross visited Suha Balca in February 1943, probably to gain information firsthand about the workshops that were created there.³ In August 1943, at the request of the central labor office of the Transnistrian government, Jews from the Berezovca camps were sent to repair the Tulcin-Juralevca train track. The Suha Balca camp contributed 27 Jews to that effort.⁴ The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) assisted the Jewish laborers of Suha Balca by sending shovels and spades in November 1942 (they were received in January 1943).⁵

In the summer of 1942, Roma (Gypsies) from Romania were deported to the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. In July 1943, some 100 Roma families were transported from the Landau raion to Suha Balca to work in agriculture. Their number (about 1,200 individuals in total) far exceeded the farm's housing capacity, so most lived near the farm complex in primitive huts or lived outside exposed to the elements, without basic cleaning facilities and lacking food allocations for weeks.⁶ Harvesters received (or helped themselves to) a small amount of food from the fields in which they worked, but those who did not or could not work (children, the elderly, or the sick) did not receive food. The fall of 1943 caught the Roma in Suha Balca unprepared for winter (as was the case in the winter of 1942, when many died of cold and hunger). Ion Stan, the Roma's representative, appealed to the governor of Transnistria for help. In a letter dated September 16, 1943, Stan revealed the desperate state in which his fellows lived:

Given that the weather has changed and winter is approaching, we come before you to kindly ask that you consider our situation and take necessary measures. We are naked, all the clothes that we had have become rags, since from our arrival in Transnistria we work as honest people to support our families . . . We kindly ask you, Mr. Governor, to order that a means be found to clothe us, however little, and to house us in more humane conditions during the winter, since it is now impossible to live in huts. I would like to mention that almost all the men among us have fulfilled military service, fought in war, and currently have children at the front.⁷

Weeks later, Stan's plea reached the governor who, in disbelief, ordered that the statement be verified first before sending an insignificant amount of aid (420 pairs of shoes) for the 2,620 Roma who were living in the Berezovca județ at that time. In their desperation, the Roma organized in January 1944 a workshop for manufacturing hair combs from cow horns. The aid that was acquired with the money made from selling the combs was insufficient and too late for dozens of Roma, who died in Suha Balca as a result of cold, hunger, and illness, weeks before their liberation in March 1944.⁸

According to various censuses, there were 97 Jews (Ukrainian and Romanian) in Suha Balca in January 1943 and 99 in March 1943. About the same number (105) was recorded in August 1943. In September 1943 there were 29 Romanian Jews (27 from Bessarabia, 2 from Bukovina). According to a letter from the Suha Balca farm administrator, Teodor Apolzan, there were 58 Jews and 804 Roma there on November 23, 1943.⁹ The Red Army recaptured Suha Balca in the spring of 1944 and freed those who were still in the camp at that time.

SOURCES For more information about the fate of Jews and Roma deported to Suha Balca, see "Suha Balca," in I. A. Alt-

man, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: RossPEN, 2009), p. 958; "Suha Balca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyab shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheiniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 481–482; "Suhaia Balca," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 148; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); for a collection of documents concerning the deportation of Romanian Roma in Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources describing the treatment of Jews and Roma in Suha Balca are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and DAMO (RG-31.008M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See letter "Nr. 11883," December 31, 1942, signed by the chief of Berezovka administrative services, George Todirăș, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 18, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 24, p. 78 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/24).
2. See "Decizia Nr. 385," January 25, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 62.
3. See the official letter informing of his permission to travel and visit Suha Balca, in the permanent company of a gendarme, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, p. 34.
4. See the list of proposed Jewish workers: "Tabel nominal de evreii propuși pentru detașamentul de lucru," and the accompanying letter requesting them, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/590, pp. 81 (and verso), 83.
5. See official correspondence between local authorities and CER, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/18/2361/1/26, pp. 6–10.
6. See letter No. 2492, July 24, 1943, signed by Landau raion's praetor, Nicolae Albu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAOO), microfiche, fond 1594, opis 3, delo 10, pp. 30–31.
7. See Stan's full letter, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/591, p. 107.
8. See Leonida Popp's letter to Transnistria's government, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/591, p. 54; on cow horns, in the same collection and fond, delo 592, p. 136; see letter "Nr. 3203," January 20, 1944, on sweaters and shoes, p. 72, in the same collection, fond, and delo.
9. See table titled "Suha Balca," listing 97 names, probable date January 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/1 delo 590, p. 12 (and verso); for the March 1943 count, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; "Tabel nominal Nr. 1 de întrebuițarea a evreilor din județul Berezovca Ferma Suha-Balca," dated August 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1, delo 590, p. 65 (and verso); for the September 1943 count, see "Situație numerică

de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439; see Teodor Apolzan’s letter “Nr. 408,” November 23, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004/19/2361/1/592, p. 15 (and verso).

SUHA VERBA

Suha Verba, a small village in the Mostovoi raion, in the Berezovca județ (today: Mostove, Ukraine), is situated in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. The village’s exact location is unknown, but based on archival documentation, it is near Mostovoi,¹ which is 107 kilometers (66 miles) northeast of Odessa and 163 kilometers (101 miles) northeast of Chișinău.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the surrounding area on August 10, 1941, and romanianized the raion’s name as Mostovoi. The Romanian civil administration took over control in September 1941, and romanianized the name of the collective farm (*kolkhoz*) from Sukha Verba to Suha Verba (or Suhaia Verba). The prefect in the Berezovca județ was Colonel Leonida Popp. The deputy prefect was Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu. The praetor in the Mostovoi raion was Dr. Victor Petrenciuc. The commandant of the Mostovoi gendarmes post was Locotenent Dumitru Pandrea.

Ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*) populated the Mostovoi area. They underwent an intensive Nazification process concomitant with the deportation of Jews and Roma (Gypsies) in southern Transnistria. A branch of the SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), the organization representing the economic and cultural interests of the *Volksdeutsche* in southern Transnistria, was based in Landau (in the Berezovca județ), not far from Mostovoi. The head of VoMi in Landau was Obersturmbannführer Müller. In the fall of 1941, VoMi set up a *Volksdeutsche* extermination force, Sonderkommando Russland (SkR). A section of SkR, Bereichkommando 20 (BK 20), was stationed in Lichtenfeld, a village 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) southwest of Mostovoi (today: probably Yasnopillya, Ukraine). Its commandant was SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Liebl (or Leibl, in some documents).²

In mid-April 1942, a remnant of the Odessa Jewish community, who had escaped the mass deportations from Odessa in January and February 1942, was deported to Mostovoi via Berezovca. Many of these Jews were picked up from Odessa’s streets as they emerged from hiding or were discovered with false documents. They were initially held for questioning in Odessa’s central prison. Those aged 16 to 48 years old, mostly men, were deported to the Vapniarca camp (in the Jugustru județ), whereas the other Jews were sent to Berezovca and then Mostovoi. Furthermore, if this deportation coincided with the deportation on April 11, 1942, of 548 Jews hospitalized in the Slobodca ghetto (just outside Odessa) and of Jew-

ish orphaned children older than 10 around the same time, then these vulnerable categories of people were among the deportees.³ The claimed number of deportees reaching Mostovoi was 1,200, suggesting they came in one or two transports. These Jews were sent by train, crammed into cargo cars, and despoiled before embarkation.

After two days of travel, they reached the transit camp in Mostovoi where they were held in an imposing building (the former residence of a noble family) that was called “the castle” or “palace” by the deportees. The camp was not surrounded by barbed wire, but was guarded by a small group of Ukrainian auxiliaries together with Romanian gendarmes. The rooms had unglazed windows; plumbing was nonexistent. Food was not given. For weeks, the Jews lived from begging and bartering small items that they had managed to retain after repeated searches; their own clothes soon followed in the exchange, exposing the deportees to the elements.⁴ Weakened by hunger, cold, and diseases (a massive typhus epidemic had occurred months before they arrived and was still uncontained), the elderly and the young soon started to succumb. Because work opportunities and food were not forthcoming in Mostovoi, and anticipating the serious health implications for the residents of Mostovoi—civilian but especially military—resulting from another wave of epidemics, the Romanian authorities relocated all of these Jews to the Suha Verba *kolkhoz* at the end of May 1942.

The *kolkhoz* was a small farm located near several ethnic German villages. The area’s *Volksdeutsche* were generally unhospitable to the deportees, so barter was no longer a means of survival. The newly arrived Jews—many too young or too old or too sick to work productively—were perceived as a threat to the villagers’ livelihood. Consequently, BK 20 came to the camp several times in June 1942, murdering everyone they encountered, young or old.⁵ It is unlikely that BK killed them on the grounds of the farm; most likely, the Jews were marched to a nearby lime quarry dotted by ravines. As was customary with other SS organized murders, the Jews were ordered to undress and deposit their clothes and belongings in a designated place before being shot. These possessions were claimed by the killers and the Lichtenfeld (and/or Suha Verba) residents to whom these items were subsequently transported.

The murder of the Jews in Suha Verba was reported by the Romanian gendarmes in a monthly report to the Government of Transnistria. Thus, Colonel Mihai Iliescu, chief gendarmes inspector in Transnistria at that time, informed his superiors in the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes on June 16, 1942, as follows: “On May 27–30, this year, some 1,200 Jews were transferred in the Huliaevka [today: Hulyaivka] gendarmes sector to be placed in Mostovoi castle Because in the castle they had no work and were exposed to hunger, they were placed in Suha Verba *kolkhoz* in order to be used in the fields. All of these Jews were picked up by the SS Police from the German colony of Lichtenfeld and executed by shooting.”⁶ It is possible, based on this report, to approximate a date for the shooting as the middle of June 1942. A subsequent note, sent by the same Colonel Iliescu, reported the same incident, concluding that the Jews

shot by the Lichtenfeld village SS Police in Suha “have disappeared.”⁷ Although this expression was often used euphemistically in reports to suggest killing, in this particular case it may actually state a fact, namely the cremation of the bodies in Suha Verba’s limekiln. One of the few existing limekilns in the Berezovca județ that appears to have been used in the cremation of bodies was in Suha Verba (along with the one in Mostovoi).⁸ This is the only known extermination episode to have occurred at Suha Verba. The camp ceased to exist after June 1942.

The Red Army recaptured the area in April 1944. The People’s Tribunal in Bucharest tried and condemned to prison years many of Berezovca’s leaders, including Popp, Popescu, and Iliescu, for handing over or sending Jewish convoys in the direction of ethnic German villages, knowing that the Jews would be exterminated by the SS police units.⁹

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of Jews in Suha Verba can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2011); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For studies treating Transnistria’s ethnic Germans’ participation in the Holocaust, see Eric C. Steinhart, “Creating Killers: The Nazification of the Black Sea Germans and the Holocaust in Southern Ukraine, 1941–1944” (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill, 2010), available at <https://cdr.lib.unc.edu/indexablecontent/uuid:cbc90aec-eed8-497a-b823-c7778ef9401b>; Eric C. Steinhart, “Creating Killers: The Nazification of the Black Sea Germans and the Holocaust in Southern Ukraine, 1941–1944,” *BGHI*, 50 (2012): 57–74; and Andrej Angrick, “Rolul Unităților ‘Sonderkommando R’ și ‘Volksdeutschen Selbstschutz’ în exterminarea evreilor în Transnistria,” in Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok, eds., *Holocaustul la periferie: Persecutarea și nimicirea evreilor în România și Transnistria în 1940–1944*, trans. Cristina Grossu-Chiriac (Chișinău: Cartier, 2010), pp. 119–130.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in Suha Verba are available at USHMM, in collections SRI (RG-25.004M) and DAOO (RG-31.004M). German prosecution records from the BA-L, Collection B 162, concerning the activities of the German leaders of BK 20 Lichtenfeld in Transnistria are available in copies at USHMM, RG-14.101M (BA-L, Collection 162), 4731. VHA holds two testimonies (in Russian and Ukrainian) from Jewish Holocaust survivors who attest to the destruction of the Jews in Suha Verba. A filmed testimony of

a witness to the mass shooting of the Jews in Suha Verba is also available in the archives of Yahad-in-Unum, in Paris: witness no. 1567UK, date of recording August 12, 2012, place of recording Kudryavka, Ukraine.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See the list of localities in Transnistria, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 37, p. 7 (under Mostovoi raion).
2. See the outline of VoMi’s EG and SK units for Transnistria, USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 311, file 801, p. 321.
3. See correspondence and statistical figures from the Odessa Evacuation Office, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1487, pp. 100, 103; about the orphaned children’s deportation to Mostovoi, see in the same collection, reel, and fond, pp. 42, 126, 127, 129, 222.
4. See the April 1942 report of the Siguranța and Information Bureau, Berezovca Gendarmes Legion, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 83, file 23004, vol. 13, p. 145.
5. See diary entry, June 1942, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 211.
6. See Information Note No. 189, June 16, 1942, reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 274.
7. See Information Bulletin for Transnistria covering the period June 15–July 15, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 83, file 23004, vol. 13, p. 147.
8. See attesting documentation in Steinhart, “Creating Killers,” p. 353, n. 1033.
9. See court depositions against Leonida Popp, USHMM, RG-25.004M, reel 26, file 39181, pp. 248, 252–253; and in the same collection, reel 83, file 23004, vol. 13, for Popescu and Iliescu.

ȘUMILOVCA

Șumilovca, a village in the Berșad raion in the Balta județ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Shumyliv, Ukraine), is situated on the Bug River. It is located 61 kilometers (38 miles) north of Balta.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Șumilovca at the end of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village’s name was romanianized from Shumilovka to Șumilovca (or as in some documents, Șumilova or Șumilovo). The praetor in the Berșad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A camp, often termed a colony (*colonie*), for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania was set up in Șumilovca in the fall of 1941. Having entered Transnistria via the bridge at Iampol, most of the deportees had then marched for several weeks to Șumilovca, resting in open fields in wintry conditions; some perished along the way of cold and hunger or were shot for their inability to keep up.¹

The Șumilovca camp was on the grounds of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). Its buildings (barns and cowsheds) had

been badly damaged by war. A handful of Romanian gendarmes aided by local Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the camp; German soldiers from across the Bug visited the camp on occasion. The soldiers treated the deportees brutally, confiscated their belongings at will, and sexually assaulted the young women.² There was a ban on movement outside of the camp; violators were severely punished. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths, especially during the first two years of internment (1941–1942); many Jews continued to die thereafter, but at a slower pace.³ It is claimed that 450 people perished under these conditions.⁴ Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were the key means of survival for many. Tolca Friedman was the camp's head.⁵

Able-bodied men and women undertook forced labor in various forms, including in agriculture and on military fortifications. If at all, workers were recompensed with a handful of produce.

It is claimed that the total number of Jews in Șumilovca was at some point 750.⁶ The census of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in March 1943 listed Șumilovca as having 160 Jews; in April, the number was 153. On September 1, 1943, the camp was not listed among locations where deported Jews were sheltered.⁷ In October of the same year, however, the Balta gendarmerie recorded that there were 174 deported Jews in Șumilovca—59 men, 76 women, and 39 children—and described the site as a ghetto.⁸ The Red Army recaptured the village at the beginning of March 1944, immediately liberating the camp. Some Jews were conscripted into the army, while the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Șumilovca can be found in the following publications: “Shumilov,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1097; “Shumilov,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 350; “Shumilov,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2011), 7: 400; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), pp. 30–31. For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986);

Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Șumilovca camp can be found at USHMM, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). VHA holds six survivor testimonies in four languages (English, Hebrew, Russian, and Ukrainian) from Jews held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #24894, Hānah Meler testimony December 15, 1996.
2. The sexual assault on Jewish women in Șumilovca is mentioned in VHA #15010, Sarah Garden testimony, May 10, 1996; and VHA #26677, Miryam Klayn, February 4, 1997.
3. VHA #46155, Dora Gertsenshtein testimony, August 3, 1998.
4. “Shumilov,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 7: 400. The source evidence for the claim is ChGK's report, April 1945, available in USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 86.
5. List of ghetto and camp leaders in the Balta județ, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562. Another list of ghetto leaders in the Balta județ can be found at USHMM, RG-68.130M (DAOO-YV), reel 2, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666 (M-39/32), p. 142.
6. ChGK's report, April 1945, available in USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 86.
7. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the April 1943 census, see USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711, p. 11; for the absence of Șumilovca from the September 1943 census, see “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.
8. Statistical figures of Jews in the Balta județ ghettos, USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 588.

SUMOVCA

Sumovca, a village in the Berșad raion in the Balta județ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Sumivka, Ukraine), is situated on the Bug River. It is located 62 kilometers (38 miles) north-northwest of Balta.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Sumovca at the end of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took

control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Sumovka to Sumovca (Șumovca or Sumofca in some documents). The praetor in the Berșad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A camp, or colony (*colonie*), for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania was set up in Sumovca in the fall of 1941 on the grounds of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). Before arriving in Sumovca, most of the deportees had marched to Sumovca for weeks, resting along the way in open fields in wintry conditions. The buildings (barns and cowsheds) on the farm had been badly damaged by war, yet the deportees occupied them for lack of other quarters. A handful of Romanian gendarmes aided by local Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the camp. The soldiers grabbed whatever they wished from the deportees, treating them brutally. There was a ban on movement outside of the camp; violators were severely punished. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths, especially during the first two years of internment (1941–1942); many Jews died thereafter, but at a slower pace.¹ It is claimed that 250 people in the Sumovca camp perished in these conditions.² Wearing the yellow star was obligatory. Aron Silman was the camp's head.³

Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were the key means of survival for many.⁴ However, two Jews who left the camp to beg in the village were shot by Romanian gendarmes who met them on the road; the victims' bodies were summarily thrown into the Bug River.⁵ Humanitarian aid sent by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in Bucharest may have reached this camp in 1943. Able-bodied men and women undertook forced labor in various forms, some in agriculture and still others inside the camp. If at all, workers were recompensed with some produce.⁶ Some form of communal religious life existed in the camp; marriages also occurred.⁷

At a point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the camp was 163 (37 men, 42 women, and 84 children). CER's census in March 1943 included Sumovca as having 140 Jews. On September 1, 1943, the camp was not listed among locations where deported Jews lived; this fact, however, does not mean that the deportees had left or that only Ukrainian Jews remained there.⁸

Roma (Gypsies) deported from Romania in the summer of 1942 were scattered within the territory of the Berșad raion, coming to live in primitive huts by the winter of that year. Some were placed in Sumovca. Evidence suggests they lived inside the camp, alongside Jews, and worked on the *kolkhoz* in Sumovca and nearby Voitovca. At the end of 1943 many fled the camp for fear of encountering German soldiers retreating from the other side of the Bug.⁹

The Red Army, aided by a partisan group active in the area, recaptured the village at the beginning of March 1944, immediately liberating the camp. Some Jews were conscripted into the army, while the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Sumovca can be found in the following publications: "Sumovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 956; "Sumovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 306; "Sumovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 142; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurni ta getto na okupovanii territorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents on the persecution of the Roma deported from Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Sumovca camp can be found at USHMM, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), and DAOO (RG-31.004M). VHA holds 11 survivor testimonies in three languages (English, Hebrew, and Russian) from Jews and Roma held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #44243, Fridah Bricher testimony, August 2, 1998; VHA #13617, Sara Eidelman testimony, March 25, 1996; and VHA #21911, Golda Shtrakhman testimony, September 18, 1996.

2. "Sumovka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 7: 142. The source evidence for the claim is ChGK's report, April 1945, available in USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 113.

3. List of ghetto and camp leaders in the Balta județ, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562.

4. VHA #31759, Rakhil' Iudkovskaia testimony, May 20, 1997.

5. August 25, 1943, entry in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 12.

6. VHA #30960, Anna Dekhter testimony, May 20, 1997.

7. VHA #20494, Khana Toibman testimony, October 2, 1996.

8. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the absence of Sumovca from the September 1943 census, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.

9. VHA #33904, Vasiliu Radu testimony, September 10, 1997. See also Achim, *Documente privind deportarea țiganilor*, 2: 402–403 (Doc. 560).

TÂRGU JIU

Târgu Jiu, the administrative seat of the Gorj județ in the southwestern part of Romania, is situated along the Jiu River, about 408 kilometers (253 miles) southwest of Iași and 233 kilometers (145 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

In 1939, a camp was set up in Târgu Jiu for a group of Polish refugees (army personnel and civilians) who fled before the Soviet invasion of their country. Starting in the summer of 1940, however, the camp was repurposed as a detention site for political prisoners from Romania. It came under the direct control of the Romanian Interior Ministry (unlike labor camps, for example, which were under the control of the Romanian Army General Staff [*Marele Stat Major*, MSM]). The Interior Ministry oversaw the camp's finances and administration. The commandant of the camp was Colonel Gheorghe Zlătescu, who was succeeded by Colonel Leoveanu. Soldiers from an infantry company in Târgu Jiu guarded the camp. A number of army barracks, dark and drafty, comprised the camp, which was surrounded by barbed wire.

Jews suspected of communist activity were sent to the Târgu Jiu camp throughout 1940 and early 1941. In addition to Jews, the camp held Legionnaires, Jiu Valley miners (strike organizers), and other people deemed “suspect” in the eyes of the governing authorities. (The Legionnaires were members of the fascist movement, Legion of the Archangel Michael, [*Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail*], founded in 1927 by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. From its inception, the movement was extremely antisemitic, xenophobic, and anticommunist.) After a period of detention, the Jewish prisoners were transferred to a labor camp in (or near) Bumbești 19 kilometers (12 miles) northeast of Târgu Jiu. While there, they worked as forced laborers in a stone quarry (breaking stones with sledgehammers) for a railway segment between Bumbești and Livezeni. They slept in primitive huts and were fed each day a few slices of bread and a watery soup produced from boiled horse heads and hooves. The non-Jewish detainees held in the barracks of the Târgu Jiu camp demanded that they too be brought out to work or that the Jews be brought back to that camp, because they believed that outdoor work provided better chances of surviving the detention. In the end, the non-Jewish detainees were brought to the Bumbești camp and lived and worked in

the same conditions as the Jews.¹ The number of Jews and non-Jews incarcerated in the Târgu Jiu camp in early 1941 were as follows: communists (691, of whom 48 were women), suspects (587, of whom 71 were women), striking miners (47), and Legionnaires (181, of whom 6 were women), totaling 1,506 people.

Just before the German-Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jews living in cities or towns close to the front line in the eastern part of Romania (in Moldavia) were deported to a number of camps inside Romania, including Târgu Jiu. With the relocation of its former detainees to Bumbești, the camp was empty so there was space available. A number of community presidents and rabbis were among the deportees. The deportations were hasty, with the Jews given little time to gather essential possessions in the one rucksack or hand luggage they were permitted to carry. Mostly Jewish men of various ages (some 16 or younger) were sent to the Târgu Jiu camp at that time, and transports took place over a period of a few weeks in mid-June and early July 1941. People were transported in train freight cars, doors and windows locked, under military guard. In addition to this humiliation, the cars were overcrowded and had no toilet facilities. Water and food were not provided, and the deportees had to obtain food from their own resources. The following groups of Jews



Samuel Kruk with another inmate in a leather workshop in the Târgu Jiu labor camp, which housed Jews and communists, 1942–1943.

USHMM WS #00029, COURTESY OF MUZEUL NATIONAL DE ISTORIE AL ROMANIEI.

from Moldavia were deported to Târgu Jiu camp: 266 from Dorohoi, 112 from Lespezi, 229 from Botoșani, 91 from Vaslui, 362 from Fălciu, and 431 from other Moldavian districts (județe). On August 7, 1941, a total of 1,501 Jews were incarcerated in the camp.²

The Jewish deportees undertook forced labor while in the camp, being assigned to various local institutions and enterprises in and around Târgu Jiu. With the weather turning cold in October 1941 and the labor camps unprepared for winter habitation, not to mention that the Jews lacked winter clothes (they had been deported in their summer clothes), the authorities reduced the number of Jews in the labor brigades by sending many back home. Still, in November 1941, 710 Jews (648 men, 59 women, and 3 youths) with various skills were still in the Târgu Jiu camp. Plans were made to keep most of them over the winter (and into 1942) as workers in the camp's workshops. Of these, 152 were deemed "unable" (untrained or too old) to work, and another 127 paid a fee and could avoid working in exchange for their meals.³

News about the the poor administration of the camp and the beating and starving of its prisoners reached the office of the State Undersecretary of the Interior Ministry, General de Corp de Armată Constantin (Piki) Z. Vasiliu, prompting him to inspect the camp in April 1942. After his inspection, he recommended that the camp commandant be replaced and meals improved.⁴

In September 1942, 400 Jews remaining in the Târgu Jiu camp were transferred to the newly opened camp for political detainees in Vapniarca (Jugastru județ). Another 700 Jews suspected of communist activity (among them former detainees who had been released earlier) were gathered from all over the country (many were on forced labor duties at that time) and sent by train to the Vapniarca camp in Transnistria together with the detainees from the Târgu Jiu camp.

Among the political prisoners interned in the Târgu Jiu camp were a number of Baptists from the Bălți județ in Bessarabia. They were interned for refusing to abandon their faith and for allegedly serving the communist authorities while Bessarabia was under Soviet control (between June 1940 and June 1941).⁵ They, too, were deported to the Vapniarca camp.

In March 1944, the Jews sent to Transnistria as political detainees were repatriated to Romania. Seven hundred Jews from that group were transported back to the Târgu Jiu camp. Although most had served their sentences, there were among them some 80 Jews who had not served their time; these prisoners were housed separately from the rest, but none were released from the Târgu Jiu camp on their return to Romania. Their release came in early September 1944 after Romania changed sides in the war on August 23, 1944. Used to keep German and Hungarian POWs, the camp was shut down in 1948.

The People's Court in Bucharest tried and sentenced to prison many officers responsible for the mistreatment of prisoners in the Târgu Jiu camp. Among those punished by the court was Vasiliu, who received a death sentence and was executed in 1946.⁶

SOURCES More information about the fate of Jewish and non-Jewish political detainees interned in the Târgu Jiu camp can be found in the following publications: Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Ottmar Trașcă, "Chestiunea Evreiască" în *Documentele Militare Române, 1941–1944* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). For a collection of documents regarding the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013). On the persecution of Christian religious minorities under the Antonescu regime, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Political Regimului Antonescu Față de Culele Neoprotestante: Documente* (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jewish and non-Jewish political prisoners incarcerated in the Târgu Jiu camp are available at USHMM, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). A portfolio of eight lithographs depicting the Târgu Jiu camp is available as part of USHMM's Permanent Exhibit (Douglas Smith Collection, Acc. No. 2013.395.2.1). VHA holds 32 recorded testimonies, in seven languages, from survivors of the Târgu Jiu camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #02775, Vasile Bordeianu testimony, May 23, 1995.
2. See figures for the Târgu Jiu camp in a confidential report on camps in Romania, "Situația Lagărelor," USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, pp. 18–19.
3. "Situație de evrei internați în lagărul Târgu Jiu, la data de 1 Noiembrie 1941," USHMM, RG-25.002M, reel 17, file 86, p. 257 (see also p. 259).
4. General de Corp de Armată Constantin Z. Vasiliu's court declaration, USHMM, RG-24.004M (SRI), reel 34, file 40010, vol. 59, pp. 1–2.
5. Information note No. 1546, Chișinău Gendarmes Inspectorate, March 3, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 128, file 120, p. 47.
6. For court depositions and decisions regarding a number of officers indicted because of crimes against political detain-

ees in the Târgu Jiu camp, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M, reel 20, file 40011, vol. 8; for the court investigation and condemnation of Zlătescu, see in the same collection, reel 22, file 40011, vols. 26 and 28; and reel 150, file 40011, vol. 45; for investigations into camp guards, see reel 22, file 40011, vol. 41 in the same collection.

TÂRGUL VERTUJENI

Târgul Vertujeni, a village in the Soroca raion, Soroca județ (today: Târgul Vertujeni, Florești raion, Moldova), in north-eastern Bessarabia, is located along the western bank of the Dniester River. It is 117 kilometers (73 miles) northwest of Chișinău, 71 kilometers (44 miles) southeast of Moghilev-Podolsk, and 22 kilometers (14 miles) southeast of the town of Soroca. According to the 1930 Romanian census, there were 1,843 Jews in Târgul Vertujeni, representing 91 percent of the village's population. At the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union in June 1941, many Jews from Târgul Vertujeni fled across the Dniester and retreated with the Red Army, but some remained in place. Romanian and German authorities set up a transit camp for Jews and a camp for prisoners of war (POWs) in Târgul Vertujeni.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Târgul Vertujeni in early July 1941. Immediately after the occupation, some of the remaining local Jews were rounded up and killed as part of an ethnic and political cleansing operation behind the front line undertaken throughout the Soroca județ by Romanian troops and Einsatzgruppe D. Târgul Vertujeni was 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) north of the smaller village of Vertujeni. Very often, the two locations are confused in written sources, but usually Târgul Vertujeni (also spelled Vârtejeni or Vertijeni) is intended.

A transit camp was created in Târgul Vertujeni for Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia to Transnistria. In August 1941, the German authorities unexpectedly returned a few columns of deported Jews from Transnistria. After weeks of marching without food, water, and shelter, some 13,500 Jews, who spent several more weeks in and around Moghilev-Podolsk, reentered Bessarabia via the Iampol-Cosăuți crossing point, on the night of August 17, 1941. Once in Romanian hands, they were marched to the Târgul Vertujeni camp. Soon Jews concentrated in other camps in Bessarabia were also directed there. Thus, on August 19, 1941, a convoy of approximately 1,600 Jews from the Alexandru cel Bun transit camp in Reditu (today: Reditu Mare, Dondușeni raion, Moldova) was sent to the Târgul Vertujeni camp.¹ On August 20, another convoy of about 3,500 Jews from the Rublenița transit camp (today: Rubelnița, Soroca raion, Moldova) was also directed there. All of these Jews, some 23,000 in total, were concentrated in Târgul Vertujeni for later deportation to Transnistria.

The commandant of the camp was Locotenent-colonel Alexandru Constantinescu. A platoon of gendarmes guarded the camp, which was surrounded by barbed wire. The camp included part of the Jewish neighborhood of the village, but also

extended into an open field. The Jews were crowded into the ransacked houses of local Jews. Because there were insufficient houses for the large number of deportees, many Jews slept outside. Although some bread was distributed, food was scarce, and most prisoners starved. To survive, the few Jews who still had something valuable to exchange for food bartered their possessions with locals. Guards prevented the local population from approaching the fence, so food like onions and cold pieces of cornmeal were tossed over the fence, usually by groups of youth. On a few occasions, able-bodied Jews were taken out of the camp and forced to work. Some carried stones from the bank of the Dniester up the hill where the village was, and others then paved a road with those stones.² Those who died in the camp of illness and starvation were buried in the local Jewish cemetery in communal graves. Villagers who owned horse-drawn wagons were asked to carry the corpses to the cemetery.

The deportation of the Târgul Vertujeni camp inmates to Transnistria started on the morning of September 12, 1941. Two routes were to be followed, as instructed by Bessarabia's chief gendarmes inspector, Colonel Teodor Meculescu; his orders originated from General de divizie Ioan Topor, the Romanian Army's Great Praetor. One route went north toward Cosăuți, whereas the second route went south toward Rezina, both crossing points into Transnistria. Convoys of 1,600 Jews were to be marched under escort to the two destinations, leaving the camp every other day. A few wagons were provided to carry luggage and those who could not walk (the elderly, sick, and infirm). Escorting gendarmes were instructed to shoot stragglers or anyone trying to escape. The dead bodies were summarily covered with dirt or simply abandoned as the column marched on.

A second camp at Târgul Vertujeni, the POW Camp No. 5 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri Nr. 5*), operated from September 1941 to February 1944, when its inmates were transported to Tiraspol. Information about the precise location of this prisoner camp has not yet emerged. It was probably based within or very near the gendarmes barracks and functioned as a small detention center until early 1944. Most likely, Jews, POWs, and others convicted of "subversive activity" were held there. The commandants of this camp were Locotenent-colonel Vasile Agafie (1941–1942) and Locotenent-colonel Mihail Cîreș (1943).³

In late 1943, members of Christian religious minorities (mainly Baptists, along with other groups) unrecognized by the Romanian regime who originated from Bessarabia were interned in Camp No. 5. They were imprisoned because they refused to abandon their religious faith and convert to the Christian Orthodox faith (or to other state-recognized sects). Just as Jews were the subject of false accusations, they too were routinely accused of harboring anti-Romanian sentiments and acting against the national interest of the Romanian state. A chain of command reaching the office of Bessarabia's governor, General de divizie Olimpiu Stavrat, and involving the police and the gendarmes, was required for the arrest, trial, and internment of the Baptists. The period of internment in the camp was usually open-ended or until the authorities obtained

the prisoner's signed declaration renouncing the unrecognized faith.⁴

The Red Army liberated Târgul Vertujeni in April 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Târgul Vertujeni can be found in "Vertujeni," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kebilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 2: 351–352; "Vertujeni," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1389; Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Doroboi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). For the fate of Christian religious minorities in Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Politica Regimului Antonescu Față de Cultele Neoprotestante. Documente* (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013), which is a compilation of more than 500 documents pertaining to the persecution of neo-Protestants; Ovidiu Creangă, "Religious Minorities during the Holocaust in Romania: Baptists and Molokans in Cetatea Albă," paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies, Washington, DC, November 2011; and Dorin Dobrinu, "Religie și putere în România. Politica statului față de confesiunile (neo)protestante: 1919–1944," *RPSR* 7: 3 (2007): 583–602.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews and religious minorities imprisoned in Târgul Vertujeni are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and ANR (RG-25.002M). VHA holds more than 100 video testimonies in five languages from Jewish survivors who passed through the Târgul Vertujeni camp. Testimonies from witnesses of the Târgul Vertujeni camp are available at Y-IM: T34M, testimony of Fiodor Ivanovitch Scoarta, May 29, 2012; T35M, testimony of Maria Ivanovna Istratuc, May 29, 2012; T36M, testimony of Gheorghe Ion Cherchez, May 29, 2012; T37M, testimony of Dumitru Alexandru Pascari, May 29, 2012; T100M, testimony of Dimitri Kolesnik, May 18, 2013; and T101M, testimony of Sergei Lujantski, May 18, 2013.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Report "Nr. 120966," August 21, 1941, from the office of the Praetor of the 3rd Romanian Army to the office of the

Great Praetor of the Romanian Armies, document reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 56.

2. VHA #49113, Ben Tsion Flom testimony, August 14, 1998.

3. For a complete list of camp personnel, see "Lagărul Prizonieri Nr. 5 Vârtejeni-Soroca," USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, pp. 31–32.

4. See tables with those arrested, home searches reports, trial files, and sentences in USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 24, fond 7687, opis 1s, delo 810, pp. 1–11; and in the same collection, delo 811, pp. 1–5 (and verso), delo 812, pp. 1–6, delo 813, pp. 1–12, delo 814, pp. 1–5, delo 815, pp. 1–7, delo 816, pp. 1–5, delo 817, pp. 1–7, delo 818, pp. 1–5, delo 819, pp. 1–6, delo 820, pp. 1–14, delo 821, pp. 1–5, delo 822, pp. 1–6, delo 823, pp. 1–7, delo 824, pp. 1–5; and trial files and accompanying documentation in the same collection, delo 679, pp. 7–19 (and verso for each page).

TARUTINO

The seat of the Tarutino raion, the town of Tarutino is in the Chilia județ, in southern Bessarabia, in the southeastern part of Romania (today: Tarutyne, Ukraine). It is 92 kilometers (57 miles) south-southeast of Chișinău and 125 kilometers (78 miles) west-southwest of Odessa. In 1930, there were 1,546 Jews in Tarutino, representing nearly 27 percent of the town's total population. A decade later, the total number of Jews was believed to have remained approximately the same. The Soviet authorities deported some of Tarutino's Jews to Siberia because of their allegedly "capitalist" and/or Zionist dispositions. Other Jews from the town retreated with the Soviet authorities, and still others were drafted into the Red Army in June 1941. How many of Tarutino's Jews remained in place is unclear, with some evidence suggesting a mass exodus before the arrival of the Romanian and German armies.¹

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tarutino at the beginning of July 1941. The local population began ransacking Jewish properties even before the Romanian soldiers entered Tarutino. The looting continued after the town's occupation: soldiers as well as civilians broke into the Jews' homes and confiscated money and valuables. Men and women of all ages were also attacked and beaten. After these events, some historians believe the Jews were rounded up and gathered in a field on the town's outskirts and held there for a short while. While in this "transit camp," some men were recruited for forced labor and sent to work. Under the pretext of being photographed for identity cards, the rest of the people were then seated on benches before a "camera" covered with a large black cloth. They were mercilessly gunned down, their bodies transported to an unmarked mass grave and buried by the few men spared for forced labor.²

On August 7, 1941, about 1,200 Jews, most likely from rural areas in southern Bessarabia—Cahul, Ismail, and Chilia Nouă—were brought to Tarutino.³ Because of the temporary cessation of deportations to Transnistria in August 1941, these Jews were crammed into large buildings in the town's Jewish

area. The ghetto thus created was guarded by gendarmes from the Cetatea Albă and Chilia legions.

According to a count of the Jews on August 30, 1941, there were still close to 1,000 Jews held in southern Bessarabia's ghettos, as follows: 316 in the Chilia Nouă ghetto, 96 in the Ismail ghetto, 524 in the Cahul ghetto, and smaller numbers in the Bolgrad and Vâlcov ghettos.⁴

Orders for the deportation of all Jews from southern Bessarabia were issued in early October 1941 by the Gendarmes Inspectorate for Bessarabia, based in Chișinău. According to this deportation plan, convoys of Jews leaving the five ghettos from southern Bessarabia on October 15 were to begin a four-day march to Tarutino where, after consolidating into larger convoys, the Jews were to march for another four days along a route leading to Tighina on the Dniester River.⁵ The plan's initial phase—the southern convoys' march to the Tarutino ghetto—was followed. On October 23, 1941, the chief gendarmes inspector for Bessarabia, Colonel T. Meculescu, issued a new set of instructions for the deportation of the Jews in the Tarutino ghetto, which was set to begin on October 25. At that point, the ghetto had 2,270 Jews (most likely the 1,200 brought there at the beginning of August plus the 1,000 or so who arrived from the southern ghettos). The inspector ordered that two large convoys leave Tarutino on October 25 and October 27 and begin a three-day march to the more southern crossing point at Purcari-Iasca (and not at Tighina, as previously planned), some 70 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Tarutino. Meculescu ordered the gendarmerie authorities in the Cetatea Albă and Chilia legions to cleanse southern Bessarabia of Jews and bury those shot for not keeping up, warning of severe penalties if he found “a single Jew in the rural or urban territory after the closing of the operations.”⁶ The Tarutino ghetto closed down at the beginning of November 1941. After crossing the Dniester River, the convoys were marched in the direction of the Bogdanovca death camp, in the Golta județ.

In May 1942, a forced labor detachment was created with Jews from the Regat. The detachment was incorporated into the 4th Roads Battalion, which was headquartered in Tarutino. The Jews repaired roads in the area, working and living in difficult circumstances until the fall of 1943, when the forced labor detachment moved westward, across the Prut River, into the Regat.⁷

In April 1944, the Red Army recaptured Tarutino, at which time the few Jewish survivors returned from Transnistria to Tarutino.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Tarutino's Jews can be found in the following publications: “Tarutino,” in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, vol. 3 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); “Tarutino,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyab shel bayisbuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyab* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 2: 357–359; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents*

concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust, vol. 5 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia și Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuții la Istoria Încercării de Exterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947). For the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of Tarutino's Jews are available at USHMM, in collections RG-54.001M (ANRM), SRI (RG-25.004M), PCMC (RG-25.013M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). For a memorial book recounting the fate of Tarutino's Jews, see Nisan Amitai Stambul et al., eds., *Akkerman ve-ayarot ha-meboz; sefer edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Society of Emigrants from Akkerman and Vicinity, 1983), especially pp. 289–291. The book is available at <http://yizkor.nypil.org/index.php?id=1180>; a part of the book translated into English is available at www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/akkerman/Akkerman.html#TOC190.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Yehuda Bronfman, “Tarutino during the Shoah,” in *Akkerman ve-ayarot ha-meboz*, pp. 289–290.
2. Jean Ancel, “Tarutino,” in *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, 2: 358–359. This information has yet to be corroborated by other sources.
3. USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 24, fond 20725, vol. 4.
4. USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 657, vol. 32.
5. Deportation instructions for the Jews of southern Bessarabia, USHMM, RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 53–60 (esp. pp. 55–60). Each convoy's itinerary and schedule were carefully indicated and clearly marked on the map of the area accompanying the instructions (pp. 61–63).
6. See Meculescu's instructions for the deportation of the Tarutino ghetto, USHMM, RG-54.001M, reel 1, fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 64–66; for accompanying departure/arrival schedules and map, see pp. 67–68.
7. See the MSM's dispositions, May 2, 1942, USHMM, RG-25.013M (PCMC), reel 22, file 1, pp. 396–398.

TĂTĂREȘTI

Tătărești, seat of the Tătărești raion, Chilia județ, in southern Bessarabia, in the southeastern part of Romania (today: Tatarbunary, Ukraine), is 141 kilometers (88 miles) south-southeast of Chișinău and 114 kilometers (71 miles) southwest of Odessa. In Romanian Holocaust-era sources, the town is sometimes

spelled Tătărași, probably reflecting an earlier variance, and it is occasionally assigned to the Cetatea Albă județ, which reflected the pre-fall 1941 territorial organization of Bessarabia. The Chilia județ was created in the fall of 1941 from territories belonging to the Cetatea Albă and Ismail județe. It is sometimes erroneously called the Chilia-Nouă județ, after the name of the eponymous raion that was found in Ismail județ until 1939. Finally, Tătărești town in the Chilia județ should not be confused with the present town of Tătărești that is north of Cahul, in Moldova.

The Romanian and German armies occupied Tătărești in the first part of July 1941. Immediately after its capture, the town's Jewish population, as well as the handful of Jews from nearby villages, was rounded up and concentrated in a camp, probably on the town's outskirts but within its limits. Their numbers reached close to 500 people and included people of all ages. A coordinated operation of "territorial cleansing" (*curățarea terenului*) of political enemies behind the front line began in Bessarabia and Bukovina by early July. During that campaign, some Jewish and non-Jewish civilians in the Chilia județ (or more accurately, Cetatea Albă județ, as it was at that time) were shot by Romanian and German soldiers as alleged communists or Soviet collaborators.

Although the existence of the Tătărești camp is documented in Romanian sources, little information has survived about its physical description or location. The camp was sometimes referred to as "Tătărași-Chilia camp" and was guarded by gendarmes from the Chilia Gendarmes Legion, which was commanded in 1941 by Maior Mihalache. The position was also held at one time by Căpitan Ion Vetu, assisted by Căpitan Petre Gheorghe.¹ Căpitan Vetu also was the commandant of the Tătărești camp.

On August 9, 1941, SS Untersturmführer Heinrich Fröhlich, based with the German Army headquarters in Chișinău, brought to Tătărești an oral order from Marshal Ion Antonescu calling for the extermination of the Jews in the camp. According to his SS officers file, Fröhlich was born in Neu Zuczka (today: Neyzuchka, 6 kilometers [3.7 miles], northeast of Czernowitz, Ukraine). As a *Volksdeutsche*, he was fluent in Romanian, which made him presumably a trustworthy messenger of Antonescu's order.² After consulting briefly with superiors in the Chilia Gendarmes Legion (probably with Maior Mihalache) and obtaining their permission, Căpitan Vetu drew up a protocol, cosigned by Fröhlich, and proceeded to organize the shooting of the Jews.³

The coded language used to recount the extermination of the Jews has generated some confusion as to the number of Jews shot. The protocol, for example, implies that all 451 Jews in the camp were to be shot. The reports from the Chișinău Gendarmes Inspectorate immediately following the killing of the Jews paint a different picture, however. The chief gendarmes inspector for Bessarabia, Colonel Teodor Meculescu, transmitted by telephone this message to his superiors on August 13, 1941: the Jews of the Tătărași camp were shot because, "having been taken to work in the fields, and refusing to work, they became aggressive."⁴ A week later, on August 19, 1941,

Meculescu wrote a secret note informing the Romanian Army's Grand Praetor that the number of Jews shot from the Tătărești camp was 118 Jews; the remaining 333, having "disappeared," were being "followed."⁵

The camp was closed in August 1941. By September 1941, the praetor of the Tătărești raion declared the area under his jurisdiction to be free of Jews.⁶ The remaining Jewish houses became the property of the Romanian state.⁷ In December 1941, Căpitan Vetu became a scapegoat for the regime's rare attempts to demonstrate the implementation of law and order. He was sanctioned for robbing the dead Jews of some of their valuables (gold watches, rings, and cash).⁸

The Red Army recaptured Tătărești in May 1944.

SOURCES More information concerning the Tătărești camp for Jews can be found in the following sources: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia și Alte Câteva Întâmplări: Contribuții la Istoria Încercării de Exterminare a Evreilor* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Tătărești camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). FUCER (RG-25.021M, reel 88, file III-946) also holds information about the Tătărești camp, including documents concerning the trial of the camp commandant, Căpitan Vetu.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. List of commanding personnel in the Cernăuți, Chișinău, and Odessa Gendarmes Inspectorates, 1941–1944, USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 24, file 59, p. 30.

2. Fröhlich SSO (SS Nr. 388272).

3. Protocol description reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 75–76 (Doc. No. 29). The signed handwritten transcript is reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 39. The incident involving the two officers was relayed in December 1941 by a ministerial commission assigned by Antonescu with investigating the abuses (i.e., robbing of the Jews by unauthorized personnel) in the Chișinău ghetto and along the deportation routes; also reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 67 (Doc. No. 19).

4. Report reproduced in Ancel, ed., *Documents*, 5:42.

5. Ibid., 5:48.

6. USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7517, opis 1c, delo 2, p. 80.

7. USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 21, fond 7516, opis 1s, delo 10, p. 16 (and verso).

8. USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 24, file 20725, vol. 5; see also RG-25.021M (FUCER), reel 88, File III-946.

TATAROVCA

The village of Tatarovca (today: Berezhanka, west of Obodivka, Ukraine), located in the Obodovca raion, in the Balta județ, is approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Tulcin. Tatarovca's total population at the end of 1941 was 890 people, mostly Ukrainians.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control over it to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The village's name was romanianized from Tatarovka to Tatarovca. The prefect in the Balta județ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and the praetor in the Obodovca raion was Dumitru Sofian.

The Romanian administration established a ghetto in Tatarovca in the late fall of 1941. Most of the ghetto's approximately 1,200 inmates were Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina.¹ The ghetto was initially set up on the grounds of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*), and people were housed in dilapidated barns. Gradually, a small ghetto was established in the village of Tatarovca in 1942, as the deportees searched for better housing. Aided by Ukrainian auxiliaries, Romanian soldiers guarded it. Both on the *kolkhoz* and in the ghetto, the Jews lived in extremely crowded conditions, with a few families sharing a single room. The chief of the Tatarovca ghetto was Hersch Hendel.²

Starved and frozen, the inmates endured catastrophic conditions. A devastating typhus epidemic that erupted in December 1941 among the deportees killed nearly one thousand people of all ages; children became orphans as their parents succumbed to the disease.³ The epidemic spread beyond the ghetto to the Obodovca raion, but was more deadly in the ghetto.⁴

Although cases of typhus occurred periodically throughout 1942 and 1943, the situation improved somewhat thanks to the measures that the deportees themselves took with the limited resources that they had at their disposal. Survival was made possible through barter, begging, and the generosity of a few locals; some men and women worked as forced laborers in agriculture, being recompensed with some produce, if at all. The Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) provided some humanitarian aid on one or two occasions in 1943. The same organization also facilitated the transfer of individual sums of money from relatives not deported to a small number of deportees in the Tatarovca ghetto.⁵

Partisan groups became increasingly active in the area in the fall of 1943. One such group made contact with some Jews in the Tatarovca ghetto.⁶

The number of deportees in the ghetto in March 1943 was 350, probably not including the Ukrainian Jews; in May, the

number dropped to 105 (31 men, 42 women, 32 children). A subsequent census, on October 20, 1943, recorded that the number of Jews was still 105.⁷

Soviet forces recaptured the area and liberated the ghetto in March 1944. Some Jewish survivors from the Tatarovca ghetto were then drafted into the Red Army, while most others returned to Romania.⁸

SOURCES Additional information describing the fate of the Jews deported to Tatarovca can be found in the following publications: Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Tatarovca can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and ANR (RG-25.002M). See also Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits gathered by the Association of Former Prisoners of the Fascist Camps and Ghettos of the Chernivtsi Region, Ukraine (USHMMA, RG-31.020, microfiche no. 2, folder 2). VHA contains five Russian and Hebrew-language survivor testimonies, including the testimonies of German Bel'zer, February 23, 1997 (#27850); Zahavah Helman, March 17, 1998 (#41950); and Iakov Koifman, June 20, 1996 (#16648). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about ghetto inmates likely incarcerated at Tatarovca.

Alexandra Lohse and Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ita Czin, Doc. No. 52164066; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ester Blaustein, Doc. No. 52285013.

2. List of ghetto and camp Jewish leaders in the Balta județ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562. Another list of ghetto leaders in the Balta județ can be found at USHMMA, RG-68.130M (DAOO-YV), reel 2, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 666 (M-39/32), p. 142.

3. VHA #6331, Ita Shustimova testimony, November 16, 1995.

4. The account of the typhus epidemic is well preserved in the medical reports of the Balta Health Service, December 1941–May 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 17, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 711; for the prefect's report after his inspection of the Obodovca raion in December 1941, see reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 659, pp. 142–143.

5. For receipts after such remittances, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4 and reel 12.

6. VHA #33952, Eti Talis testimony, October 6, 1997.

7. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the May 1943 census, see USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205, p. 446; for the October census, see USHMMA, RG-26.006M (AME), reel 11, vol. 21 (Problem 33), p. 588.

8. Affidavit by Grigory Yekhilevich Kravets, born 1943 in the Tatarovca ghetto, USHMMA, RG-31.020, microfiche no. 2, folder 2; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Stephan Eckstein, Doc. No. 50965449.

TECUCI

Tecuci, seat of the Tecuci județ, in the southeastern part of Romania, is located 67 kilometers (nearly 42 miles) northwest of Galați and 188 kilometers (almost 117 miles) northeast of Bucharest. According to various Romanian censuses, there were 2,912 Jews living in the Tecuci județ (out of a general population of 181,172 residents, or 1.6 percent) at the end of 1939; in September 1941, there were 2,476 Jews in the județ, and in May 1942, there were 2,317.¹

Immediately after the joint German-Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some 200 Jewish men (ages 18–60) from Tecuci’s rural areas were sent to the Târgu Jiu camp for political detainees in freight cars (337 kilometers, or 210 miles, southwest of Tecuci).² The basis for the deportation of these Jews (as well as of many other Jews from Moldavia) was General Ion Antonescu’s Order No. 4147, according to which adult rural Jews living between the Siret and Prut Rivers were to be interned in camps in the southern part of the country as a security measure. The same order also stipulated that the remaining rural Jews be deported to district capitals, and accordingly, the rural Jews of the Tecuci județ were deported to the city at the end of June.³ On July 1, 1941, they and the Jewish residents of the city were interned in an open ghetto in Tecuci.

The ghettoization came in response to Ordinance No. 10399 issued by the Tecuci județ Prefect, Colonel I. Stamatiu, and countersigned by the mayor of Tecuci, Colonel N. Ionașcu, and Colonel P. Zamfirescu, commandant of Tecuci Garrison. The Jews were forced to take up residence within established boundaries between a few streets and the Bârlad River in the town’s eastern part. This area was known as the Jewish quarter (*Cartierul evreiesc*) and it was in effect an open ghetto. Restrictions on the movement of these residents between 8 p.m. and 7 a.m. were imposed. The same ordinance also announced that 20 Jewish leaders from the Tecuci Jewish community were to be taken as hostages (“*ostateci*”) and held separately for the good behavior of the entire community.⁴ Additional evidence for hostage taking comes from documents found in the International Tracing Service (ITS), according to which the city had a “hostage camp” (*Geisellager*).⁵ The Romanian state became the owner of whatever Jewish properties remained in the small towns or villages and the former owners

were not permitted to even attempt to retrieve property from them; some urban Jews, too, were expropriated of houses and businesses.⁶ Jews had to be registered in the Jewish quarter before they could travel outside of the city. All Jews were told that if they engaged in acts of “sabotage, terrorism, or aggression,” they would be shot.⁷ Leaving the city without a permit signed by the prefect was prohibited, and the wearing of the yellow star was instituted for a period of time in the fall of 1941.

From August 1941 to August 1944, Jewish men ages 18–50 years old were periodically taken from the ghetto to undertake forced labor for various state institutions and factories. The Tecuci Military Recruitment Center (*Centrul de Recrutare Tecuci*), whose responsibility was to enroll Jewish men for mandatory labor, enlisted 1,134 Jews for work in August 1941. Some Jewish workers ended up working for the Romanian Army, others were requisitioned in industry, while still others were allocated to road building and embankment fortifications.⁸ Ghetto conditions in Tecuci remained in effect until August 1944 when Romania switched sides in the war. After the war, Israel was a destination for some of Tecuci’s Jews.⁹

SOURCES For further information about the Tecuci ghetto and the Jewish history of Tecuci, see “Tecuci,” 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: 1300; and “Tecuci,” Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Romanyah: entsiklopedyah shel ba-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min bicasdam ve-ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), I: 138–139; Medy Goldenberg, *Evreii din județul și orașul Tecuci* (Bucharest: self-published, 2000). See also Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 4 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente: Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); and Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in collaboration with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary source material documenting the fate of Jews in Tecuci can be found digitally at USHMMA, in collections RG-25.030M (ANR-G), RG-25.016M (CER), and RG-25.021M (FUCER). Additional primary source material can be found in USHMMA, RG-68.029M (ACMEOR) and RG-25.002M (ANR). VHA holds four testimonies from Jewish survivors of Tecuci. See also YVA, O11/308. The ITS holds CNI cards and CM/1 forms tracking the paths of persecution from Tecuci; this documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Cristina Bejan and Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Cf. census figures assembled by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews, Statistical department, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, fond 2694, vol. 18, pp. 14, 28, 41.
2. USHMMA, RG-25.030M (ANR_Galați), reel 24, file 5, pp. 28, 325 (see also pp. 4, 346).
3. For a copy of Antonescu's order, see Ancel, ed., *Contribuții*, vol. II, part 2, p. 276.
4. Ordinance No. 10399, July 1, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.030M (ANR_Galați), reel 23, file 4, p. 2.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Jakob Feldman, Doc. No. 53517991.
6. USHMMA, RG-25.030M (ANR_Galați), reel 24, file 5, p. 22.
7. Ibid.
8. For distribution of Jewish labor in Tecuci, see USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 325, file 927, pp. 31–32.
9. For example, ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Schmuël Perl, Doc. No. 53138616; and ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Hana Michel, Doc. No. 53668083.

TEIȘ-TÂRGOVIȘTE

Teiș is a village near Târgoviște in the Dâmbovița județ in the southern part of Romania. It is 80 kilometers (50 miles) northwest of Bucharest and 295 kilometers (183 miles) southwest of Iași.

Immediately before the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jews living near the military operations or in areas deemed strategic from an economic point of view were concentrated in camps deeper in the Regat. Such was the case of the Jews from northern parts of Moldavia and southern Bukovina, as well as the Jews from the petroleum-rich region around Ploiești in the Prahova județ. As a “security measure,” the Jews from both areas, along with the Jews of Târgoviște, were concentrated in the Teiș-Târgoviște camp, in the Dâmbovița județ.

A forced labor camp for Jews was established at Teiș sometime in July 1941. The camp was commonly referred to as Teiș-Târgoviște or Teiș-Dâmbovița in the documents from the era. A count of the Jews in internment camps in the Regat at the beginning of August 1941 listed the Teiș camp as holding 93 communists, 28 suspects (Legionnaires, most likely), and 1,121 “Jews evacuated from Ploiești.”¹

A few Jews from the Făgăraș județ were brought to the Teiș-Târgoviște camp in August 1941, as were a small group of Jews originally from Dorohoi and Bivolari (Iași județ). In all, the number of Jews in the camp reached close to 1,242 people, all of whom were men between the ages of 16 and 60.² The majority of the internees (the Jews of the Ploiești area) were force-marched to the camp for 50 kilometers (31 miles), guarded by armed gendarmes. Among them were professionals and skilled workers, including professors, lawyers, doctors, and factory workers. There were also a number of World War I veterans, some having distinguished themselves with medals for acts of

bravery, and ranked officers, including reservists in the Romanian Army.³ The camp was controlled by the Dâmbovița Prefect's Office (*Prefectura*), but was ultimately under the authority of the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry.

Surrounded by fences, the Teiș-Târgoviște camp consisted of five or six large barracks, rudimentary in construction and furnishings. Hundreds of people lived in each barrack, sleeping on multitiered beds. There existed a kitchen and a dining hall. Meals were basic—tea and a slice of bread for breakfast, a bowl of soup for lunch and dinner. Large groups were sent to work in the fields in columns, under escort, or worked in the camp under the eyes of armed gendarmes. Some supervised visitation was periodically allowed, and some newspapers were delivered to the camp from time to time. To prevent epidemics, a general cleaning day was instituted for washing, shaving, and repairing clothes. Roll calls took place in the mornings and evenings. Four people died while in the camp. Some cultural activities were permitted in the camp after working hours. Ilie Paisier, one of the internees, composed a “camp hymn” that was sung by the internees.⁴

In early September 1941, the Internal Affairs Ministry's undersecretary, General de divizie Ion Popescu, asked that rabbis and Jewish community leaders be freed from forced labor camps, including from the Teiș-Târgoviște camp, so they could raise funds and coordinate collections among the Jews for the country's military efforts.⁵ Furthermore, a National Defense Ministry order (No. 19.048) from September 24, 1941, released the Jews of Ploiești from the camp, but forbade those under the age of 50 from returning home to the petroleum region. They were forced to resettle in urban centers in other parts of the country (Galați, Brăila, Craiova, Brașov, Botoșani, Bacău, Arad, and Timișoara, among other places).⁶ Once in those places, they became available to local recruitment centers for forced labor. Indeed, many were soon drafted into new forced labor detachments that operated until August 1944, when Romania entered the war on the side of the Allied forces.

The camp population, therefore, decreased substantially in October and early November 1941, when most of the inmates were relocated. Some 424 Jews, however, were retained for forced labor at the Central Supplies Warehouse (*Depozitul Central de Materiale*) in Găești, a few kilometers south of Teiș. There they formed three work companies, each company with its own commandant, and worked in loading and unloading materials. With the exception of some 50 workers who were still needed in the Supplies Warehouse, most were sent away by November 1941. Like those before them, they too were not allowed to return home, but were relocated elsewhere in the country and were then absorbed into local or exterior forced labor detachments.⁷

The Teiș-Târgoviște camp was closed in December 1941.

SOURCES More information about the fate of the Jews held in the Teiș-Târgoviște camp can be gleaned from the following publications: “Ploiesti,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas*

ba-kebilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivusdam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 218–224; Ion Șerbănescu, ed., *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*, vol. 3: 1940–1942. *Perioada unei mari restriști* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 1997), 3: 300–306; Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 4 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom published in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews interned in the Teiș-Târgoviște camp are available at USHMM, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and FUCER (RG-25.021M). For a survivor's account of the Teiș camp, containing the camp's hymn, see Eliahu Paizer, *Cîntecul barăcii* (Jerusalem: Cenuclul Literar "Menora," 1969). A contemporary newspaper report is Mihail Marcu, "Cum au fost internați în lagăr evreii ploieșteni," *CuIs*, January 18, 1945.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Situația Lagărelor," August 6, 1941, USHMM, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19.

2. For an October 1941 list of names containing 1,229 Jews interned in the Teiș camp, including the names of 4 Jews who died in the camp, see USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 144, file 2413, pp. 17–48.

3. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 140, file 2370, p. 474 (and verso); for name lists containing 986 internees arranged according to their military training and profession, see RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, pp. 76–124.

4. Eliahu Paizer (Romanian spelling: Ilie Paiser)'s account of camp life, drawn in sketches, available at www.gazeta-dambovitei.ro/cultura/holocaust-dambovitean-marturie-evreiasca-din-lagarul-de-la-teis/.

5. USHMM, RG-25.002M, reel 17, file 86, p. 108.

6. See order issued by the Romanian National Defense Ministry, USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411. For lists of Jews from the Teiș camp relocating elsewhere in Romania, see RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2413.

7. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2413, pp. 437–444; see also in the same collection, reel 141, file 2371.

ȚIBULOVCA

Țibulovca, a village in the Obodovca raion, Balta județ (today: Tsybulivka, Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated on both sides of a small tributary of the Bug River. Țibulovca is 37 kilometers (23 miles) southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 754 Jews in the Obodovca raion, representing 2.49 percent

of the entire raion's population (census data for Țibulovca are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Țibulovca in mid-July 1941. The village came under Romanian administration in September of the same year. Under this administration, the village's name was romanianized from Tzibulovka to Țibulovca and, alternatively, Țibulovca Nouă (New Tzibulovka) and Țibulovca Veche (Old Tzibulovka), because of the stream that divided the village into two parts. Each side had a Jewish camp/ghetto. The prefect in the Balta județ was Colonel Vasile Nica, and his deputy was Alexandru Cojocar. The commandant of the Balta Gendarmes Legion was Locotenent-colonel Ștefan Gavăț. The praetor in the Obodovca raion was Dumitru Sofian. The chiefs of the medical service in Balta were Maior Dr. Gheorghe Filipaș and Dr. Vera Decuseară.

Beginning in October 1941, convoys of Jews from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia (entering Transnistria via Iampol), as well as Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria—some 26,000 Jews in total—were marched to destinations in the Balta județ closer to the Bug. Of those, 10,000 Jews who had arrived in the area by mid-November 1941 remained in the Obodovca raion. After weeks of marching from one place to another in search of their assigned place of deportation, many of the Jews were starving and freezing, with little material or financial reserves left to barter for food.¹

Because of unsanitary conditions, a major typhus epidemic erupted at the end of November 1941 among the deportees and spread among the villagers. Local and district-level authorities, including the general hospital in Obodovca, were completely unprepared to handle the large-scale epidemic. The Obodovca raion had the highest rate of typhus in the Balta județ: of approximately 22,300 inhabitants in the raion, there were 1,300 cases of typhus detected by December 1941. This figure most likely does not include the Jews deported to the raion. On his visit to the Obodovca raion on December 7, 1941, the prefect, accompanied by Dr. Filipaș and Dr. Decuseară, found that the Jews had not yet been placed in camps or ghettos (presumably some of them were living in barns, stables, pigsties of collective farms, or abandoned school buildings near villages), and that measures had not been taken to delouse or isolate those infected with typhus. The lack of hospitals, doctors, medicine, and functioning communal baths meant that little could have been done even for the local population, let alone the Jews. The prefect's medical team recommended measures aimed at stopping the epidemic, but their implementation took months. Part of the solution to the problem, Dr. Decuseară maintained, was confiscating medical instruments and medicine from the deported Jewish doctors in the Obodovca raion to use in the local clinics.² The measure reflected the common belief among Romanian officials that the Jews were to be blamed for the spread of typhus. In the prefect's words, "the causes for the outbreak of typhus are: the bringing of Yids (*jidani*) from Bukovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria in these counties (*raioane*) without being first deloused and disinfected."³

After a group of Jews were murdered in the basement of a house in Țibulovca, the gruesome memory of their deaths,

combined with rumors that villagers were unfriendly to the Jews, spread fear among the Jews, who avoided going to the village.⁴ Still, a camp was gradually formed in a dilapidated chicken farm in which were crammed some 2,000 Jews from various passing convoys. The camp was fenced with barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian policemen and Romanian gendarmes. Barns and other buildings in the farm lacked roofs, doors, and windows. There were no washing facilities, and melted snow provided drinking water. Heaps of rubble or destroyed structures became public latrines. Approximately 1,820 Jews died from November 1941 to January 1942 of hunger and disease, particularly typhus and typhoid fever (also malaria). Their frozen corpses were collected every few days and transported by sleigh to a ditch or an open valley for burial. These burials, however, did not occur until warmer days when the ground was less frozen; wild animals and birds tore apart the bodies awaiting interment. Life in the camp was insufferable. A few Jews committed suicide. Others bartered whatever they could for the poor food that villagers had (bread, sweet beets, pig lard, and potatoes).⁵

In the spring of 1942, the Government of Transnistria ordered that deported Jews organize for labor duties and set up workshops. At that time the Jews who could find work as tailors, smiths, or seasonal workers with the locals left the camp and moved in with them. They worked in exchange for housing and a little food. The remaining Jews moved into the homes of local Ukrainian Jews or other abandoned houses, with several families sharing a room; thus the Țibulovca ghettos were formed.

A Jewish committee was formed in Țibulovca. The Jewish labor committee in Țibulovca Nouă included the chief of the colony, Professor Martin Reinisch; the deputy chief, lawyer Bercu Steinfeld; treasurer Jora (or Iora) Engler; and secretary Moritz Nagler. Țibulovca Veche's chief was Herș Weinisch. These and other intellectuals in the ghetto had held positions in state institutions prior to deportation.⁶ Jews who before being deported had practiced or studied medicine were recruited to work as local doctors throughout the Balta județ. Thus, Dr. Heinrich Anderman of the Țibulovca Veche ghetto worked as the doctor in Britava, and Dr. Eti Aschenazi from the same ghetto was the doctor in Pasațeli II (both in the Balta județ).⁷ Medicine for the needs of the Jews in the Țibulovca ghettos was procured from the Obodovca ghetto, which was larger and better equipped. A Jewish police unit also was formed, its main duty being that of gathering laborers for work duties on farms or for road repairs. The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) sent financial and material aid to Țibulovca Veche (for further distribution to both ghettos), and family members who had not been deported sent money to individuals in the ghettos.⁸

On May 5, 1942, there were 208 Jews in Țibulovca Nouă and 182 in Țibulovca Veche.⁹ At the end of 1942 and beginning of 1943, there were 270 Jews in Țibulovca Nouă: 88 men, 149 women, and 33 children. In the same period, there were 214 Jews in Țibulovca Veche: 72 men, 88 women, and 54

children. By September 1943, the combined number of Jews in Țibulovca Nouă and Țibulovca Veche was 390 (17 from Bessarabia, 373 from Bukovina), excluding Ukrainian Jews.¹⁰

In early March 1944, 51 orphans under the age of 18 were repatriated to Romania from the Țibulovca ghettos.¹¹ A few weeks later, the Red Army liberated Țibulovca. Surviving Jews returned to their homes, walking long distances or riding on military vehicles. The Red Army recruited able-bodied male Jews to work near the front line digging trenches or in coal mines inside the Soviet Union, neither of which appealed to the Jews who survived the Țibulovca ghettos.

SOURCES Additional information about the Țibulovca ghettos can be found in the following sources: "Tsibulevka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1046; "Tsibulevka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 337; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), pp. 335–336; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 49; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986). For information about rescuers of Jews in Țibulovca, see Israel Gutman et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations* (Europe, part II) (Jerusalem: Keterpress, 2011), 5: 366–367, 395–396 (articles are also available at http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/familyList.html?placeTemp=Tsybulevka&results_by=family&placeFam=Tsybulevka&language=en).

Primary sources documenting the fate of local and deported Jews in Țibulovca are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and ANR (RG-25.002M). At USHMM, there are approximately 35 oral testimonies (in seven languages) of Jewish survivors, including two testimonies of Ukrainian rescuers of Jews from Țibulovca (Yevdokiya Kostyuk, and Tudosiy and Olga Litovchuk).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See correspondence from the Balta prefecture to the Government of Transnistria, Medical Service, December 4, 1941, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 659, p. 145 (and verso) (USHMM, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/659, p. 145).

2. "Proces Verbal," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/695, pp. 142–143 (esp. p. 143).
3. Prefect report, December 4, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/659, p. 145 (verso).
4. VHA #49523, Bernhard Guttman testimony, March 24, 1999.
5. VHA #3364, David Finger testimony, June 20, 1995; VHA #5363, Henia Donenfeld testimony, August 10, 1995.
6. "Tabel de membrii Biroului de Organizarea a Muncii Evreilor din Jud. Balta și a Comitetelor evreiești din Jud. Balta pe data de 1 Septembrie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, n.p.; "Tabel nominal de evreii din raionul Obodovca care au fost funcționari de stat și familiile lor," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/15/2358/1/110, pp. 12–13 (and verso).
7. "Referat," August 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.
8. "Tablou de remiterile de ajutoare colectiv de la 18 Februarie 1942 până la 12 Decembrie 1942," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents* 5: 306–314 (esp. p. 311). For individual aid, see "Tabel de remiterile facute evreilor din tara deportati in Transnistria si aflati la Țibulovca Veche (raion Obodovca, jud. Balta)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1567, p. 494; and for Țibulovca Nouă, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1501, p. 160.
9. "Numărul evreilor din Jud. Balta pe raioane," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2358/1/717, p. 42 (verso). A count, "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, gives a different figure (490 Jews for both ghettos). For the May 5, 1943, census, see "Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați în lagărele din Județul Balta, la 5 Mai 1943," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 16, file 205, vol. 2, pp. 446–447.
10. "Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 440.
11. Tables with names and ages of the repatriated children are available in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 553–556.

TIMIȘOARA/LP NO. 17

Timișoara was the main city in the Timiș județ, in the southwestern part of Romania. An important administrative and cultural center in the (Romanian) Banat region, the city is located some 410 kilometers (255 miles) northwest of Bucharest. Colonel Alexandru Nasta was the prefect of the Timiș județ, and Eugen Pop was the mayor.

In the autumn of 1940, while Romania remained neutral, the German construction company, Organisation Todt (OT), built a large prisoner of war (POW) camp in Timișoara with local labor. The camp was located on the east side of the Timișoara-Arad Highway (today: Romanian National Road 69) on the city's northern outskirts. The camp was built on the Kopony estate, an area of 17 hectares (42 acres) belonging to the aristocratic Kopony family.

The camp was surrounded by two high barbed-wire fences, almost 9 meters (29.5 feet) apart. Watchtowers equipped with machine guns were placed in three of the camp's four corners.

Large wooden barracks were built in the camp. The exact number of barracks is unknown, but the number of 50 is often cited. Each barrack was 100 meters long and 10 meters wide (328×32.8 feet) and could hold 100 people in cramped conditions. The camp's normal capacity was estimated to be between 5,000 and 6,000 people. Some of the barracks were used as warehouses, and there was a cafeteria and an infirmary. The Kopony mansion, a large two-story building, housed the camp's commanding office. The nuns running the Marienheim monastery (of the Roman Catholic Order of Notre Dame) neighboring the camp also ran a small hospital for camp prisoners in an adjacent building belonging to the monastery.

Oberst Henblein (or Heublein) commanded the Wehrmacht troops stationed in Timișoara in preparation for the German attack on Yugoslavia in April 1941. After the attack, Yugoslav Army POWs were transported to Timișoara by rail. The POWs were initially placed in smaller temporary holding camps near Timișoara at Săcălaz, Remetea, Bucovăț, and Moșnița Nouă where they were separated by nationality. Serb POWs were concentrated in the main camp at Timișoara for deportation to Germany as forced laborers, whereas Yugoslav POWs of Romanian, German, Hungarian, or Croat origin stayed in those holding camps for a few more weeks before their repatriation to Yugoslavia, Hungary, or Germany. During this period of confinement, the Romanian authorities staged cultural and religious activities for ethnic Romanian prisoners and offered them educational materials in the Romanian language.¹ Serb POWs received less humane treatment. Some died from battle wounds or sickness, or in escape attempts (they were usually shot), but most suffered from starvation.²

After the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the camp came completely under Romanian jurisdiction and was renamed prisoner camp (*Lagărul de Prizonieri*, LP) LP No. 17. The camp was administered by the VI Territorial Command under the command of Colonel Cavaropol. Beginning in September 1941, Soviet POWs captured on the Eastern front were also sent to LP No. 17. The total number of prisoners reached almost 7,000 over the three years of Romanian control. Living conditions inside the camp were poor. The POWs lacked shoes and clothing, and the rations were not nutritious. The approach of the frigid winter of 1941 wreaked havoc among the many POWs whose health had already been weakened after weeks of detention and poor treatment since their capture. That winter a typhoid fever epidemic claimed a small number of victims. The subsequent winter, 1942, however, revealed the ineffectiveness of the camp authorities' preparation; despite the preventive measures taken to combat epidemics like typhus, dozens of POWs, soldiers and officers alike, perished that winter. The total number of victims recorded by the Soviet authorities for that and the following winter (1943) was 95: 73 were regular soldiers, 21 were officers, and 1 was a noncommissioned officer. It is likely that the total number was higher.³

In accordance with the orders of Colonel I. Stănculescu, commander of all POW camps in Romania, state-owned and private entities were permitted to hire POWs as laborers. The

Furnir Deta, a factory producing veneer, employed Soviet labor from LP No. 17. While working in the factory and benefiting from a greater degree of freedom, some POWs escaped and crossed the border into occupied Yugoslavia, where they eventually joined groups of Josip Broz Tito's Partisans.

The camp remained under Romanian jurisdiction for several months after August 23, 1944, when Romania joined the Allies against Nazi Germany. Surprised by the sudden decision to switch sides, the Wehrmacht garrison in Timișoara surrendered without a fight, while German and Hungarian forces tried unsuccessfully to recapture the city. In September 1944, a delegation of the regional organization, "Patriotic Defense" (*Apărarea Patriotică*), distributed humanitarian assistance (food, medicine, cigarettes, and money) to the POWs. The camp was formally handed over to the Soviet authorities with the arrival of the Red Army in Timișoara in October 1944. The Soviets operated the camp to confine some 30,000 to 35,000 Hungarian and German POWs before their deportation as forced laborers to the Soviet Union. In March 1945, major epidemics of typhus, typhoid, and dysentery resulted in the deaths of as many as 9,000 Axis POWs at this site. The camp formally closed in 1946.

SOURCES More information about the fate of the Soviet POWs held in LP No. 17 in Timișoara can be found in the following publications: Constantin C. Gombos and Ioan Rado, *Dincolo de sârma ghimpată, Lagărul . . . Din istoria lagărului de prizonieri din Timișoara, 1941–1945* (Timișoara: Eurostampa, 2011); and Vali Corduneanu, "Lagărul de prizonieri din Timișoara—o istorie care se cere cercetată și scrisă," available at www.stindard.ro/historicum/cordon1.pdf; for a more general study of the Soviet POWs in Romania, see Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1944)," available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf; for a description of the ICRC activity among the POWs in Romania, see Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997).

Primary sources regarding the fate of the Soviet POWs in Timișoara LP No. 17 are available at TsAMO. The Romanian press published propagandistic, but useful, articles on the camp: *Timpu*, *RTim*. Also useful is the following pro-communist publication from the Banat region: Comitetul regional din Banat al Apararii Patriotice, eds., *Apărarea Patriotică contra teroarei fasciste* (Timișoara, 1945), esp. 92–94. A photograph of the camp appears on p. 92. For Romanian transcripts of the Soviet interrogations of Antonescu government officials regarding camps for Soviet POWs in Romania and the treatment of Soviet POWs therein, see Radu Ioanid, ed., *Lotul Antonescu în ancheta SMERȘ, Moscova, 1944–1946* (Iași: Polirom, 2006).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Traiul celor 4000 prizonieri Români proveniți din fosta armată Jugoslavă," *Timpu*, May 15, 1941, p. 3. The figure of 4,000 includes ethnic Romanian prisoners from Curcani and Vlașca. For the latter camp, see photos in *Timpu*, May 18, 1941, p. 1; and in the same newspaper, May 15, 1941, p. 1. There were additional camps for Yugoslav POWs of Ro-

manian origin in Curcani (Ilfov județ), Odăile (or Odaia, Teleorman județ), and Bălănoaia (Vlașca județ, today Teleorman județ), A. Dumitrescu Jippa and Octavian Matea, "Timocenii printre noi," *RTim*, 1943, pp. 53–57.

2. In countering such claims, see "Hrana prizonierilor sârbi din lagărele din Timișoara," *Timpu*, May 18, 1941, p. 3.

3. "Dosarul cuprinzând tabelele nominale ale ostașilor din armata Rosie decedați în lagărele din România. Intocmite în conformitate cu adresa nr. A.G.M. 132 din 5 Decembrie 1944 a Comisiunii Aliată de Control din România," TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, p. 2; but see also in the same collection a list of deceased prisoners, "Lagarul de prizonieri 17 Timișoara," pp. 545–554.

TIMIȘUL DE JOS/LPRA NO. 18

Timișul de Jos, a village in the Brașov județ, is in the central part of Romania in a mountainous region, 9 kilometers (5.5 miles) south of Brașov and 134 kilometers (83 miles) northwest of Bucharest.

A camp for American prisoners of war (*Lagărul de prizonieri de război americani*, LPRA) was established in Timișul de Jos by the spring of 1943. After the bombing raid on the Ploiești oil refineries on August 1, 1943, the camp admitted its largest number of prisoners of war (POWs) in September and October 1943. In addition to U.S. prisoners, the camp also held five Yugoslav POWs (officers and noncommissioned officers, [NCOs]), two British NCOs, and two British civilians (actually Zionists from Palestine who had parachuted into Europe on an Allied mission). Before arriving at Timișul de Jos, the prisoners had been held in a transit camp in Bucharest. The German authorities in Romania asked for and were handed a small group of U.S. and British POWs to be taken to the Reich for interrogation. The POWs in question were returned unharmed to Bucharest three weeks later and transferred to Timișul de Jos.¹

The camp commandant was Căpitan Gheorghe Butoliu, who was succeeded by army majors Mihai Cavaropol and Alexandru Mateescu. Initially a subcamp of the Vlădeni camp for Soviet POWs (*Lagărul de Prizonieri Sovietici*, LPRS), the Timișul de Jos camp became independent and was assigned the designation LPRA No. 18 at the beginning of 1943. It was occasionally referred to as Timiș or Timiș-Brașov.

LPRA No. 18 consisted of several large structures, some residential and others auxiliary (cafeteria, laundry, and showers). The houses were formerly used as resorts for Romanian state employees. A Catholic chapel existed on the grounds. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the camp, and a few Romanian gendarmes stood guard.

The prisoners were airmen of the United States Air Army Forces (USAAF) and the Royal Air Force (RAF). After capture, they were searched, their uniforms removed, and valuables confiscated. In accordance with the 1929 Geneva Convention, they were housed according to rank. Officers were quartered in a large residential house, similar to a villa, whereas the NCOs occupied a smaller house (and later two houses). The officers' house was equipped with a large dining room, a

clean kitchen, and two bathrooms with showers and flush toilets. The bedrooms were clean and comfortable. Nutritious meals were served three times a day, and supplementary food could be bought from an inn across the camp. Officers received monthly stipends allocated by the Romanian Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) in lieu of regular salaries in conformity with the Geneva Convention of 1929. In September 1943, there were 19 officers, and by January 1944 there were 40; the latter number remained stable in June 1944 and likely beyond. The Senior Allied Officer (SAO) was Major William H. Jaeger.

The NCOs' situation was less comfortable. Lodged in crowded and less sanitary conditions, they received a stipend insufficient to supplement their inadequate meals. Such meals consisted mostly of ersatz coffee, bean soup, bread, and mashed potatoes. Poor bathing and cooking facilities added to their frustration. Two POWs were shoeless, and all of them lacked warm winter clothing. A few NCOs soon displayed signs of malnutrition and required hospitalization. The number of NCOs grew from 44 in September 1943 to 70 in January 1944. The camp spokesman was Sergeant Fred D. Randall and then later Captain Wallace C. Taylor assisted by Dutch Rear Admiral (*schout-bij-nacht*) L. A. C. M. Doorman (an escaped POW from the Reich). The number of NCOs rose to 120 prisoners in May 1944.²

Some cultural life existed for the NCOs. A Romanian Catholic Mass was celebrated a few times, and later English Protestant services were held as well. The POWs were free to listen to the radio in the dining room. Walking, exercise, playing cards, and other games were allowed. Interaction with Romanian civilians or the Soviet POWs who served as camp orderlies was restricted.

Representatives of the Swiss Legation in Bucharest, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and the Romanian Red Cross (*Crucea Roșie din România*, CRR) visited the camp a few times between late September 1943 and June 1944. They observed the living conditions, noted complaints, and evaluated the commandants' disposition. The inspection reports were transmitted to the U.S. Legation in Bern and relayed to the U.S. State Department.³

The reports resulted in substantially improved conditions for the NCOs. Beginning in January 1944, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister Mihai Antonescu and other Romanian authorities responded by increasing the NCOs' stipends, improving rations, and allowing aid packages. Mail exchanges became possible as well.⁴ In March 1944, the MSM, together with Marshal Ion Antonescu, approved Romanian-language instruction for POWs and for movies to be shown.⁵ Monsignor Andrea Cassulo, the papal nuncio in Romania, donated money for the POWs' Christmas celebrations in December 1943. Marshal Antonescu and his wife, Maria, visited the camp in March 1944. He promised additional privileges for the POWs, including visits throughout the country, provided they pledged not to escape.⁶

In fact, there were a few escape attempts, none apparently successful. The first attempt in October 1943 was not pun-

ished, but subsequent attempts incurred severe penalties, including the sacking of a camp commandant and increased camp restrictions. It became common practice to beat recaptured escapees and send them for correctional punishment to the Slobozia camp for Soviet POWs (LPRS No. 1), located 102 kilometers (63 miles) east of Bucharest. On November 16, 1943, six U.S. and two British NCOs escaped from Timișul de Jos. Recaptured shortly thereafter, they were beaten and transported to Slobozia where they spent 30 days in confinement under strict discipline.⁷ Sergeant Reginald Douglas Collins and Staff Sergeant Huntley made a last attempt to escape on August 22, 1944—a day before Romania switched sides in the war and the anticipated release of all prisoners—by hiding in a disguised closet in a camp dormitory. A thorough search of the camp revealed the two concealed prisoners, who were then severely beaten by Mateescu and his staff, in violation of the Geneva Convention.

Health care was available inside the camp and at nearby hospitals. A general practitioner and a dentist periodically visited the camp. Prisoners with more serious medical needs were treated at military hospitals in Brașov, Sinaia, and Ploiești. They also received visits and support from the Protecting Power delegates.

The POWs were released from the Timișul de Jos camp shortly after August 23, 1944, when Romania switched sides in World War II. All prisoners were transferred to a camp in Bucharest and left Romania safely at the beginning of September 1944. On his repatriation to the United Kingdom, on January 5, 1945, Sergeant Collins made a formal charge against Mateescu for maltreating him following his attempted escape.⁸

SOURCES Further information regarding U.S. and other Allied Powers POWs held in the Timișul de Jos camp (LPRA No. 18) can be found in Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997). Șiperco's volume includes a group photo displaying American POWs at the military hospital in Sinaia. Among the photographed prisoners is the ICRC delegate, Charles Kolb, along with a few CRR representatives, who were visiting that day. Regarding the imprisonment of U.S. POWs and those of other Allied Powers in the Slobozia correctional camp, see Vitalie Buzu, "Lagărul de prizonieri sovietici de la Slobozia," at <http://ionelperlea.wordpress.com/2009/11/07/lagarul-de-prizonieri-sovietici-de-la-slobozia/>.

Primary sources documenting the experience of U.S. POWs and those of other Allied Powers in Timișul de Jos (LPRA No. 18) are available at USHMMA, in collection PCMCM (RG-25.013M). A substantial collection of camp inspection reports regarding U.S. POWs in Romania can be found at NARA, Records of the Office of Provost Marshal General (RG-389), box 2155. On the mistreatment of one of the British civilians in the camp, see "Ill-treatment of British civilian internee at prisoner of war camp, Timișul de Jos near Brașov, Romania, April 1944," dated February to November 1945, WO 311/934, TNA; and UNWCC, available at USHMMA as RG-67.041M.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. U.S. Legation, Bern, to U.S. Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, October 13, 1943, NARA, RG-389 (Provost-Marshall General's Office), box 2155, n.p. A name list of most of the U.S. POWs follows the letter.
2. Airmail letter, U.S. Legation in Bern, to U.S. State Department, Special War Problems Division, June 28, 1944, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p.
3. Reports of September 28, 1943 (Camp Report No. 1), October 30, 1943 (Camp Report No. 2), and January 20, 1944 (Camp Report No. 3), NARA, RG-389, box 2155. Summary transmissions of these reports between the Swiss and the American agencies, including other reports about subsequent visits made by delegates of the CCR and ICRC, can be found in the same location.
4. Reports by ICRC delegate, Charles Kolb's camp visits, November 29, 1943, and January 5, 1944, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p. Also, see the visits of CRR's staff, Mrs. Ioan, January 24, 1944, in the same location, n.p.
5. MSM Order, March 7, 1944, and Marshal Antonescu's approval, USHMMA, RG-25.013M (PCMCM), reel 6, file 175, p. 45. See also ICRC letter, November 17, 1943, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p.
6. Copy of telegram, April 14, 1943, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p.
7. Such incidents are noted in various camp reports: see, for instance, the reporting regarding the attempt of the eight prisoners to escape on November 16, 1943, in Camp Report No. 3, January 5, 1944; and in Kolb's report following his camp visit on November 29, 1943, NARA, RG-389, box 2155, n.p.
8. Collins affidavit, USHMMA, RG-67.041M (UN-WCC), reel 22, folders PAG-3 / 2.0: 114–117 United Kingdom vs. Romanians, Registered No. 1–2, fr. 2954–2956.

TIRASPOL

A raion and județ center, Tiraspol (today: in Moldova), in the western part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located near the Dniester River. Tiraspol is 92 kilometers (57 miles) northwest of Odessa. According to the 1939 Soviet census, Tiraspol had 11,764 Jews, about 30 percent of the city's total population. At the outbreak of war against the Soviet Union, some of the Jews retreated with the Red Army (to Odessa, for example) and some military-age men were drafted into the army, but most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tiraspol on August 8, 1941. Together they established Transnistria's first military and administrative capital at Tiraspol before moving it to Odessa in February 1942. Soon after the occupation, a large number of local Jews and active communist leaders were rounded up and shot by Einsatzgruppe D, assisted by Romanian Army troops. This killing operation was aimed at eliminating "undesirable" groups of people from behind the front line. The victims, who numbered approximately 10,000, were buried in unmarked mass graves. An agreement between German and Romanian officials, signed at Tighina, near Tiraspol, on August 30, 1941, gave Romania immediate control over Transnistria. Authority over Tiraspol was transferred to

the Romanian administration at the beginning of September 1941. The prefect in Tiraspol was Colonel Georgescu Pompiliu, and the commandant of the gendarmes was Maior Nicolae Iacobescu. Căpitan Ion A. Ionescu, succeeded by Locotenent Ionel Popescu, was the city's police chief and the Tiraspol ghetto's military commandant.

Approximately 1,100 Jews deported from Romania crossed the Dniester River into Transnistria at the Tighina-Tiraspol crossing point during the deportations of 1941 and 1942, according to the Transnistria Gendarmes Inspectorate's report of September 9, 1942.¹ After a short stop in Tiraspol in miserable conditions, the Jews were marched to camps near the Bug in the Golta județ, where many perished due to cold, illness, and starvation, and many others were shot. A small ghetto was established in Tiraspol in early 1942 to house Jews who would serve the growing needs of the Romanian and German officers and institutions in the city. The initial ghetto population was not more than 30 people, all Jewish specialist workers brought from other ghettos, particularly the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto.² Gradually, the ghetto grew to 100 Jews (men, women, and a few children), and by the end of 1943, there were 256 inmates. Of them, 156 were from Romania, the rest being Ukrainian Jews deported from other places in Transnistria.³ The ghetto area expanded as the number of deportees increased. At one time it included only a few houses, amounting to 18 rooms, and then it gradually extended to a few streets.⁴ A fence was eventually erected, and the ghetto was under the constant guard of three to four Romanian gendarmes.

Life inside the ghetto at first was filled with restrictions, but over time the Romanian authorities' interdictions were relaxed. Going in and out of the ghetto was not allowed without a permit, and permits were usually granted only for work purposes. Food was brought into the ghetto by two representatives who were permitted to leave under escort to buy food. Ghetto roll calls occurred regularly.⁵ A dentist by the name of Goldsman (Romanian: Goldțman) headed the ghetto, after taking over from Izrael Silberman, who proved to be a corrupt leader. A committee was formed from Goldsman's colleagues—Bandel, Evitco, Leo Drux, Iancu Braunstein, and Marcu Maier—as well as a few dedicated women, who assisted him in running the ghetto.

Local Romanian authorities came to rely on the services provided by the Jews. For that reason, the authorities, beginning with Maior Iacobescu, provided for some basic necessities and made certain the Jews were treated fairly by employers. Most of the Jews worked in the newly created ghetto workshops (*ateliere*), as well as in several of the city's offices, small factories (soap and canning), restaurants, and the train station. Among the workshops, the most established were the tailoring, boot-making, hairdressing, and dress and lingerie shops. A dental office and a medical office also functioned in the ghetto.⁶ The ghetto covered part of its expenses from the money obtained from selling the workshops' products and from rendering services to the government and the army. Private sums of money and packages from family members or friends who remained in Romania were also usually received,

even if with delays.⁷ The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) also provided food and clothing packages in the second part of 1943.

In 1943 a Torah scroll smuggled into the ghetto was read by a rabbi from the ghetto, assisted by a cantor (a doctor from the Regat), in religious services.⁸ Jewish High Holidays in 1943 were observed, and a number of art shows were staged to increase morale among deportees.

In addition to the ghettoized Jews, other Jews were held in 1943 in Tiraspol's forced labor centers and prisons. One hundred Jews from Transnistria were jailed in the city's prison for committing various offenses. Some 400 Jews (of whom 156 were brought from the Tulcin județ peat fields) worked as temporary forced laborers in an army uniform recycling center. Another 100 worked in a collection center where different products were gathered before being sent to Romania, and another 100 worked in a vehicle repair center. The living situation of these Jews was far worse than of those living in the ghetto. They lacked nutritious food, clothing (some were partly naked), and basic accommodations.⁹ Two large camps of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) existed in Tiraspol and held 5,820 POWs.

Repatriations of Jews originally from the Dorohoi județ and the Regat, and of former state functionaries and war veterans, took place in December 1943 via Tiraspol, which had become a repatriation center for Jews from the central and southern regions of Transnistria.¹⁰ Orphaned children, up to 15 years of age, from the Balta ghetto orphanage and other orphans from the Tiraspol județ were also repatriated through Tiraspol in early March 1944. Before boarding trains destined for various cities in Romania, the deportees were deloused, clothed, and fed nutritious food. This was made possible due to the efforts of CER, whose representatives worked in partnership with the Tiraspol ghetto committee members and with Romanian military and civilian authorities in Tiraspol and Tighina.¹¹

At the end of 1943, several delegations visiting Transnistria came to the Tiraspol ghetto, among them representatives of CER, a group of Catholic clergy led by Andrea Cassulo (the papal nuncio in Romania), and a group from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

The German authorities retook control of the city and its bridges at the end of March 1944. Although the ghetto had been disbanded a few months earlier, many convicted Jews remained in the city's prisons and were not released before the Germans came. The Germans shot most of them, approximately 1,000, before the Red Army liberated Tiraspol on April 12, 1944. The People's Court in Bucharest investigated Tiraspol ghetto leader Izrael Silberman and Romanian military officials in Tiraspol for the inhumane treatment of Jews.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Tiraspol can be found in the following publications: "Tiraspol," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossphen, 2009), p. 981; "Tiraspol," in

Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1308; "Tiraspol," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 195; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Iacov Geller, *Rezistența Spirituală a Evreilor Români în Timpul Holocaustului* (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2004).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews in the Tiraspol ghetto are available at USHMM, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M). For the Tighina Agreement, see RG-31.004M, reel 18, fond 2359, opis 1c, delo 1, pp. 61–62 (and verso); additional lists of Jews from the Tiraspol ghetto can be found at RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22; for CER's involvement in the repatriation of Romanian Jews, including the orphaned children, from Transnistria via Tiraspol, see RG-25.016 (ANR, fond CER), reel 1, file 4 and 5, as well as reel 7, file 52 in the same collection; for the repatriation of Jews from Tiraspol ghetto, see also RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 17, fond 680.1, file 4643.2; Romanian court investigations against Izrael Silberman are located at RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 39, file 40030, vol. 11 (continuing into reel 40, file 40030, vol. 11), and for court investigations into the shooting of Jews and Russian citizens in Tiraspol, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 41, file 108233, vol. 31; and reel 125, file 21535, Operating Archive vol. 7. The Soviet Extraordinary Commission's report on Tiraspol can be found at RG-54.001M (ANRM), reel 14, fond 1026/32. VHA holds 153 video testimonies in nine languages from Holocaust survivors who passed through the Tiraspol ghetto.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Report No. 9.318, USHMM (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 152.

2. Name lists of Jews in the Tiraspol ghetto: "Tabel de evreii din ghetoul Tiraspol," June 9, 1942, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 3, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1488, p. 122 (USHMM, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488, p. 122).

3. "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

4. For a list of allocated rooms in the ghetto and the families occupying them, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488, p. 123 (verso).

5. List of instructions governing the ghetto: "Consemn pentru garda și evreii din Ghetoul Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/3/2242/1/1488, p. 124.

6. VHA #40708, Chana Klinger testimony, February 9, 1998; for Jewish workers employed in various institutions, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, n.p.

7. "Stat nominal pentru plata evreilor meseriași de la ghetoul Tiraspol pe luna Martie 1942," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1227, p. 11 (see also p. 12 for April 1942 payments).

8. VHA #23467, Salo Sternhell testimony, December 22, 1996.

9. "Report asupra repatrierii evreilor deportați în Transnistria, prin punctul Tighina-Tiraspol," reproduced in *Ancel, Documents*, 5: 527–538 (esp. pp. 528–350).

10. For a name list of war veterans, disabled, widows, and state functionaries, see "Tabel nominal de evreii: văduve, invalizi, decorați de război, pensionari și fosti funcționari de Stat aflați în Ghetoul Tiraspol," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/14/2264s/1/10, p. 35.

11. "Raport asupra repatrierii copiilor orfani evrei din Transnistria prin punctual Balta-Tiraspol," reproduced in *Ancel, Documents*, 5: 576–586.

TIRASPOL/LPRS NO. 5 AND NO. 11

Tiraspol, a city in the Tiraspol județ in the western part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated on the eastern side of the Dniester River, Tiraspol is located about 92 kilometers (57 miles) northwest of Odessa.

After the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Tiraspol was occupied on August 7, 1941. Subsequently, the Romanian civil administration of Transnistria established its first capital at Tiraspol, before moving its capital to the larger city of Odessa in February 1942.

A Romanian camp for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) was created in Tiraspol in the fall of 1941, followed by a second camp shortly thereafter. Following the occupation of Transnistria, the Romanian gendarmerie searched the area for Soviet soldiers. In one such instance, 300 Soviet soldiers were captured in the Odessa raion in November/December 1941. Officers were sent to the camp in Tiraspol, and the rest were sent to the Soviet POW camp in Timișoara (in western Romania).¹ Tiraspol's two camps and their respective subcamps were under the jurisdiction of the Headquarters Rear Area for the East (*Comandamentul Etapelor de Est*).

By the spring of 1943, there were 5,820 Soviet POWs held in Tiraspol's two camps and subcamps. The first camp in Tiraspol was known as Camp No. 5 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici Nr. 5*, LPRS) until late 1943, when its name was apparently changed to Camp No. 12. The camp commandants were Maior Ion Lăzăroiu (1942 and 1943), followed by Maior Nicolae Grosu (1942) and Locotenent-colonel Constantin Manoliu and Constantin Bantaș (in 1943). Camp No. 5 had 3,996 Soviet POWs in the following eight subcamps: 426 pris-

oners were held in the building of a Tiraspol train station; Sucleia, 1,405 prisoners; Calcatova-Balca, 736 prisoners; Pavlovca, 110 prisoners (all subcamps in the Tiraspol județ); Tașlăc, 155 prisoners (Dubăsari județ); Golta, 285 prisoners (Golta județ); Odaia, 414 prisoners (Tulcin județ); and Șmerinca, 465 prisoners (Moghilev județ).

The General Inspectorate of Gendarmes allocated 21 officers (including the commandants), 22 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 644 troops for the running of Camp No. 5 and its subcamps. Additional personnel (officers and soldiers) ran the Șmerinca and Tașlăc subcamps.

The second camp in Tiraspol was known as Camp No. 11 (*Lagărul de Prizonieri Nr. 11*). Commanded by Locotenent-colonel Victor Ioanid, it held 1,824 Soviet POWs and comprised the following subcamps distributed around Transnistria: Birzula (Râbnița județ), 250 prisoners; Odessa, 287 prisoners in six smaller camps; Vacarjani with 30 prisoners, Manarov/Mândrova with 50 prisoners, and Manheim with 50 prisoners in the Odessa județ; Elsass (Tiraspol județ), 50 prisoners; Bilaevca (Ovidiopol județ), 107 prisoners; and Tighina (Tighina județ, Bessarabia), 199 prisoners. A total of 16 officers (including the commandant), 13 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 340 soldiers (supplemented as needed) were allocated for the running of Camp No. 11 and its subcamps.²

Living conditions in the camps and subcamps were harsh. During the frigid winter of 1941–1942, Soviet POWs suffered extreme cold, sleeping on the floor or on self-made beds of hay and wood, in unheated rooms. They lived in overcrowded conditions, lacked winter clothes, and were fed meals that were not nutritious. These factors, combined with the camp commanders' general lack of interest in the POWs' condition, led to the widespread incidence of illnesses, such as tuberculosis and typhus. Delousing facilities did not exist until the camps became a health hazard to the gendarmes and the local population. By that time, dozens of POWs had already died. The situation improved only slightly in the spring of 1942, when Soviet POWs were outfitted with better clothes, deloused, and were assigned doctors (usually Jews undertaking forced labor) to care for them. However, medical supplies were in short supply for civilians and prisoners because Romanian soldiers received priority.

Throughout 1942, Soviet POWs from Tiraspol's camps were deployed as forced laborers throughout Transnistria. The employment of prisoners was by contract between the camp commandant and either a județ prefect (or a representative from the prefect's office) or a director of an enterprise. The contract typically stated what type of work was involved, the number of prisoners required, the number of gendarmes allocated to guard the prisoners, and the labor remuneration. The contract also stipulated each party's responsibility regarding the prisoners' food, maintenance, and transport, but these stipulations were rarely met.

At the end of 1941, 554 Soviet POWs (ages 17 to 40) were brought from Tiraspol Camp No. 5 to the Șmerinca POW camp to work for German railway construction firms. The

Romanian authorities took over most of the administration of the Șmerinca camp from the Germans in January 1942 and allocated 1 officer, 2 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), 1 doctor, and a contingent of 30 gendarmes to guard the prisoners. The prisoners were crammed into three wooden barracks, each barrack having three rooms, and they slept on communal bunkbeds. The rooms were dirty and lice infested. Pea or lentil soup (distributed by the Germans) was served three times a day for working prisoners and twice a day for those stationed in the camp. Two hundred grams (7 ounces) of bread per prisoner per day were also given. Prisoners suffered from furunculosis and scabies, due to the lack of washing facilities, soap, delousing equipment, and medicine, in addition to illnesses resulting from vitamin deficiencies.³ In the summer of 1943, Moghilev județ's prefect, Colonel Modest Isopescu, requested that prisoners be transferred to farms to work in agriculture and that they be replaced by deported Jews.⁴

In the summer of 1942, Golta's prefect, Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, hired 800 Soviet prisoners from Tiraspol Camp No. 5 to work as laborers in Golta's state farms (*sovkhbozes*) and forests.⁵ Payment per day/per prisoner was established at 120 lei (or 2 *Reichskreditkassenschein* [RKKS], with the rate increasing in March 1943), which covered meals, tobacco, and soap. Working hours were from 6 A.M. to 7 P.M. in the summer season (shorter in winter), with a one-hour lunch break and some additional free time on Wednesdays and Sundays for personal hygiene (washing clothes, medical checkups, etc.). Working prisoners were entitled to an additional 150 lei (or 2.25 RKKS) per month as a form of salary. In a rare gesture of kindness, the hiring authorities ordered that each prisoner be given a half roll of sponge cake (*cozonac*) for Easter in April 1943.⁶ On the Soviet POWs' return to the camp in Tiraspol in May 1943, the farms provided bread and sheep cheese, which were distributed in small portions to each prisoner.

As observed by one Soviet POW held in the German-run camp at Nicolaev and subsequently transferred to Tiraspol, the Soviet prisoners in Romanian hands received generally more humane treatment than those held in German camps across the Bug River.⁷ Members of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), including one of its leaders, Dr. Edouard Chapuisat, visited POW Camp No. 5 Tiraspol in May 1943. The ICRC representatives encouraged Romanian camp authorities to allow the Soviet POWs to send and receive correspondence and to introduce Russian-language newspapers in the camp, which were previously forbidden.

On April 12, 1944, the Red Army liberated Tiraspol.

SOURCES More information about the fate of the Soviet POWs held in Tiraspol Camps No. 5 and No. 11 can be found in the following publications: A. Shneer, "Sovetskie Voennoplennye V Plenu Soiznikov Natsistskoj Germanii," in *Materialy Mezhdunarodnoj Nauchnoj Konferentsii "Interpretatsii Razlichnykh Aspektov Vtoroj Mirovoj i Velikoj Otechestvennoj vojny v Sovremennoj vostochno-evropejskoj istoriografii"* (Kishinev: KEP YCM, 2010), pp. 57–73; P. Polian, "Sovetskie Voennoplennye-evrei—pervye zhertvy Kholokosta v SSSR," in P. Polian and A. Shneer, eds.

Obrechennnye pogibnut': Sud'ba sovetskikh voennoplennnykh-evreev vo Vtoroj mirovoj vojne. Vospominaniia I dokumenty (Moscow: Novoe Izdatel'stvo, 2006), pp. 9–71; and Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România, 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997). Șiperco's volume includes a group photo showing Soviet POWs in Tiraspol, Romanian authorities, and Edouard Chapuisat, the ICRC representative.

Primary sources regarding the fate of the Soviet POWs in Tiraspol Camps No. 5 and No. 11 are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), AME (RG-25.006M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and GARF; records can also be found at YVA and TsAFSB. For General Constantin Pantazi's testimony during interrogation, see TsAFSB, storage unit 18, 767.T.1.L. 108, pp. 119–121. For labor contracts, see RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20 (in folder 2178, opis 1, delo 374); for statistical figures for the largest Soviet POW camps in Transnistria, see RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 599; for a report stating the capture of Soviet POWs in the Odessa oblast' who were subsequently escorted to Tiraspol and other camps inside Romania, see YVA, M-33/325, p. 9. For information about the criteria for internment of Soviet POWs in NKVD review camps, see GARF, fond 9408, opis 1, delo 53, p. 29.

Ovidiu Creangă and Olexsandr Marinchenko

NOTES

1. YVA, fond M-33/325, p. 9.
2. See the summary outline of camps in Transnistria, "Nota. Lagăre existente în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 33, file 79/43, pp. 408–412; and "Dare de seamă asupra lagărelor existente în Transnistria," pp. 416–419 in the same collection. See also Ion Stăculescu's brief report, 1943, "Raport în legătură cu situația prizonierilor de război aflați în Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 599.
3. See copy of Locotenent-colonel S. Teodorescu's report, "Dare de seamă asupra constatărilor făcute la lagărul de prizonieri de război Șmerinka, Județul Moghilev," December 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 20, file 40011, vol. 8, pp. 123–125.
4. Loghin's telegram to Transnistrian Romanian Railroad (C.F.R.T.), July 30, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 9, pp. 83 (and verso), 87.
5. See various contracts made between the two parties: "Contract," August 16, 1942, signed by Maior Grosu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20, pp. 5–7; (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, pp. 5–7), "Contract," November 1, 1942, and signed by Ioan Lăzăroiu, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20; "Contract," March 1, 1943, signed by Constantin Manoliu, RG-31.008M/2178/1/20, p. 32 (and verso).
6. Vintilă Davidescu's Decision Nr. 2132 from 26 September 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 126, file 24361, vol. 5, pp. 50–51, and Decision No. 4.307 from February 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 20, n.p.
7. Testimony cited in Shneer, "Soviet Prisoners of War Captured by Nazi Germany's Allies," p. 59.

TIVRIV

Tivriv (pre-1941: Tyvrov; today: Tyvriv, Ukraine), a town in the Crasna raion, Moghilev județ, is situated on the Bug River, 46 kilometers (29 miles) northwest of Tulcin. Between 1941 and 1944 it was in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 397 Jews in Tivriv (representing 12 percent of the town's population) and 1,479 Jews in the Crasna raion (representing 3.1 percent of the raion's total population).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tivriv on July 18, 1941. Romanian civil authorities took control of the village by late October 1941. Under this administration, the town's name was romanianized as Tivriv (also known as Tivarif or Tibriv). In succession, Constantin Dimitriu, Constantin Năsturaș, and Constantin Loghin, all army colonels, were Moghilev's prefects. Successive commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion, which oversaw Tivriv, were Dănulescu, Romeo Orășeanu, and Gheorghe Botoroagă, all army majors. A gendarmes post existed two kilometers (1.2 miles) from the town. The praetor in the Crasna raion was Nicolae Coman.

Shortly after Tivriv's occupation in July 1941, 28 Ukrainian Jews were shot. It is believed that 7 of those 28 were shot in the streets of Tivriv and the rest in a nearby forest, where they were all buried. Local Jews from neighboring areas were transported to Tivriv in the days and weeks after its occupation. On November 1, 1941, 392 local Ukrainian Jews were brought from the town to the nearby forest. They were ordered to dig a large pit and were then shot and buried in the grave. Small children who were not hit or others who were only wounded were buried alive. Einsatzkommando 5, a contingent of Einsatzgruppen C, was active in northern and central Ukraine and was likely responsible for this killing operation. Because of the many shootings that occurred in that forest, it became known among the locals as the "black forest."

The first convoy of Romanian Jews, some 450 inhabitants of Dorohoi, was sent to Tivriv in mid-December 1941. They had marched for almost three weeks from Moghilev, a distance of 105 kilometers (65.2 miles), in wintry conditions. The convoy spent nights in dilapidated collective farms (*kolkhozes*) along the way. One-third of that convoy perished of exhaustion, cold, and hunger during that arduous journey. In February 1942, 850 Jews, mainly from Cernăuți, were transferred from the Crasna ghetto, 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) southwest of the Tivriv ghetto. Later on, in September 1942, after the closing of the Scazinț camp (12 kilometers [7.4 miles] north-east of Moghilev), several hundred starving Jews, mostly from the Dorohoi județ and Bessarabia, were transported to the Tivriv ghetto.

A Jewish ghetto was created in the town's center, in an old school with a few classrooms, in November 1941. The ghetto was unfenced, but the Jews were forbidden to leave the area. All Jews were forced to wear the yellow star. A hospital existed in a small barn/warehouse. The hospital lacked beds and chairs, the windows were boarded with wooden planks, and it

was serviced by a Ukrainian doctor who had no medical supplies. Patients were laid on the floor, atop layers of hay. Contact with the Ukrainian population was restricted to one hour on market day (later the rule was relaxed). Tivriv's outskirts were patrolled by the Romanian gendarmes from the local gendarmes post, whereas the guarding of the Jews was entrusted to local Ukrainian police. Soldiers and deportees alike (but not the Romanian authorities) referred to the ghetto as a "death camp" (*lagărul morții*).¹

The first wave of deportees was crammed in the ghetto, 40 to 50 people to a single classroom. Gradually, those few who still had money or jewelry hidden away rented rooms from the villagers; others exchanged the miserable living conditions in the school for just as deplorable conditions in abandoned and war-torn houses. Their place in the ghetto was taken by subsequent waves of deportees. The mortality rate among the deportees was high, due to malnutrition, cold, and illnesses, especially typhus. There were recurrent typhus epidemics in the winters of 1941 and 1942, when there were as many as 10 deaths per day.

A Jewish committee was formed in 1942, headed by a few Jews from Dorohoi. There was also a small Jewish police force, led by the brother of the committee's leader. There were mixed opinions among the deportees about the two brothers, particularly because of the tax demanded from skilled workers employed by the local Ukrainians (allegedly, the tax was used to bribe higher authorities to allow Jews to find private employment). In this way, a number of craftsmen were engaged in their profession and were thus able to earn a small living. Unskilled workers or those whose training was not in demand worked in the fields in exchange for food. Children, the elderly, or those unable to find work went begging in nearby Ukrainian villages. Jewish seamstresses walked from village to village, making dresses or altering clothing in exchange for fruit, eggs, potatoes, and bread.²

The commander of the gendarmes post, a man who showed some leniency to the deportees, came to the ghetto and took some Jews for forced labor. Young men and women cleaned and repaired roads and removed snow from the streets of the town and the surrounding roads. Other work details cut wood in the nearby forest, and some laid rail track for the major railway junction at Șmerinca. In the spring of 1943, several people were deported to the Nestervarca labor camp (Tulcin județ) to cut peat. In the fall of that year, others were sent to the German camp Kolosovca (near the Bug, 6 kilometers [3.7 miles] north of Bar, in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine). For the project of (re)building the strategic bridge over the Bug at Nicolaev in southeastern Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Organisation Todt of Einsatzgruppe Russland Süd requested 1,500 Jewish workers (carpenters, locksmiths, ironsmiths, machine operators, translators, and unskilled laborers) from Transnistria. A handful of skilled Jewish workers were selected from Tivriv in June 1943 for this project. Few returned.³

Aid in the form of medicine and clothes arrived from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență, CER*) in

Bucharest, via Moghilev, which became a distribution center for the camps and ghettos in northern and central Transnistria. However, CER's distribution efforts were insufficient to significantly ameliorate the Jews' situation. The deportees received clothing once or twice, but no social welfare institution to help the needy in the ghetto was formed. Individual funds sent by the undeported family or friends of the deportees via CER reached the Tivriv ghetto in the autumn of 1943.⁴

German soldiers and Ukrainian police collaborators from across the Bug often stormed through the ghetto in search of young women and liquor. In most cases, the terrified deportees were able to run away, hiding where they could. Frustrated in their goal, the soldiers shot indiscriminately at anyone perceived as resisting or refusing to provide the goods.

The ghetto's population was in constant flux. On the one hand, Jews escaped from Tivriv to Crasna or other ghettos, farther from the area. Able-bodied Jews fled Tivriv in search of work in the Crasna ghetto and village, in part because Crasna was a larger place and in part because many deportees originated from there. The Jewish police from Crasna, including the leader of the Jewish Council, a man named Berger, usually turned the escapees away.⁵

On the other hand, Ukrainian Jews from camps and ghettos under German control fled to Tivriv from as far as Vinnytsia (today: Vinnytsia, Ukraine). By October 1942, there were 850 Jews in Tivriv; in March 1943, the number decreased to 744 (of whom 50 were orphaned children); by September 1943, the number was 458 (not counting local Ukrainian Jews).⁶ Repatriation of 200 Jews from the Dorohoi district and the Old Kingdom of Romania took place in December 1943. On March 16, 1944, the Red Army occupied the town and freed the remaining Jews.

In 2000, Yad Vashem recognized a Ukrainian from Tivriv, Alexandra Tloka, as a Righteous Among the Nations for rescuing a Jewish survivor of the mass killing.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Tivriv's Jews can be found in the following sources: "Tyvrov," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 994; "Tyvrov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 229; "Tivriv," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 444–445; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainского Evreystva, 1941–1944. Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 320; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora

Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); A. F. Visotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka Publishers, 1987); Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia și alte întâmplări* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947); and Felicia Carmelly, *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria* (Ontario: Abbeyfield Publishers, 1997). On Tloka, see db.yadvashem.org/righteous/righteousName.html?language=en&itemId=4017890. A photograph of the monument commemorating the mass killing of Jews that was erected in the Soviet era can be viewed at YIU_UKR22_14082010_Tyvrviv_yahadblog.weebly.com/1/post/2010/08/tyvrviv-the-righteous-medal-and-the-black-forest-day-4.html.

Primary sources regarding the fate of Tivriv's Jews can be found at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and MAE (RG-25.006M). Reports describing the findings of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission in Tivriv raion can be found in GARF, RG-22.002M, fond reel 3, 7021, opis 54, delo 1252, and reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1347. VHA holds 12 testimonies by Tivriv survivors.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Ghizela Herșcovici, "Biografia mea," Focșani (Romania), November 13, 1944, reproduced in Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia și alte câteva întâmplări*, pp. 38–50.
2. VHA #15979, Goldie Rutman testimony, June 5, 1996.
3. "Tabel nominal de evreii disponibili din raza județului Moghilev," USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 23, n.p. (but see also p. 37).
4. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Tivriv (Raion Crasna, Jud. Moghilev)," USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1567, p. 490; fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1564, p. 114; reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1501, p. 168.
5. VHA #39095, Paula Leizerovici testimony, February 27, 1998.
6. For the October 1942 figure, see "Situația numerică pe comune din jud. Moghilev a evreilor evacuați aflați în comunele mai jos notate," USHMM, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281; for the March 1943 count (estimates of CER), see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 count (of the Transnistria gendarmes service), see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

TOMAȘPOL

Tomașpol, the center of the Tomașpol raion in the Juguștră județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Tomashpil, Ukraine), is situated along the Rusava,

a tributary of the Dniester River. It is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,863 Jews in Tomașpol. Some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, but many stayed in place. Others who escaped eastward on their own were intercepted by the German and Romanian armies and were escorted back to Tomașpol.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tomașpol on July 20, 1941. During the short German military occupation, the Jews were rounded up by German police forces and Romanian soldiers. By August 11, some 157 Jews had been shot. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town beginning in September 1941, romanianizing the town's and raion's name from Tomashpol to Tomașpol. The prefect in the Juguștru județ was Colonel Ștefan S. Gheorghiadă; the praetor in the Tomașpol raion was Victor Dobrescu.

A ghetto for local Jews, as well as for Jews deported from northern Bessarabia in Romania, was set up at some point in the fall of 1941.¹ Far more Jews passed through Tomașpol on their way to the Bug than those few (usually with desirable skills) who were permitted to stay. Those in the ghetto were not permitted outside, and violators were severely punished. Romanian gendarmes and local Ukrainian auxiliaries from the local gendarmes post guarded the ghetto. Because the Tomașpol gendarmes post had under its jurisdiction a larger territory than a regular post, the number of gendarmes and military personnel present was also greater than was typical for a town its size.

Behind the tall barbed-wire fence surrounding the ghetto, the detainees lived with endless privations. The ghetto incorporated only a few streets from the town's Jewish area, so the detainees were crowded into the houses of local Jews, with 10 to 12 people sharing a single room. Epidemics (especially typhus), starvation, cold, and exhaustion caused many deaths during the first two years of ghettoization (1941–1942). Wearing the yellow star was mandatory. A Jewish police force was instituted in the ghetto, under the supervision of a constituted Jewish Council. Zalmai Bronfman was the ghetto leader. Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were the key means of survival for many.² Some form of cultural and religious expression existed in the ghetto. For example, school-aged pupils were taught Jewish prayers and traditions in a private home. Moreover, a group of women visited each house in the ghetto soliciting donations for the sick and the needy.³

The establishment of government-controlled workshops (*atelieri*) where skilled Jews inside the ghetto could work in exchange for food or small sums of money also provided a means of survival for some. The creation of Jewish workshops was in accordance with Ordinance No. 23 of the Government of Transnistria, but it fell on the shoulders of the ghetto leadership to set them up. Fortunately, the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) provided some aid to that effect, but most of it came from local Jews. The Tomașpol ghetto had a number of workshops that were

created most likely at the end of 1942 and beginning of 1943 and were coordinated by the ghetto's Jewish Labor Bureau. For example, there were workshops for tailors, furriers, dyers, hairdressers, ironsmiths, and bootmakers. All in all, some 54 people were employed in the workshops in October 1943.⁴ The rest of the able-bodied Jews (men and women) undertook forced labor in a quarry, extracting lime; in the sugar factory; on road and rail building; and in snow removal, chopping wood, carrying coal, and farming. Workers were recompensed each day with a watery soup and a slice (200 grams or 7 ounces) of stale bread.⁵

At some point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the ghetto was 925, probably the majority being Ukrainian Jews. CER's census in March 1943 did not include Tomașpol, perhaps because of the small number of Jews from Romania living in the ghetto. On September 1, 1943, however, the ghetto contained 33 Jews (31 from Bessarabia, 2 from Bukovina), without counting the Ukrainian Jews.⁶ It is very possible that the total number of Jews in the ghetto in 1943 reached 1,128, some 281 of whom were considered skilled in various specialties.⁷

Roma (Gypsies) deported from Romania in the summer of 1942 were scattered within the territory of the Tomașpol raion, living in abysmal conditions through the winter of that year and thereafter.⁸

By the time the Red Army recaptured the town and liberated the ghetto on March 16, 1944, the Romanian administration had left the area, returning the ghetto briefly into the hands of the German military authorities. With the ghetto freed by the Red Army soldiers, some Jews were conscripted into the army, while the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Tomașpol can be found in the following publications: "Tomashpol," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1313; "Tomashpol," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 983; "Tomashpol," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreistva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 315; and "Tomashpol," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 202–203. See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-

Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents covering the persecution of the Roma deported from Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Tomașpol ghetto can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). The last collection contains a map of the Juguștru județ showing the exact location of the Tomașpol ghetto and the number of inhabitants in 1942, in reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21. Documents relating to experiences in the Tomașpol ghetto can be found at USHMMA, Acc. No. 1995.A.0657. VHA holds 168 survivor testimonies in three languages (Russian, Ukrainian, and Hebrew) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. List of ghettos in the Juguștru județ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p.
2. For a non-Jewish aid giver in Tomașpol, see VHA #33901, Tat'iana Obertynskaia testimony, August 31, 1997.
3. VHA #15108, Sof'ia Budman testimony, May 12, 1996.
4. Confidential correspondence on Jewish workshops between the Juguștru Prefecture and the Labor Department, Government of Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 96–104 (esp. pp. 97–98). The existence of such workshops is attested in VHA #39894, Semen Felentein testimony, January 14, 1998.
5. VHA #42867, Semen Borokhovskiy testimony, March 18, 1998. For a list of Jews undertaking forced labor on laying railway tracks, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reels 32 and 33.
6. The March 1943 census does not contain Tomașpol among the Juguștru județ localities, as can be seen in “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; for the September 1943 census, see “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.
7. This figure appears in “Tomashpol,” in Altman, *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 983.
8. For a list containing their names, ages, and professions, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAOO), reel 32.

TRIDUBI

Tridubi, a village in the Crivoi Ozero raion, Golta județ, (today: in Ukraine) in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is situated 35 kilometers (22 miles) west of Golta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 2,434 Jews in the Crivoi Ozero raion (census data for Tridubi are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tridubi on August 3, 1941, six weeks after the joint German-Romanian invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In advance of the occupation, more affluent Jews had relocated deeper inside the Soviet Union and those of military age were drafted into the Red Army, but most remained in place. After a short period of German occupation, control of the area was transferred to Romanian authorities. The administration romanianized the village's name from Triduby to Tridubi (also spelled as Triduve, Tridube, and Triduba). Colonel Modest Isopescu became Golta's prefect, and Aristide Pădure was the deputy prefect. The commandant of Golta's Gendarmes Legion was Maior Romulus Ambrus. The praetor in the Crivoi Ozero raion was Elizeu Rozorea, and the gendarmes commander was N. Constantinescu.

In May 1943, a group of approximately 120 to 140 (or 200, according to other accounts) Jews who had been selected from the Vapniarca camp were transported to Tridubi. They found only two local Ukrainian Jews in Tridubi, survivors of a larger Jewish community that had been deported to Golta in 1941. The group of Jews from the Vapniarca camp was transported by train and then on foot for the remaining 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) of the journey. The ghetto was established in the building of the local school. Near the village there existed a local collective farm (*kolkhoz*) with various areas in which the deportees were assigned to work and from which they received food (milk, bread, beans, and cabbage) in exchange for labor, like all other regular workers employed there. Initially, the farm's head administrator and the gendarmes showed little kindness to the Jews. Thanks to strengthened relations with the chief agronomist, Kalinencu, who directed the economic section in Crivoi Ozero and oversaw the Tridubi farm, the situation improved over time. The Jewish inmates were able to move freely inside the farm as well as within the village, a special permit being required only for exiting the village's perimeter.

The deportees formed a Jewish committee, which played a vital role in setting up workshops (*atelieri*) for tailoring, shoe-making, and carpentry. In these workshops skilled Jews earned their living by working for the village, the military units stationed in the area, and for the ghetto.¹ A small canteen was established for the very needy, in addition to a tiny infirmary that housed the very sick. Dr. Iosif Nuremberg was the medical doctor, and Dr. Moise Haim was the dentist in Tridubi.² The Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din Romania, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) augmented the funds generated by the workshops and provided additional material support in the form of medication, cloth-

ing, and food. Private funds for individual assistance from the undeported family or friends of the ghetto residents were also sent via CER.³

Individual members of the ghetto befriended partisans hiding in the neighboring forest, and the ghetto leaders established ties to underground Jewish organizations in Romania in order to obtain additional help.

In early September 1943, Romanian authorities enlisted 70 Jews from the ghetto to work in a labor camp at Trihati (Varvarovca raion, Ochacov județ) run by the Germans, where they repaired the bridge over the Bug River. They stayed there until December 1943, when they returned to Romania, along with other Jews from Transylvania and the Old Kingdom.

In June 1942, thousands of Romanian Roma (Gypsies) were deported to Tridubi.⁴ Among them, a few were former army soldiers and World War I veterans, but most were sedentary and itinerant Roma with various occupations and economic resources.⁵ At Governor Gheorghe Alexianu's instructions, Isopescu confiscated their carts and horses shortly after their arrival in Golta. Robbed of their possessions and homes, the Roma lived in makeshift tents, without any amenities (such as clean water, electricity, bathrooms, soap, medicine, and pots). Some worked for local farms, gathering potatoes, corn, and cabbage from the fields. In exchange for work, they received very little food: 300 grams (0.6 pounds) of corn bread and 500 grams (1.1 pounds) of potatoes. Soon typhus erupted among them, causing many deaths. Anticipating disaster with the onset of winter, the Roma of Tridubi requested housing. In response, the authorities force-marched the Roma to localities along the Bug River, where they were housed in primitive huts erected by the administration. In these wooded areas, the Roma cut down trees to warm up their huts and to cook and used what few goods or precious objects that they had hidden away to purchase food. But the majority had none left, having sold even their clothes for food. When the Romanian and German authorities retreated from Transnistria in March 1944, the Roma were abandoned in place and returned to Romania on their own. Hundreds of Roma died of cold waiting to cross the Dniester River (the German and Romanian armies having priority) into Bessarabia.

In 1945, the Bucharest's People's Tribunal sentenced Isopescu and Pădure to many years' hard labor and confiscation of their property for crimes committed against the Jews and Roma in Golta.⁶

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Tribudi's Jews and Roma can be found in "Tridubi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 213; "Tridubi," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-ad le-ahar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 449; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; Ihel Benditer, *Vapniarca: Lagărele Vapniarca și Gro-*

sulovo, închisoarea Rîbnița, ghetourile Olgopol, Savrani, Tribudi, Crivoi-Ozero și Tribati (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 6: *War Crimes Trial* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents concerning the deportation of Romanian Roma in Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the life and treatment of Jews and Roma in Tridubi are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). For a Roma survivor's testimony, see Istrate Rădulescu's account at VHA, June 19, 1999 (#49997).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See a list of the Jews of Tridubi, July 8, 1943, "Tabel Nominal Model Nr. 1 de utilizarea evreilor din Transnistria," USHMM, RG-31.008 (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis, delo not available, document file: AA 0552, pp. 23–26. See also a list of Jews ready to work, ages 20 to 40, "Tabel de evreii între vîrsta de 20–40 ani—Tridube," USHMM, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, pp. 119–120.
2. "Tabel de medicii evrei disponibili în județul Golta," USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 82–83 (USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, with page).
3. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Triduba," USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1567, p. 501.
4. See Governor Alexianu's letter No. 456, June 16, 1942, informing the Golta prefecture about the arrival of deported Roma from Romania: USHMM, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 31, p. 78.
5. See correspondence addressed to Governor Alexianu, October 8, 1942, USHMM, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1912, pp. 294–295.
6. See the prosecution's statement, "Actul de Acuzare," USHMM, RG-25.00M (SRI), reel 19, file 40011, vol. 2, pp. 115–117, and court decision, pp. 136–137.

TROPOVA

Tropova is a village in the Șargorod raion, Moghilev județ (today: in Ukraine), in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria. It is more than 24 kilometers (15 miles)

northeast of Moghilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 2,626 Jews in the Șargorod raion (census data for Tropova are not available).

The German and Romanian armies occupied the Tropova area at the beginning of August 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the region beginning in September 1941. The succeeding prefects of Moghilev, who oversaw Tropova, were Constantin Dimitriu, Ion Băleanu, Constantin Năsturaș, and Constantin Loghin, all Romanian colonels. The commandants of the Moghilev Gendarmes Legion were Dănulescu, Romeo Orășeanu, and Gheorghe Botoroagă, all Romanian majors. The first commandant of the gendarmes sector (or area) was Locotenent Vasile Grama, who was succeeded by Locotenent Vasile Mihăilescu. The first praetor of Șargorod was Iosif Dindelegan, succeeded by Dimitrie Rusu.

In December 1941, to relieve the overcrowding in the Moghilev ghetto, 1,200 Jews were marched to Tropova. The deportees were originally from Cernăuți and Dorohoi, as well as from other towns and villages in Bukovina. Some local Ukrainian Jews were detained in the ghetto as well. Many families from Dorohoi had been deported to Moghilev while their husbands and sons were deployed in forced labor battalions (the “external battalions,” or *batalioane de muncă exterioare*) in other parts of Romania.¹ If they still possessed material means after repeated confiscations and bribes on the way to Moghilev, the deportees rented rooms and apartments from Tropova villagers. A dozen or more individuals lived in each room. The less fortunate were crammed inside a former cinema building of the village’s collective farm (*kolkhoz*). The building was totally ill equipped as a living space; most people slept on the ground. The complex was enclosed and guarded: leaving without permission was prohibited and punished severely. In the middle of an extremely frigid winter, the Jews lived off whatever food they could barter from local Ukrainians and cooked on makeshift ovens.

Overcrowding coupled with the general lack of hygiene caused a typhus epidemic among the detainees. Typhoid fever and scabies were also common due to the lack of sanitation. In the winter of 1941, the ghetto lacked a doctor, medicine, and an isolation room for the sick. A Jewish doctor from the nearby Șargorod ghetto (12 kilometers [7.4 miles] away) attempted to visit the Tropova ghetto to offer what little help he could. He was mistreated by the Romanian gendarmes on his way there, so other doctors did not repeat the attempt. The mortality rate from typhus reached almost 50 percent. Bodies were gathered in piles and placed outside the buildings in the ghetto because the ground was frozen. In addition, the Ukrainian village heads were initially unwilling to allow the burial of Jews, so corpses were scattered in the fields of the *kolkhoz* where wild dogs and crows devoured them. Among the Romanian Jews detained in Tropova were decorated veterans of World War I, widows of that war, and wounded soldiers (*invalidi de război*).²

The overall situation improved with the arrival of spring in 1942, when the Jewish community started to organize itself. A Jewish committee was formed and led by Riven Napovnici.

The ghetto’s Jewish doctor, at least as of October 1943, was Carol Bretschneider.³ The chief of the office of Jewish labor in Șargorod was Moise Katz. Gradually, the Jews were allowed to leave the ghetto’s confines (as long as they did not leave the village’s perimeter) to search for food, usually in exchange for work. However, a few who were perceived as spreading rumors of Soviet resistance or even of the Red Army’s return to Transnistria were shot.⁴ In August 1942, a Romanian gendarme named Alecu Moșneagu was sent to Tropova to organize the ghetto for agricultural labor. Instead, he installed himself as village police chief and persecuted the Jews. His frequent beatings of Jews and Ukrainians alike terrorized the entire village. Only bribes or giving him whatever goods (or women) he demanded satiated his thirst for violence. Aid from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) trickled in from Șargorod and Moghilev in 1942. Due to that help there were fewer deaths in the winter of 1942 from cold and starvation. The Jewish community of Iași in Romania also helped by sending individual family packages, although it was common for these packages to be ransacked before reaching their destination.⁵ Undeported family members or close friends from Romania also sent money to those in the ghetto via CER.⁶

In April 1943, the German authorities started two major bridge-building projects at Trihati and Nicolaev in the southeastern corner of Transnistria. Romanian authorities provided labor from Transnistria’s camps and ghettos, including Tropova. Carpenters from the ghetto were enlisted for work in Trihati, as were many unskilled workers.⁷ Some of those sent were or became sick (hernias and bone fractures were common) and were returned by the German authorities.⁸ In early 1943 a Soviet partisan network became operational in the area. Its activity increased toward the end of 1943, and the ghetto provided assistance in the form of food and medical supplies. According to Tropova survivor Bianca Idel, Soviet partisans hanged the village mayor for collaborating with the German authorities.⁹

According to CER’s March 1943 census of deported Jews in Transnistria, there were 582 Jews in Tropova. Of them, 105 were orphan children and teens who were later repatriated to Romania at the end of 1943 or the beginning of 1944. The Romanian gendarmerie counted 221 Jews in Tropova, excluding local Ukrainian Jews, in September 1943.¹⁰ At the end of December 1943, about 300 Jews were returned to Romania from Dorohoi, including 92 children under the age of 16. On March 23, 1944, the Red Army liberated Tropova. The ordeal of the Romanian Jews continued for a few more months as they sought permission from the Soviet authorities to return to Romania. The Bucharest People’s Tribunal arrested, tried, and sentenced Moșneagu as a war criminal in 1948.¹¹

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Tropova can be gleaned from the following sources: “Tropovoe,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond

“Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2011), 7: 215; “Tropovoe,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 987; “Tropova,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’olam ha-sbeniyab* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 448–449; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 47; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* and vol. 6: *War Crimes Trials* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary documents pertaining to the fate of Jews deported to Tropova are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), ANR (RG-25.002M), and CER (RG-25.016M). VHA holds two testimonies by survivors of the Tropova ghetto: Bianca Idel, interviewed April 5, 1999 (#49774); and Eva Wiznitzer, interviewed June 23, 1995 (#03479).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. “Tabelul evreilor din județul Dorohoi, care în timp ce prestau munca obligatorie în detașamente exterioare, familiile lor au fost evacuate în Transnistria,” USHMMA, RG-25.016 (CER), reel 17, file 308, pp. 11–21, 32, 34, 39, 41, 42.

2. “Tabel nominal de evreii decorați, pentru merite speciale sau fapte de arme din războaiele României,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 15, p. 295 (verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, with page); “Tabel nominal de evreicele, care sunt văduve, aflate în ghetourile din raza acestei Legiuni,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, pp. 292 (and verso); and “Tabel nominal de evreii, invalizi de războiu aflați în ghetourile în raza acestei Legiuni,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, p. 293.

3. “Tabel nominal de medicii evrei aflați în ghetoul Moghilev și în Județ,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1562, p. 226 verso.

4. See the Transnistria Gendarmes Inspectorate’s monthly report for February/March 1942, “Buletin Informativ,” USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 15, file 134, 1942, p. 203.

5. “Tabel nominal de evrei ce au primit colete cu efecte de la Comunitatea evreilor din Iași cu inventarul No. 196 din 31/8, 1943,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/15, p. 138.

6. “Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Tropova (Jud. Moghilev),” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1564, p. 121 (verso); for more examples, see in the same collection, reel, fond, opis, delo 1562, p. 135; see also in reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1180, pp. 83–86, 135–137; and finally, in reel 5, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1504, pp. 57 (and verso), 134.

7. “Tabel nominal de evreii specialiști disponibili din raza județului Moghilev,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.

8. “Tabel de lucrătorii evrei bolnavi incapabili de a lucra din cauza debilității din Transnistria,” July 1, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1499, p. 111.

9. VHA #49774, Bianca Idel testimony, April 5, 1999.

10. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; for the September 1943 census, see “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 441.

11. The prosecution’s report is reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 6: 259–263.

TROSTINEȚ

Trostineț (pre-1941: Trostianets), seat of the Trostineț raion, Tulcin județ (today: Ukraine), in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 33 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 1,731 Jews in the raion, making up 4.1 percent of the raion’s total population, and 878 Jews in the town, representing 16.4 percent of the town’s population.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Trostineț on July 25, 1941. A small group of local Jews retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, but most stayed in place. Immediately after the occupation, local Ukrainian Jewish communal leaders were murdered. The remaining Jews (some 450 people) were deported by Romanian authorities to ghettos in Ladijin (in the Trostineț raion) and then Pecioara (Spikov raion) between September and November 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the town in early September 1941. Under the new administration, the name of the town and raion were romanianized as Trostineț (also spelled as Trostianet or Trostineți). Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaș served successively as Tulcin’s prefects. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, followed by Căpitan Fetecău. The praetor in Trostineț was Constantin Alexandrescu.

In August 1942, 60 Romanian Jews were brought to Trostineț from the Cetvertinovka camp (also in the Trostineț raion). They were housed on the Trostineț state farm (*Ferma de Stat Trostineț*), which was situated on the town’s outskirts and was lightly guarded by Romanian gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen. The farm was enclosed with barbed wire. The inmates lived in huts inside the farm. The most eminent among them were permitted to live and work in town. In early April 1943, another group of Jewish deportees from northern Romania (Cernăuți and Dorohoi areas) was brought to the Trostineț farm from the Cariera de Piatră transit camp (a set of barracks near a stone quarry that had served as a Soviet penal colony; this camp was located near the town of Ladijin).

The camp had a total of 135 Jews (men, women, and children), and among them was the renowned Jewish surgeon, Dr. Joseph Rath. Dr. Rath worked as a physician at the Trostineț civilian hospital.

The Jews were recruited to work in various areas of the farm, under supervision. Some Jews worked in the fields; others raised animals, milked cows, and produced butter and cheese; and still others worked in workshops (*ateliers*) and light industries. The payment was 2 *Reichskreditkassenschein* (RKKS; German-issued scrip) per day for a skilled worker and 1 RKKS for an unskilled laborer, in accordance with the Romanian government's Ordinance No. 23.¹ When they were paid, which did not always happen, workers were generally given money or the equivalent in food or a combination of both.² The camp contracted out its labor force during the winter of 1942, and consequently most Jews were transferred to the Cariera de Piatră camp until April 1943, when they returned to the farm. In August 1943, a group of Jews from the Trostineț farm was sent to work on an airfield in Nestervarca (in the Tulcin raion) for two weeks. Dr. Arthur Pistiner worked as a doctor on the Trostineț farm, and although there were a few cases of typhus and malaria, some fatal, among the inmates, the camp was spared any epidemics.³ Constantin Nicleşte, a farm manager, showed a humane attitude toward the detained Jews, so long as his acts of kindness were rewarded with gifts of money or precious objects; the same could not have been said about his successor, Nicolae Dodon, who took every opportunity to mistreat the Jewish workers. Still, the Jews in the camp were able to observe Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur in the autumn of 1943.

Due to good local organization, self-help efforts, and material aid received from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din Romania, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER), a small public soup kitchen was set up in 1943 for the very needy. CER also assisted in the formation of workshops that provided the deportees with jobs. Private sums of money sent by family and friends from Romania via CER reached the Trostineț farm, although some of the intended recipients were no longer there, having been moved to a different location or transferred across the Bug River.⁴ Members of the Tulcin Jewish Committee were Sulim Fihman (president); Mayer Pincas, Samuel Mosner, Jacob Eidler, and Heinrich Deligdisch (committee members); and Herbert Wittner (secretary). The same group (minus Deligdisch) also served as members of the Jewish labor committee in Tulcin.⁵

According to the September 1943 census of Romanian Jews deported to Transnistria, there were 95 Jews (mostly from Bukovina and Dorohoi) in Trostineț. A subsequent count, in November 1943, found a total of 123 Jews (Ukrainian and Romanian) in Trostineț.⁶ The Red Army liberated the camp on March 13, 1944. After the war, one local Ukrainian policeman was sentenced to 10 years in labor camp by a Soviet court.

SOURCES Additional information about the Jews' fate in Trostineț can be gleaned from the following publications:

"Trostinets," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), pp. 987–988; "Trostinets," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 215; "Trostineț," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 447–448; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 48; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); and Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003).

Primary sources documenting the fate of deported Jews in Trostineț are found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004) and MAE (RG-25.006M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For the text of this ordinance, see "Ordonanța Nr. 23," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 20, fond 2361, opis 15, delo 1, p. 268 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/20/2361/15/1).

2. "Tabel nominal de achitarea mandatelor de plată cuvenită evreilor din Trostineț, Ferma Trostineț, Trostianciuc, Capustiana și Ladjiin, conf. ord. Pref. Jud. Tulcin Nr. 6849 din 2 Iunie 1943," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1240, p. 225, and also in the same collection, "Tabel nominal de achitarea mandatelor de plată cuvenită evreilor din coloniile Trostineț, Trostianciuc și Capusteani, conf. Ord. Pref. Jud. Tulcin Nr. 11354 din 23 August 1943," p. 249.

3. "Tabel nominal al medicilor evrei aflați în județul Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/6/2242/1/1561, p. 218.

4. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Trostineț (Jud. Tulcin)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1240, p. 241; for additional remittances, see in the same collection, pp. 285, 322, and USHMMA, RG-31.004M/4/2242/1/1501, p. 150.

5. "Tabel nominal de membrii Oficiului județean al Evreilor, Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/122, p. 12; and "Tabel nominal de membrii Biroului pentru organizarea muncii evreilor jud. Tulcin," p. 12 (verso), but see p. 13 for an expanded list of members.

6. "Situație numerică de toți evreii ce se află în raza județului Tulcin precum și de toți lucrătorii și funcționarii aflați la diferite instituții," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 585.

TULCIN

Tulcin, a town and the administrative center of the Tulcin raion and județ (today: Ukraine), in the far northeastern corner

of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is near the Bug River, the județ's eastern border. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 5,607 Jews in Tulcin, representing 41.68 percent of the town's population. During the German-Romanian invasion, Tulcin's well-to-do Jews retreated with the Red Army or fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, but many of the area's Jews stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Tulcin on July 23, 1941. After weeks of German control of the town during which time the Jews, especially the Jewish leaders, were brutalized, authority was transferred to the Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. Under the Romanian administration, the town's name was romanianized from Tulchin to Tulcin. In succession, Colonels Ion Lazăr, Constantin Loghin, and Constantin Năsturaș were Tulcin's prefects. Ion Vodă was the sub-prefect. The commandant of the Tulcin Gendarmes Legion was Maior Mihailovici, followed by Căpitan Fetecău. Andrei Partenie was the Tulcin raion's praetor.

A closed ghetto was created in late September 1941 in a small area of the town that contained abandoned and partially destroyed houses. Later, a local collective farm (*kolkhoz*) was also used as a temporary site. In November 1941, Prefect Lazar issued Ordinance No. 6, which severely restricted the mobility of ghetto inhabitants. Anyone who left the ghetto without written permission risked condemnation as a spy or communist courier.¹ A Jewish police force maintained order inside the ghetto, while Romanian gendarmes guarded the perimeter. The ghetto was overcrowded; on average 10 to 15 people lived in a room, with some sleeping on the floor. In November 1941, Tulcin's Jews, about 3,200 in total, were deported to the Pecioara camp (Tulcin județ), with the exception of 118 skilled laborers (artisans and professionals) deemed important to the administration in Romania.² Many of those expelled to Pecioara perished due to sickness, hunger, and hard labor.

The Tulcin ghetto was repopulated in December 1942 with Jews deported from Bukovina (Cernăuți and Dorohoi), who had already spent months in the Tulcin județ's other camps and ghettos. Runaway Jews from ghettos on the German side of the Bug also found temporary shelter in the Tulcin ghetto. For the new deportees, life in the Tulcin ghetto was noticeably better, although many restrictions remained in place. Improved relations between ghetto leaders and Tulcin's Romanian administrators, some of whom knew each other from before the war, occasionally facilitated a slight relaxation of rules. The town offered employment opportunities in offices and hospitals (a German military hospital existed, in addition to a civilian hospital) for a few educated and highly trained professionals. Various workshops were set up with assistance from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) from Bucharest. CER funds augmented those received by the locksmith, tailor, carpenter, dyer, and watchmaker workshops, enabling a soup kitchen to open for the very needy.³ A small trade in baked goods also

took place within the ghetto. One hour per week, on Sunday, Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto and attend the town's market. A few Romanian soldiers and even officers returning to Romania carried correspondence from and to the ghetto for a bribe. Lay-led morning and evening prayer services took place in people's homes, in addition to the observance of High Holidays. A bar mitzvah service took place as late as February 1944. The ghetto leaders forged ties with partisans who, in exchange for news about the course of war, accepted goods from ghetto residents.

Members of the Tulcin Jewish Committee were Sulim Fihman (president); Mayer Pincas, Samuel Mosner, Iacob Eidler, and Heinrich Deligdisch (committee members); and Herbert Wittner (secretary). The same group (minus Deligdisch) also served as members of the Jewish labor committee in Tulcin.⁴ Doctors in the ghetto were Oscar Schickler (resident physician), Sara Mednicov (dentist), and Mina Zloezower (ophthalmologist), who also worked in the general hospital in Tulcin.

Although restrictions were not particularly severe for Jews in the ghetto, forced labor was imposed for road maintenance, street cleaning, and hospital services. In addition, German SS units periodically rounded up Jewish workers for labor in German-controlled Transnistria. In August 1942, the German authorities from Gaysin requested that Tulcin's prefect, Colonel Loghin, provide 5,000 Jews to work on the Nemirov-Bratslav-Seminki-Gaysin segment of Highway IV (*Durchgangsstrasse IV*, DG-IV), the strategic highway connecting Lvov to Stalino in southern Ukraine. Three thousand Jews from the Tulcin județ were handed over, although it is not clear how many of these came from the Tulcin ghetto. Most of these workers were shot by December 1943, when the forced labor camps for Jews (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden*, ZALfJ) were liquidated.⁵ In April 1943, Romanian authorities sent 100 Jews from the ghetto to work on farms in the district. At the Nestervarca labor camp near Silnitsia, a tributary of the Bug River, small groups of Jews from the Tulcin ghetto were occasionally sent to excavate peat (*turbă*). In August 1943, the Germans renewed murder campaigns (*Aktionen*) against Jews in Transnistria, and in one such instance, 200 Jews from Tulcin, including some from the ghetto, were picked up and sent across the Bug under the pretext of providing labor; however, they were shot on arrival. Children were part of this transfer as well, and 52 survived when their parents threw them out of the carts along the way. The large-scale recruitment of Jewish labor for German bridge-building projects at Nicolaev and Trihati in southern Transnistria resulted in the deployment of hundreds of Jewish specialists (carpenters, smiths, and builders) from the Tulcin județ; it is not clear how many came from the Tulcin ghetto.⁶

The repatriation of Romanian Jews began in the winter of 1943. Children under the age of 15 or slightly older were placed on "orphan lists" and repatriated from the Tulcin ghetto to Romania via Moghilev in late 1943. They arrived in Iași and Pașcani, Romania, in February 1944, where Jewish families

and the Jewish community looked after them. Decorated World War I veterans and their surviving families, and former state functionaries and their descendants followed suit.⁷

The size of the ghetto's population varied in accordance with forced labor deployments. In March 1943, there were 500 Jews in the ghetto; in September 1943, there were 227 Jews (7 from Bessarabia, 220 from Bukovina), not counting the local Ukrainian Jews; a subsequent census in November 1943 found a total of 480 Jews.⁸

At the end of January 1944, the retreating German authorities intended to liquidate the Tulcin ghetto, but the commander of the Romanian gendarmes, Capitan Fetecău, opposed the plan, thus saving the ghetto's Jews. The Red Army liberated the ghetto on March 15, 1944. The remaining 230 Romanian Jews returned to Romania, with the exception of a few men of military age drafted into the Red Army. From October 1944 to March 1954, the Soviet Committee for State Security (*Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti*, KGB) arrested and tried the leaders of the Tulcin ghetto for treason and collaboration with the fascist enemy. Wittner and an official named Weschler were (arbitrarily) found guilty and deported to Siberia; the rest were acquitted. The Bucharest's Peoples' Tribunal acquitted Capitan Fetecău due to supportive testimonies by ghetto leaders, but condemned Colonel Loghin to many years of hard labor.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Tulcin's Jews can be found in the following publications: "Tulchin," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1340; "Tulchin," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ba-Yehudiyim le-min hivatsdam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 443–444; "Tul'chin," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 222–223; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 23; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Tulcin's Jews are found at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M) and MAE (RG-25.006M). For a survivor's testimony, see Gerhard Schreiber's memoirs, available as an audio recording at <http://access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=1315434#1> and, as a transcript, at <http://access.cjh.org/home.php?type=extid&term=426298#1>.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. "Ordonanța No. 6," issued by Colonel Ion Lazăr, November 17, 1941, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 76, n.p. (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/7/2242/2/76, with page).

2. Romanian Presidency of the Council of Ministers, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 137–144 (USHMMA, RG-25.006M/10/21, with page).

3. Tables of names of payment recipients are available at USHMMA, RG-31.004M/9/2255/1/1240, pp. 19, 26, 65, 177, 181, 240.

4. See "Tabel nominal de membrii Oficiului județean al Evreilor, Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/22, p. 12; and "Tabel nominal de membrii Biroului pentru organizarea muncii evreilor jud. Tulcin," p. 12 (verso), but see p. 13 for an expanded list of members.

5. See Governor Alexianu's answer to Loghin's telegram, "51304, 11 Aug. 1942, Inspectoratul de Jandarmi Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/2/2242/1/1088, p. 151 (but see also pp. 148–150).

6. For the names of Jewish specialists from the Tulcin județ, see "Tabel nominal de evrei meseriași disponibili din jud. Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/23, n.p.

7. "Tabel nominal de evrei, invalizi de războiu, aflați în județul Tulcin"; and "Tabel nominal de evrei, foști funcționari de stat, aflați în județul Tulcin," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/14/2264s/1/40a, pp. 38–39. For the names of war widows, descendants of state functionaries, orphans, state pensioners, and decorated war veterans found in the Tulcin județ, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M/1/2242/4s/50, pp. 23–29.

8. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347; for the September 1943 count see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442; for the November 1943 count, see "Situație numerică de toți evreii ce se află în raza județului Tulcin precum și de toți lucrătorii și funcționarii aflați la diferite institute," USHMMA, RG-25.006M/11/21, p. 585.

TURNU SEVERIN

An internment camp near the city of Turnu Severin (today: Drobeta-Turnu Severin), in the Mehedinți județ (today: Caraș-Severin județ), in the southern part of Romania along the Danube River, the Turnu Severin camp was located 66 kilometers (41 miles) southwest of Târgu Jiu and approximately 274 kilometers (170 miles) west of Bucharest.

The Turnu Severin internment camp was created on June 21, 1941, by Order No. 4147 of the Romanian Internal Affairs Ministry (*Ministerul Afacerilor Interne*, RMAI). The order announced to the Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM), gendarmes, police, and district prefects that all Jews living between the Siret and Prut Rivers in northwestern Romania were to be deported to and interned in camps in the southern part of the country. All able-bodied Jewish men between the ages of 18 and 60 living in this area were to be sent

to the large camp at Târgu Jiu to work as forced laborers, while their families and all other Jews in the area were to be sent to the nearest urban area, where they would then be deported to smaller internment camps in southern Romania, such as Turnu Severin.¹ The deportations under this order began soon after the Axis invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22.

The prisoners in Turnu Severin were Jewish women and children from the village of Dărbăni, near Dorohoi in northwest Romania; the Jews of Dărbăni were force-marched approximately 29 kilometers (18 miles) to the rail station at Dorohoi to be deported to Turnu Severin. On August 7, 1941, the camp's population was 626: 518 adult women and 108 children under the age of 18.² The inmates were guarded by the local army garrison, with the assistance of the gendarmes and local police forces.

Whether the women performed forced labor in the internment camps is difficult to determine, because the organization of forced labor during the summer of 1941 was chaotic. Antonescu had ordered that all Jews living in the internment camps would perform "hard labor" (*muncă grea*), but it was not clear whether this obligation extended to women or only to the men who had been sent to Târgu Jiu specifically for this purpose. Initially, RMAI, which controlled the internment camps, was in charge of the labor of the Jews interned there. However, after the disorganized effort to subject Romanian Jews to compulsory labor in the first week of August, control over Jewish forced labor passed from RMAI to MSM. It was still unclear whether women were to be subjected to the labor requirement for those Jews living in the internment camps. MSM proposed that the control over these camps remain with RMAI, which could do with the camp population as it saw fit. MSM did not issue an order for work to be performed in the Turnu Severin camp; therefore, it is unlikely that any forced labor was imposed on the prisoners there, with due allowance for their possibly working in the local community.³

Turnu Severin and the other camps that held Jews from northeastern Romania under Order No. 4147 were not intended to be part of the Romanian state's killing apparatus. These Jews were not subject to Antonescu's order for extermination, which applied only to those living in the newly reoccupied territories of Bessarabia and Bukovina. The internment of the Jews from between the Siret and Prut Rivers was intended only to remove them from near the front lines, because Antonescu was paranoid that they would undermine the morale of Romanian soldiers by spreading communist "propaganda." Therefore, no organized killings took place at Turnu Severin. However, the Jews in the camp still suffered from inconsistent supplies of food and medicine and were under the constant threat of disease posed by poor sanitary conditions. The Romanian authorities did not record official statistics on illnesses in the camps, so it is impossible to determine how many people fell ill and how many, if any, died from disease and malnutrition. Turnu Severin's case was unique in that the harsh conditions in the camp were partially alleviated by the intervention of the local Jewish community, which provided supplies to the camp's population.

The internment camps in southern Romania, including Turnu Severin, remained in operation throughout the remainder of 1941. On December 16, 1941, RMAI ordered that the camps be closed and their inhabitants returned to the urban areas nearest their points of origin (because Jews were still legally forbidden to live in Romanian villages).⁴ The Jews in the Turnu Severin camps were therefore returned to the city of Dorohoi. None of the camp's guards or other personnel was ever brought to trial.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Turnu Severin camp include Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); and Ottmar Trașcă, ed., "*Chestiunea Evreiască*" în *documente militare române, 1941–1944*, preface by Dennis Deletant (Bucharest: Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2010). Additional information can be found in Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, *Contribuții la Istoria României: Problema Evreiască, 1933–1944*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bucharest: Editura Hasefer, 2003); Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013); Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yebudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), vol. 1; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Primary sources documenting the Turnu Severin camp can be found in AMANR, available at USHMM in collection RG-25.003M, and in ANR, available at USHMM as RG-25.002M.

Dallas Michelbacher

NOTES

1. Order No. 4147 reproduced in Trașcă, ed., "*Chestiunea evreiască*," pp. 120–121, Doc. 5.
2. USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 144, file 2413, p. 309; and RG-25.002M (ANR), "Situația Lagărelor," August 6, 1941, reel 17, file 86, p. 19.
3. USHMM, RG-25.003M, reel 136, file 2361, n.p.
4. USHMM RG-25.003M, reel 144, file 2411, p. 2.

USTIA

Ustia is located in the Berșad raion, in the Balta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Ustya, Ukraine). It is situated approximately 70 kilometers (43 miles) north of the city of Balta, on the Donkha River.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control over it to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The new authorities romanianized the town's name as Ustia or Ustie, and the raion became Berșad. The prefect in the Balta district was Colonel Vasile Nica, and the praetor in the Berșad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

The Romanian administration established a ghetto in Ustia in the late fall of 1941. Most of the ghetto inmates were deportees from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania who arrived in October and November. For example, a significant number of Jews from Rădăuți in northeastern Romania were registered at the site as early as October 1941.¹ The estimated number of Jews held in the Ustia ghetto was 2,500.

The inmates endured catastrophic conditions, starvation, and squalor, which contributed to the outbreak of a deadly typhus epidemic in the winter of 1941. In the Ustia ghetto alone, the disease claimed as many as 1,600 lives.² People died at such high rates that most corpses were only buried in mass graves.³ Over the course of 1942, the self-help measures implemented by the Jews in the ghetto brought the mass epidemic of typhus that re-erupted in the following winter (1942) under better control, which substantially decreased the number of victims. Humanitarian aid (medicine and clothes) received from the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență*, CER) in Bucharest in 1942 and 1943 further increased the effectiveness of the efforts to combat diseases in the ghetto. Still, conditions in the ghetto remained difficult for the entire duration of the deportees' captivity.

According to CER's census, there were 250 Jews in the Ustia ghetto in March 1943, probably not counting the Ukrainian Jews. Six hundred and sixty-five Jews from Bessarabia and 280 Jews from Bukovina were still registered at the site on September 1, 1943.⁴ It is unclear, however, whether this census number includes the Jews who were temporarily moved from the ghetto in June 1943 to work on a *kolkhoz* (collective farm) camp in Lugova on the Bug River, a few kilometers southeast of Ustia, or whether those Jews had returned to Ustia by September of that year.⁵ The chief of the Lugova camp (and probably leader of the Ustia ghetto) was I. Guttman.⁶

The Ustia ghetto likely operated until the spring of 1944. Scarce documentation suggests that Jewish detainees were interned there until their liberation in March and April 1944. Records often refer to a forced labor camp for Jews at Ustia during this period.⁷

SOURCES Further information about the fate of the Jews deported to Ustia can be found in the following publications: "Ustia," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 1007; "Ustia," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 324; "Ustia," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia

Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011), 7: 292; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). Relevant publications include Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Important primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Ustia can be found at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), AME (RG-25.006M), and ANR (RG-25.002M). See also Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits gathered by the Association of Former Prisoners of the Fascist Camps and Ghettos of the Chernivtsi Region, Ukraine (USHMM, RG-31.020M, microfiche no. 26, folder 2). VHA contains survivor testimonies, including those of Tsilia Koifman, December 16, 1996 (#24957); Ester Laufer, December 18, 1996 (#25088); and Hanah Porat, February 17, 1997 (#26337). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about numerous ghetto inmates likely incarcerated at Ustia; see ITS 1.2.7.24, folder 5. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMM.

Alexandra Lohse and Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Among others see CNI card for Miriam Guttman, Doc. No. 50580141; CNI card for Dora Lehrer, Doc. No. 50592894; and CNI card for Rosa Maudanek, Doc. No. 51277177.

2. "Ustia," in Altman, *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR*, p. 1007.

3. VHA #24957, Tsilia Koifman testimony, December 16, 1996.

4. For the March 1943 census, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 census, see "Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943," reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456. See also ITS, 1.2.7.24, folder 5, Doc. No. 82207440.

5. For the relocation of deportees from Ustia, see Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 308 (diary entry, June 25, 1943).

6. Cf. list of ghettos and camps in Balta județ, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562.

7. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Ruth Fuhrmann, Doc. No. 51525241; ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Berta Mehler, Doc. No. 52029958.

VAPNIARCA

Vapniarca (pre-1941: Vapniarka), a village in the Tomașpol raion, Juguștru județ (today: Ukraine), in the northwestern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 47 kilometers (29 miles) northeast of Iampol. According to the 1939 Soviet census, 711 Jews lived in Vapniarca, representing nearly 20 percent of the village's total population. A number of Vapniarca's Jews fled with the retreating Red Army in June 1941, but approximately half stayed in the town.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Vapniarca on July 22, 1941. Soon thereafter the local Jews were sent to larger ghettos in the Tulcin județ. At the end of August 1941 control of the village was transferred to the Romanian civil administration, which romanianized its name as Vapniarca (also seen in reports as Vapnearca). The prefect of the Juguștru județ was Colonel Ștefan S. Gheorghiadă, and the praetor in the Tomașpol raion was Victor Dobrescu. In succession, the commandants of the Vapniarca camp were Colonel Ilie C. Murgescu (1941–1942), Căpitan Sever Burădescu (1942–1943), Căpitan Cristodor Popescu (1943), Căpitan I. Urseanu, and Colonel Sabin Motora (1943). The commandant of the Vapniarca gendarmes was Colonel Basta.

A dilapidated former Soviet cavalry school, located 3 kilometers (1.8 miles) outside Vapniarca near a forest, was repurposed as a detention camp in October 1941. The facility changed from a detention camp into a prison camp (*lagăr penitenciar*) in March 1942. Surrounded by three barbed-wire fences, it comprised three large buildings (one for women and two for men) and two smaller buildings where a kitchen and washroom were set up. Each of the three barracks had two levels. An infirmary was set up at the end of 1942 in the first floor of one of the barracks. Watchtowers staffed with armed gendarmes marked the camp's limits. Near the entrance, there was a prison "cell," a deep hole in the ground covered with a large stone in which prisoners were thrown and kept standing in darkness without food or water for 24 to 48 hours. An open ditch near the camp's west side was the public lavatory. There was also a small, unmarked cemetery near the camp. The camp headquarters occupied a two-story building outside the barbed-wire fences.

The camp was first populated with a small group of Ukrainian convicts and some 101 Ukrainian members of a religious minority (Bogomils) persecuted for their faith. At the end of October 1941, 1,000 Jews from Odessa were deported to Vapniarca. A month later, in November 1941, a group of a few hundred Jews were deported there from Romania. A typhus epidemic erupted in December 1941. A large number of the detainees contracted typhus and died; others perished from cold, hunger, and illness; and still others were shot. The barracks lacked windows, doors, running water, and heating, which meant death in the bitter winter months of 1941. Another wave of more than 1,200 deportees from Odessa arrived in March 1942. Following Marshal Ion Antonescu's order in May 1942 that all religious minorities unrecognized by the

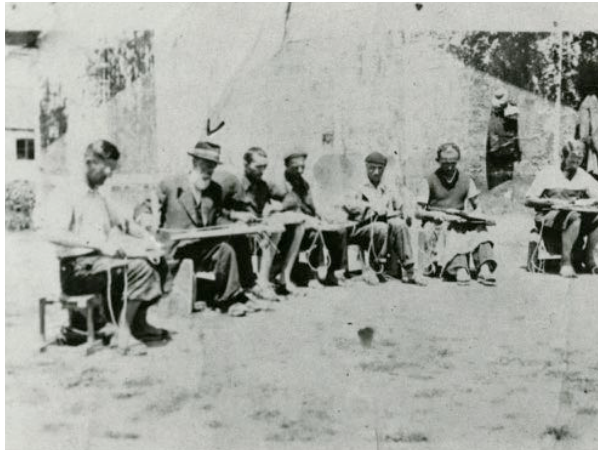
state, or those recognized but disobeying government legislation, be deported to Transnistria, 350 Seventh-Day Adventists were deported to Vapniarca in the autumn of 1942.¹ The final large transport of prisoners to the camp occurred on September 16, 1942, when approximately 1,200 Jewish "political" prisoners from Romania, including 107 women and a few children, arrived after days of traveling in freight trains. Accused of being communists, socialists, and Zionists, 479 of them came from Romanian prisons, and an additional 722 were rounded up from their homes or workplaces.² A few leaders of the central and regional Jewish communal institutions accused of illegally helping Jews were among the deportees. On arrival, they were met with Murgescu's frightening words: "You entered a camp from where, if you survive, you'll leave on four feet or on crutches."

The camp had a Jewish committee consisting of Paul Dascal, Nicolae Goldschmidt, Rabbi Benjamin Vilner, Emanoil Vineanu, S. Bughici, and Aurel Rothenberg. Other committees known only among the prisoners also existed (secrecy about some committees was maintained for the prisoners' security). Pavel Donath was the camp's liaison with the Romanian authorities. Dr. Arthur Kessler from Cernăuți was one of the camp's 20 doctors. Thanks to the camp leaders' organizational skills and wisdom in dealing with Romanian authorities, the prisoners' living conditions gradually improved. Wooden planks, windows, bricks, and nails from nearby destroyed buildings were recycled. The Jewish leaders also imposed strict discipline in a mostly successful attempt to avoid conflict with other imprisoned groups.

The prisoners were fed daily 100 to 200 grams (3.5 to 7 ounces) of bread, a gluey type of dough made from hops and milled hay, and fodder peas. The fodder peas were toxic, intended primarily for animal consumption. The authorities knew about their adverse health effects, but still authorized the peas' consumption. By February 1943, 611 of 1,200 Jewish prisoners became sick with ulcers and chronic diarrhea, of whom 110 developed lathyrism—a neurological disease caused by eating the peas—in their feet.³ After refusing to eat the fodder peas during an organized strike, the prisoners were able to get better food, including horse meat.

Responding to claims of unfounded arrests, such as cases of mistaken identity, a commission from the Romanian Interior Ministry arrived in March 1943 at Vapniarca. The commission approved 427 cases for removal from the camp and placement at "liberty" in Transnistrian ghettos. Between April and June 1943, 100 Jews were sent to Olgopol, 127 to Savrani, and 200 to Trihaiu.⁴

Men and women undertook forced labor as office cleaners and cooks, and the skilled laborers worked in the camp's tailoring and shoemaking workshops (*ateliere*). Teams of men unloaded coal at the train station and cut trees. Financial assistance from family and relatives was delivered to Vapniarca through the Aid Department of the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România, Secțiunea de Asistență, CER*), which also sent the inmates clothing, money, and



Romanian Jews in the Transnistrian camp of Vapniarka, at work weaving.

USHMM WS #74182, COURTESY OF FEDERATION OF THE ROMANIAN JEWISH COMMUNITIES.

food.⁵ Partisans and their sympathizers stored food and other aid in the camp for anticipated attacks on the camp, which never occurred.⁶

At different occasions throughout their imprisonment, the talented and educated prisoners held cultural activities such as recitals and concerts for everyone, including the gendarmes and officers. A hidden radio provided information about the course of the war, which was then disseminated from person to person. Rabbi Vilner led prayers in the camp for the Jewish holidays. Other religious groups held their own services.

With the approach of the Red Army, the Romanian Interior Ministry decreed the closure of Vapniarka. In October 1943, 54 Jewish prisoners still serving a correctional sentence were sent to Râbnîța prison to complete their sentence. On March 19, 1944, these Jews were shot in their cells and then burned with the entire prison (except for three or four survivors) by the Germans and their collaborators, despite ministerial plans for their repatriation.⁷ By mid-October 1943, the Vapniarka camp was dismantled and the remaining prisoners transported by train to the Grosulovo camp in the Tiraspol județ. Between December 1943 and January 1944, 355 of the former Vapniarka Jews then in Grosulovo were repatriated to Romania. The remaining 563 stayed in the Grosulovo camp until early March 1944. On March 12, 1944, Commandant Motora marched the group across the Dniester River to Tighina, in Bessarabia, in a last-minute effort to save them from the Germans who were reoccupying Transnistria.

The Bucharest People's Tribunal sentenced to life imprisonment three of Vapniarka's commandants: Murgescu, Burădescu, and Popescu. In 1983, Yad Vashem recognized Motora as a Righteous Among the Nations.

SOURCES Additional information about the Vapniarka camp can be found in the following sources: Paul A. Shapiro, "Vapniarka: The Archive of the International Tracing Service and the Holocaust in the East," *HGS* 27: 1 (Spring 2013): 114–137;

"Vapniarka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 130; "Vapniarka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 205; "Vapniarka," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivisdam ve-'ad le-abar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniya* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 426–432; "Vapnyarka," 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: 1374; Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Alexandr Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreistva 1941–1944: Entsiklopedichskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 54. For the 1939 Soviet census, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 26. For the Righteous Among the Nations, see Israel Gutman et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust*, vol. 5, part 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2011), pp. 81–82.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews and non-Jews in the Vapniarka camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). The ITS holds three collections, available in digital form at USHMM, related to Vapniarka in 1.1.47.1 (Various Camps), including documentation by Dr. Arthur Kessler on lathyrism. A newspaper article "Lagărul de exterminare de la Vapniarka," *LuNo* (ca. 1946), recounts the living conditions in the camp and the sentencing of its camp commanders. The article can be found at USHMM, RG-68.029M (ACMEOR), reel 11, file 62, p. 496. There are 45 VHA testimonies in six languages about the Vapniarka camp. For an account of life in the Vapniarka camp and Rybnitsa prison, see two testimonies by former prisoner Matei Gall, *Masacrul* (Bucharest: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură, 1956), and *Eclipsa* (Bucharest: Du Style, 1997), originally published in German. For another eyewitness account, see Ihil Benditer, *Vapniarka: Lagărele Vapniarka și Grosulovo, închisoarea Rîbnîța, ghetourile Olgopol, Savrani, Tridubi, Crivoi-Ozero și Tribati* (Tel Aviv: Anais, 1995), also available in a shorter form at www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/c/carmelly-felicia/benditer-ihil.html.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Order No. 5721/M, May 6, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 34, file 40010, vol. 59, p. 51 (USHMMA, RG-25.004M/34/40010/59, p. 51).
2. General de corp de armată Constantin Z. Vasiliu, Deportation Order No. 799 / May 9, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/34/40010/59, p. 53.
3. VHA #20192, Leah Derera testimony, September 22, 1996; VHA #50007, Lupu Sloim testimony, July 26, 1999; for statistical figures in the spring of 1943, see "Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe," reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348; see also I. Stănculescu's "Raport în legătura cu situația evreilor aflați în ghetourile din Transnistria," USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21, pp. 594–598 (esp. p. 594).
4. "Tabel nominal de mutările și transferările de evrei," USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 674, pp. 12–14 (and verso) (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/16/2358/1/674, pp. 12–14).
5. "Tabel de remiterile făcute evreilor din țară deportați în Transnistria și aflați la Vapniarca (jud. Juguștriu)," USHMMA, RG-31.004M/8/2255/1s, 1310, pp. 210–211; see also in the same collection, p. 209; and in USHMMA, RG-31.004M/8/2255/1s/1243, p. 355.
6. VHA #50019, Marcel Floreanu testimony, June 21, 1999.
7. Information letter No. 55.055, March 16, 1944, from the Romanian General Inspectorate of Gendarmes to the Târgu Jiu internment camp, USHMMA, RG-25.004M/40010/59, p. 79.

VASELINOVO

Vaselinovo (pre-1941: Veselynov), seat of Vaselinovo raion, Berezovca județ (today: Ukraine), in the southeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is located 29 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Berezovca. The Chychykliya River, a tributary of the Bug River, divided the town into two parts. In 1939, there were 58 Jews in Vaselinovo township and 189 in the raion. German and Romanian forces occupied Vaselinovo in mid-August 1941, and shortly afterward, by early September, authority over the town and its surroundings was transferred to the Romanian civil administration. The name of the township and raion was romanianized as Vaselinovo or Veselinovo.

The high-ranking representatives of the Romanian authority in the Berezovca județ were Colonel Leonida Popp, who was appointed prefect in Berezovca, and his deputy, Sublocotenent Alexandru Smochină. The commandant of the Berezovca Gendarmes Legion was Maior Ion Popescu, who was subsequently replaced by Octavian Ursuleanu. The head of medical services for the Berezovca județ was Dr. Aurel Juguș. The praetor in the Vaselinovo raion was Zacheu Buligă.

During the last days of German control of Vaselinovo, the 40 Jews who remained in place after the retreat of the Red Army were shot near a ravine on the township's outskirts; this massacre took place on September 5, 1941. Many of those killed were German-speaking Jews, because the area was pop-

ulated with many ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). The town was then empty of Jews until early 1942. On January 20, 1942, some 2,200 Jews from Odessa were deported by train to Vaselinovo. After disembarking, the Jews did not stay in town, but were marched (at times aimlessly) under escort, in unbearably cold, windy, and snowy conditions, to various villages in the raion. Hungry and impoverished after days of travel from Odessa, many elderly Jews died of exhaustion and cold on the road before they could find shelter in dilapidated barns and stables.

The Romanian authorities' efforts to contain and eradicate typhus outbreaks during the winter of 1941 produced few results, endangering the lives of civilians and soldiers alike. By the summer of 1942 several foci of the epidemic in villages near Vaselinovo were still active. Fearing the epidemic would only intensify with the arrival of new waves of Roma deportations from Romania and the approach of winter, some 500 Jews (some ill with typhus, others simply unproductive because of a lack of clothes) were taken from the Suha Balca camp to Vaselinovo on September 22. At the recommendation of the SS Ethnic German Liaison Office (*Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle*, VoMi), they were shot, along with another group of 550 Romanian Jews brought there from Mostovoi, by an ethnic German police unit (*Selbstschutz*) on Yom Kippur. The same unit also exterminated 120 Jews brought to Vaselinovo from Mostovoi in May 1943. The rationale for the killings was to stop a typhus outbreak that began in the winter months of 1942 and was still active, because Jews and Roma were considered the main carriers of the disease.

Little more than numbers is known about the Vaselinovo ghetto and its inhabitants, despite the hundreds of Ukrainian and Romanian Jews murdered in the town. According to a March 1943 census of all deported Jews (Ukrainian and Romanian), there were four Jews in Vaselinovo and seven in Budienny farm (a facility near Vaselinovo).¹ The small ghetto was still in existence in September 1943, when 15 Jews were listed as ghetto residents.² In another account from the same month, 19 Jews working for the praetorial and gendarmes offices in Vaselinovo were listed as residents in the ghetto. They held blue-collar (carpenter, driver, and farmer) and white-collar (accountant) jobs. Of the 19 Jews, 11 worked for Budienny farm.³ A September 1943 census of Jews deported from Romania found three Jews (two from Bessarabia, one from Bukovina) in Vaselinovo, without counting the local Ukrainian Jewish population.⁴

In late 1943, the Romanian authorities aimed to relieve the overcrowding in existing Roma colonies in Mostovoi by transferring 95 Roma (Gypsy) families from camps in the Mostovoi raion to 33 villages in the Vaselinovo raion. At the time, around 2,600 Roma lived in the Mostovoi raion in overcrowded and underequipped facilities, lacking food, soap, and winter clothes. In the new locations in Vaselinovo, the Roma were supposed to work in agriculture and live off the land beginning in the spring of 1944.⁵ The Red Army's liberation of Vaselinovo at the end of March 1944 disrupted the Romanian authorities' plans, however, freeing both Jews and the Roma.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews and Roma in Vaselinovo can be gleaned from the following sources: “Veselinovo,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2000), 4: 236; “Veselinovo,” in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-ad le-abar Sho’at Milhemet ha-’olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 1: 438; Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 54.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Jews and Roma in Vaselinovo are available at USHMMA, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reproduced in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 347.

2. “Tabel nominal de evreii aflați în ghetoul Vaselinovo,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 19, fond 2361, opis 1, delo 591, p. 81 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/591).

3. See “Tabel nominal Nr. 1 de întrebuințarea evreilor din com. Veselinova—Jud. Berezovca,” USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/590, p. 64 (verso).

4. See “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 439.

5. See letter Nr. 564, February 18, 1944, from Vaselinovo raion praetorial office to the labor office, Berezovca District, USHMMA, RG-31.004M/19/2361/1/592, p. 221; but see also pp. 219–220 in the same collection.

VASLUI/LPRS NO. 4

The city of Vaslui, the county seat of the Vaslui județ, in Moldavia, in eastern Romania, is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) south of Iași, 276 kilometers (172 miles) northeast of Bucharest, and nearly 99 kilometers (over 61 miles) southwest of Chișinău. After the joint German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were brought to Vaslui in early July 1941. The camp where they were held in Vaslui became known as Camp No. 4 for Soviet

prisoners (*Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici Nr. 4*), LPRS No. 4. The prefect in the Vaslui județ was Colonel Vasile Dumitrescu. The Army General Staff (*Marele Stat Major*, MSM) exercised ultimate authority over the camp; this institution issued the laws and regulations imposed on all Soviet POWs held in Romanian camps, including those held in LPRS No. 4 Vaslui. At the regional level, the III Territorial Command controlled LPRS No. 4, and Colonel Aliodor Ionescu served as its commandant.

Immediately on arrival in Vaslui, the POWs were taken to a registration center located on the premises of a large Orthodox church. After registration they were assigned to one of the two existing camps: LPRS No. 2 (commanded by Locotenent-colonel Căndea) and LPRS No. 4. After only a few weeks, by the end of July 1941, the two camps merged into a single entity, LPRS No. 4, with two parts. LPRS No. 4 was situated on the city’s outskirts in an empty school building (*Școala normală “Ștefan cel Mare”*). Gradually, as the number of prisoners grew, a number of large wooden barracks were built around the school building to accommodate the prisoners. A distinctive sign, a circle painted in black on the front and back of the internee’s overcoat, was mandated, but was rarely implemented and worn.

Most prisoners arrived in the camp in shabby clothes, and some were missing even their military boots. They were also filthy from weeks of internment in temporary holding centers without access to washing facilities. Soon after arrival, they were assigned in small groups and always under guard to do labor for impoverished Romanian families throughout the Vaslui județ. These were families whose sons or husbands were fighting on the front or were headed by war widows with small children. The prisoners helped with agricultural tasks: harvesting, weeding, haying, and hoeing. Town and village mayors also requested prisoners, usually in larger numbers, to work for landowners on farming and estate improvements. The requests were made by the mayors of Solești (which received 60 prisoners), Știoborâni (70), Ferești (20), Mânjești (100), Lipovăț (50), Deleni (100), Brodoc (122), Armășoaia (100), Cozmești (140), and Negrești (200), among others. Transfers of prisoners to army centers or to small factories working for the army in Romania also occurred as early as the end of July 1941 and continued throughout 1942. On July 28, 1941, 169 prisoners (165 troops and 4 officers) were dispatched to Bucharest; the next day some 650 prisoners went to Constanța and another 700 to Slatina; later on in 1942, another group of 350 was transferred to Brașov where some worked as carpenters in a wagon factory. It is unclear how many prisoners were registered as belonging to LPRS No. 4 and its subcamps. The Soviet archives indicate about 10,000 prisoners, and some sources suggest that another 10,000 passed through the camp on their way to other camps for Soviet POWs.¹

An army infirmary or small hospital where ill prisoners received medical attention existed in the camp. The hospital had a very limited supply of medicine for the prisoners. Jewish doctors or pharmacists were requisitioned from all over the province of Moldavia (Iași, Botoșani) to work as medical staff in the

camp. Whenever typhus or other epidemics erupted in the camp, many more Jewish doctors were enlisted to combat the epidemic and treat the ill.² A large number of prisoners perished from maltreatment and diseases. Soviet sources indicate a number of 799 fatalities, their bodies buried in the cemeteries of the towns or communes where they lived and worked at that time.³ During the frigid winters, when the number of victims was higher and temperatures dropped significantly below freezing, the corpses were piled up outside, awaiting burial until the weather improved.

Life in the camp was challenging. Working prisoners (those building or improving railroads, roads, and bridges) earned a small amount of pocket money, which they sometimes used to buy additional cigarettes or bread from other prisoners who had even less money. The army outfitted working prisoners with recycled clothes and peasant leather sandals (*opinci*), which also became commodities for trade in the camp with those unable or unneeded for work. Food in the camp consisted of a thin slice of bread and a bowl of watery soup, which was similar to what prisoners hired by private institutions received. To supplement their food, prisoners fought over potato peels that camp cooks usually tossed to the ground. Meals containing meat were rare and were served only when a horse died or when the camp was inspected (once a year) by members of the Romanian Red Cross (*Cruce Roșie din România*, CRR). Monsignor Andrea Cassulo, the papal nuncio to Romania, visited LPRS No. 4 Vaslui in the summer of 1942. Some Sundays, a priest arrived in the camp to pray with the prisoners of Ukrainian descent.⁴

LPRS No. 4 Vaslui had two subcamps. One subcamp was located in Bârlad about 45 kilometers (28 miles) south of Vaslui; the other was in Huși some 25 kilometers (16 miles) east of Vaslui. The Huși subcamp was set up in September 1942. It had a contingent of 100 prisoners and 12 guards. Prisoners in this subcamp were lodged in two wooden barracks outside Huși. They mined stone from nearby quarries and fixed roads and bridges. The Bârlad subcamp had 550 prisoners who undertook similar work projects.

Prisoners returned to the main camp from the subcamps at the end of 1943. On August 23, 1944, Romania switched sides and entered the war against Germany and its allies. The prisoners in LPRS No. 4 Vaslui remained in Romanian hands until October 1944, when they were handed over to the Soviet authorities to begin the difficult process of repatriation to the Soviet Union. After the war, starting in 1945, the commandants of LPRS No. 4 Vaslui were tried for mistreating the prisoners and causing the death of many. They were sentenced to many years of hard labor.

SOURCES Secondary sources attesting to the camp's existence include Paul Zahariuc, *Fălciu, Tutova, Vaslui. Secvente istorice (1907–1989)* (Vaslui: Centrul Județean pentru Conservarea și Promovarea Culturii Tradiționale, 2012); Andrei Șiperco, *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România 1939–1944* (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997); and Vasile Popa, “Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1944),” available at www.once.ro/sesiuni/sesiune_2007/9%20prizonieri_popa.pdf.

Primary sources documenting the fate of Soviet POWs and Jews in LPRS No. 4 Vaslui are available at USHMM, in collections AMAN (RG-25.003); ANR-Vs (RG-25.025M, reel 18); and ANR-Is (RG-25.029, reels 6 and 15). Archival sources are also available at TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607 (which opens on p. 2 with an instructive table listing the names of Red Army soldiers who perished in Romanian camps for POWs). Testimonies involving LPRS No. 4 can be found in VHA.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Prisoner registration forms, TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 135, 161, 162, 163, 165.

2. See telegrams informing LPRS No. 4 of the arrival of Jewish doctors: USHMM, RG-25.004M (AMAN), reel 36, file 7245, pp. 136–140, 392–395; and in the same record group, reel 42, file 7254, p. 122.

3. An alphabetical list with the names and places of burial of the 799 dead can be found in TsAMO, fond 58, opis 18003, delo 1607, pp. 159–238; and in the same record group, fond, and opis, delos 1624 and 1626.

4. VHA #02283, Samuel Reich testimony, April 27, 1995.

VAZDOVCA

Vazdovca (today: Hvozdvka Druha, Ukraine), in the Liubașevca raion in the southern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, Golta județ, is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) east of Balta. The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The Romanian authorities romanianized the village's name from Gvozdvka to Vazdovca (sometimes referred to in documentation as Văzdovca, Gvozdvca, or Cvozdvca) and changed the raion's name to Liubașevca. The prefect in the Golta district was Colonel Modest Isopescu.

The collective farm (*kolkhoz*) of Vazdovca served as a make-shift transit camp for deportation convoys during the mass deportations of Jews from the province of Bessarabia in Romania in the fall and winter of 1941. An estimated 15,000 Jews were registered at Vazdovca by October 1941. They included deportees from Chișinău, Bălți, and elsewhere in Bessarabia. Accommodations at Vazdovca were completely inadequate. Deportees endured catastrophic conditions as they crowded into basements, attics, and stables. Most people slept outdoors, exposed to the elements. Gendarmerie officers reorganized their deportation convoys at Vazdovca and then continued to force-march the survivors on to other sites, including the village of Zachariyevca in Golta's Vradiyevca raion and the Domanovca camp in the southern Golta județ. This southeastern part of the Golta județ was named by Holocaust scholars Transnistria's “kingdom of death” due to the high number of fatalities and murders that occurred there.

The guards abused and murdered countless deportees on their way to and from Vazdovca, leaving thousands of dead

bodies in the fields and roads along the convoys' routes.¹ Vazdovca also immediately became a site of mass death as exhausted deportees succumbed to typhus and other diseases, starvation, and fatigue. According to a report by Prefect Modest Isopescu, some 8,000 people had already died at Vazdovca by November 13, 1941. Isopescu ordered the 20th Infantry Regiment, which was stationed there, to guard the Jews and prevent the spread of disease to the local populations. Maior Enache, the regiment's physician, declared the entire transit camp infected with typhus and warned of the spread of the disease to the soldiers and civilians in the area. The soldiers of the 4th Company road patrol unit of the 20th Division were dispatched to "disinfect" the camp at Vazdovca by burying the dead. However, the continuing influx of new deportees from the south and the ongoing mass dying at Vazdovca rendered these measures ineffectual in stemming the typhus epidemic. In late November 1941, Isopescu ordered the evacuation of the Jews from Vazdovca to the Bogdanovca camp, 75 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Vazdovca on the west bank of the Bug River (today: Bohdanivka, Ukraine).² The camp was closed at the end of 1941, most likely returning to its original agricultural purpose in the spring of 1942.

SOURCES Additional information regarding the fate of Jews at Vazdovca, including those transferred from there to Bogdanovca, can be found in the following publications: "Gvoz-dovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 81; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary documentation is available in the following collections at USHMM: DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), SRI (RG-25.004M), and AMAN (RG-25.003M). Relevant VHA testimonies include Ida Boiarskaia, March 4, 1997 (#28591); Maia Fel'man, January 26, 1997 (#27615); and Charna Langman, May 17, 1997 (#15338). There are additional testimonies by survivors of the Bogdanovca camp.

Alexandra Lohse and Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 259.

2. Joint cable from Colonel Ion Georgescu and Maior Enache to Isopescu, November 17, 1941, as found in Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942*, p. 109. The cable can be found at USHMM, RG-31.008 (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis1, delo 66, pp. 185–186.

VERHOVCA

Verhovca (today: Obodivka raion, Ukraine), in the Balta județ, is located 33 kilometers (21 miles) southeast of Tulcin. The German and Romanian armies occupied the area by the end of July 1941, subsequently transferring control to the Romanian civil administration in September of the same year. The new authorities romanianized the village's name from Verkhivka to Verhovca, and the raion became Obodovca. The prefect in the Balta district was Colonel Vasile Nica.

During the mass expulsions of Jews from Romania that began in the fall and winter of 1941, Verhovca served as a transit point for deportation convoys. As early as October 1941, some 1,200 Romanian Jews and a smaller number of Ukrainian Jews were detained in a large cowshed and some 20 clay huts at Verhovca.¹ Among them was 12-year-old Yona Maleron, who had been deported with her family. She noted in her diary that the village was desolate and the huts had been wrecked and ransacked. Many lacked roofs and had cracks in the walls. Hundreds of people crowded into these spaces, where they slept on straw-covered ground. The inmates endured catastrophic conditions, starvation, and squalor, which contributed to the spread of a deadly typhus epidemic in the winter of 1941. By early 1942, some 500 people had died in the Verhovca ghetto. As Yona Maleron described the harrowing experience,

It was snowing. The bitter cold inside the shed was indescribable. Snow covered the walls and floor. Typhus spared no home in the ghetto; it felled its victims without mercy. Within a few days, we had all taken ill. . . . My father lay in agony for five days and died like a dog. That same day, my grandmother took sick. She died the next day, apparently more from hunger and cold than from disease. My mother, too, fell ill, closed her eyes and ceased to utter a sound. . . . All around me, there were only the dead and the dying; no one became well again.²

Yona and most other survivors of the epidemic were transferred from Verhovca to other ghettos in the region, although a small number of Jews remained at the site. Sixty-eight Jews from Bessarabia and one from Bukovina were still registered at Verhovca on September 1, 1943.³ According to documentation from the Balta județ prefecture, a Jewish committee composed of eight men administered the ghetto and organized the forced labor at the site.⁴ Documentation also sometimes refers to the site as a labor camp for Jews during this period. Some Jews remained at Verhovca until its liberation in March and April 1944.⁵

SOURCES Relevant publications include Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Yona Maleron, *Od Tetzi Mikan* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), pp. 365–366, which includes excerpts from her diary; Jean

Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). See also Michael and Raquel Stivelman, *A marca dos genocídios* (Rio de Janeiro: Imago, 2001); and Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996).

Important primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Verhovca can be found at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), including reels 6 and 17; AME (RG-25.006M); and ANR (RG-25.002M). See also Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits gathered by the Association of Former Prisoners of the Fascist Camps and Ghettos of the Chernivtsi Region, Ukraine (USHMM, RG-31.020M, microfiche no. 19, folder 2). The ITS contains inquiries about numerous deportees and ghetto inmates registered at Verhovca; see ITS, 1.2.7.24, folder 5.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. Among others, see ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Lea Hager, Doc. No. 52194550; and ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Baruch Hager, Doc. No. 52444982.

2. Maleron, *Od Tetzi Mikan*, pp. 23–25, quoted in Ancel, *Transnistria 1941–1942*, 1: 365–366.

3. ITS, 1.2.7.24, folder 5, Doc. No. 82207440.

4. USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 6, List of Jewish Bureau Labor Organization of Balta County and of Jewish Committees from Balta County as of September 1, 1943.

5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Salo Müller, Doc. No. 51307306.

VIDELE

Videle, a small town in the Vlașca județ in the Regat, in the southern part of Romania (today: Videle, Teleorman județ), is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) west-southwest of Bucharest and 357 kilometers (nearly 222 miles) south-southwest of Iași.

A camp for political detainees existed at Videle at the time of the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union. Formally known as the Videle internment camp (*Lagărul de Internare Videle*), it provided cheap labor for the Romanian Railways Company (*Căile Ferate Române*). For that reason the detainees were formed into the Videle Railway Detainee Detachment No. 68 (*Detășamentul 68 C.F. Deținuți Videle*). The camp was also occasionally referred to as the “Videle Railway Work Vagabonds Detachment No. 68” (*Detășamentul Lucru C.F. Vagabonzi No. 68 Videle*), the word “vagabond” being freely interchanged with “political detainee.”¹

The camp was under the administration of the Railway Works Detachments Command (*Comandamentul Detașamentelor Lucrări Căi Ferate*), led by Locotenent-colonel Traian Panaitescu, but was ultimately controlled by the Romanian Inter-

nal Affairs Ministry. A group of 120 gendarmes commanded by Căpitan Ion Popescu guarded the camp. Popescu was also the camp commandant, assisted by two officers and three noncommissioned officers (NCOs).²

The camp was located in Videle near the train station. It was a primitive facility; the detainees slept in huts, on layers of straw or cattail (reed) mats. They were deloused by head shaving.

The camp initially held non-Jewish men and women suspected of communist activity. The detainees were classified as “S.2” (as opposed to “S.1,” the more “dangerous” suspects) within the Antonescu regime’s hierarchy of security threats. It was difficult to prove the suspects’ illegal activity that warranted detention, as the authorities occasionally admitted, but they were forcefully admitted into the Videle camp in any case.

The Videle camp appeared among the listing of detention camps in the Regat at the beginning of August 1941 as having a contingent of 89 “suspects.” By September, their number increased to 397, of whom only 235 were declared “apt” for work.³ Commandant Panaitescu informed the General Gendarmes Inspectorate in Bucharest that the health of the prisoners was “precarious” and invited a commission from the Internal Affairs Ministry to hear the appeals of the detainees because “many have repeatedly stated that they are innocent.”⁴

The detainees worked various jobs in the laying of new railway tracks near Videle in the Milcov Valley, on the new Bucharest-Craiova rail line that was being built at that time. Some detainees were assigned to build embankments and others huts, whereas still others were put to work in carpentry, ironsmithing, and loading and pushing barrows. The camp received payment for the work done by the detainees from August to November, but the detainees themselves were not paid. Their remuneration consisted of “room and board,” so when the camp was disbanded on November 26, 1941, they were sent away empty-handed.⁵

The Internal Affairs Ministry committee that inspected the facilities of the camp after it closed in November considered the prisoners’ sleeping mats, as well as other cooking utensils used for feeding them, to be beyond repair due to their lice infestation and/or deterioration. Because of the conditions inside the camp, the committee decided to burn or throw away these items, rather than reuse them.⁶

In addition to the non-Jewish detainees, Jews from Romania suspected of communist activity were also interned in the Videle camp during the summer months of 1941; in fact, in October 1941, 126 of 169 detainees were Jews (121 men and 5 women).⁷ To give one example, a group of 26 Jews from Bukovina, from places such as Suceava, Storojineț, and Rădăuți, were escorted back to Bukovina when the camp closed.⁸ Instead of being released, however, the governor of Bukovina, General de divizie Corneliu Calotescu, instructed that the Jews from Bukovina be interned directly in Sădăgura, a prison camp just outside Cernăuți. It is most likely that they were included among the second wave of deportees from Cernăuți sent to Transnistria in May–June 1942.⁹ Those who were from the Regat were subject to forced labor until August 1944,

when Romania switched sides in the war and annulled the forced labor laws.

SOURCES A specific study of the Videle camp has not been done. For the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the Videle camp and the fate of its prisoners are available at USHMMA, in collections ANR (RG-25.002M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), and DACKO (RG-31.006M).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. See, for example, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMAN), Fondul Commandamentul Detașamentelor de Căi Ferate, file 21, p. 230.

2. Information note to the General Gendarmes Inspectorate, September 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 11, p. 1; and file 21, p. 301.

3. See the camp statistics, "Situția Lagărelor," August 6, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.002M (ANR), reel 17, file 86, p. 19; for the September figure, see RG-25.003M, file 11, p. 1.

4. Information note to the General Gendarmes Inspectorate, September 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 11, p. 1.

5. See payment receipts from July to November 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 11, pp. 7–26, 34; also file 21, pp. 271–272.

6. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 11, pp. 28–29.

7. USHMMA, RG-25.003M, file 21, p. 301 (verso).

8. See a list of the names of these Jews, USHMMA, RG-31.006M (DACKO), reel 22, fond 38, opis 6, delo 152, p. 169.

9. See correspondence between the Videle camp, the Government of Bukovina, and the Sădăgura camp, USHMMA, RG-31.006M, reel 22, fond 38, opis 6, delo 152, pp. 163–168.

VIGODA

Vigoda, a village in the Belaevca raion, Ovidiopol județ (today: Vyhoda, Ukraine), in the southwestern corner of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is 30 kilometers (19 miles) northwest of Odessa. The Romanian administrative outline of the raion distinguishes between a "Russian Vigoda" and a "German Vigoda," suggesting two localities in close proximity or one locality with two distinct parts.

The German and Romanian armies occupied the area in October 1941. The Romanian administration, taking control of the area in the second part of October 1941, romanianized the village's name from Vygodă to Vigoda, and the raion became Belaevca. Ovidiopol's prefect was Colonel Mihai Botez, who was succeeded by N. Canari. The commandant of the Ovidiopol Gendarmes Legion from 1942 to 1943 was Căpitan (then Maior) Angel Dedulescu. The praetor in the Belaevca raion was Grigore Goteu.

A convoy of hundreds of Jews deported from the city of Odessa and its surroundings in the spring of 1942 was held for a short period of time on the compounds of the Vigoda farm; these Jews were then shot and buried in a mass grave near the farm. The burial mounds were still visible months later. The Romanian authorities placed land mines in the area around the mass grave to prevent anyone from approaching the site.

In September 1942, over the course of a few transports, approximately 550 Romanian Jews were deported from the Old Kingdom (the Regat) and southern Transylvania to Transnistria because of their alleged absence from or tardiness in reporting to forced labor duties. These Jews were originally from such cities and districts as Arad, Bucharest, Brăila, Galați, Vaslui, Iași, Roman, Baia, Buzău, Dorohoi, Cernăuți, and Timiș.¹ According to the Romanian Army General Staff's instruction (No. 88.66, issued in July 1942), the Jews who committed those infractions were to be deported to Transnistria. If the named Jews could not be found, their families were to be deported. The deportation appeared to be permanent, because no period of time was mentioned in the document.²

Of those 550 Jews slated for deportation, 293 Jews were transported by train in freight cars from Bucharest to Odessa.³ Many of these Jews were ordered to be deported by General de brigadă Nicolae Cepleanu, the inspector over all labor brigades for Jews from 1942 to 1944. After being held for three days in barns in Scârba, a village near Odessa, they were taken to Vigoda by another train. The journey lasted almost two weeks in debilitating, crowded conditions, with the deportees not receiving more than a few buckets of water.⁴ The Jews, of both sexes and of all ages, were placed in the Vigoda camp, which was a farm administered by the Government of Transnistria. The farm, known as Ovidiopol județ's "experimental farm," was situated between the villages of Vigoda, Petrovski (today: Petrivs'ke), and Berezin (today: Berezan'). The farm's Ukrainian name from Soviet times was Sevcenco, so that the Vigoda camp was occasionally referred to as the "Sevcenco camp."⁵

The Jews were housed in a large dilapidated building, probably the former residence of a noble family (hence the use of the term "mansion" in some documents to describe the facility), which they restored and cleaned as best as they could. The building was isolated from the other parts of the farm and was encircled by a double barbed-wire fence. Some 44 of its rooms were repurposed as living quarters for the Jews. The rooms were empty, its windows had no glass, and plumbing was nonexistent. The pane-less windows were boarded up because of the cold, leaving only a small opening for light and air. No laundry, washing, or cooking facilities existed; for the setting up of such facilities, only "orders and instructions were given." The Jews dug latrines outside the building, and a shower room and a small infirmary were set up in two small single-room houses. A few Jews were appointed as camp medical staff, and others became internal policemen. A few days after arriving, an effort was made to delouse everyone, but its good effect was soon reversed by the living conditions. The camp was lightly

guarded by the gendarmes from the Petrovski gendarmes post, although there was a tall watchtower equipped with a rotating searchlight.

The regime inside the camp was stricter than in other camps, because these Jews were not ordinary deportees but rather were “delinquent Jews” (*evrei infractori*). Discipline followed a code of practice made up of 20 points that severely restricted the guards’ contact with the Jews and their movement outside the camp, censored access to information (letters and newspapers) and packages sent from home, prohibited barter, and permitted the soldiers to use firearms in case of disorder and disobedience.⁶ The camp administrator, Gogleață, was a harsh man; he was a declared Legionnaire, meaning that he wore the green shirt of the Legion of the Archangel Michael (*Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail*) and was armed with a revolver. He took distinct pleasure in verbally and physically abusing the Jews. One night in October 1942, he orchestrated the gang rape of a young Jewish girl from the camp, taking part first in the act, followed by other guards.⁷

Compulsory work on the farm (picking sunflowers from fields) lasted from morning to evening, under the eyes for the guards. Children worked in the chicken coop. Hardly any food or water was given when working, and on the rare occasion when some food was distributed, the rations were small, watery, and poor in nutrients. Barter (although prohibited) became the only means of survival. Relatives from Romania sent small sums of money to their loved ones in the camp, but whether the money reached the intended recipients is unclear.⁸ The nights in October and November were very cold, and there was no wood to burn in the camp; it had to be collected from outside the camp at night, at great risk. Four Jews lost their lives to hunger and exhaustion, and many others suffered from diseases they contracted while imprisoned in the camp.⁹ A Jewish doctor from Romania undertaking his forced labor duty in Transnistria was temporarily assigned to the Vigoda camp, but had only aspirin at his disposal to treat his patients.

The camp closed on November 10, 1942 (or November 30, according to other accounts), when the Jews were transferred to Alexandrovca (in the Ovidiopol județ), a village 60 kilometers (more than 37 miles) southeast of Vigoda. There they lived in railcars and were forced to toil in a vineyard belonging to the governor of Transnistria, Gheorghe Alexianu, until December 26, 1942, when they were again deported to a different location.

On September 30, 1943, the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Bucharest approved the repatriation to Romania of all Jews deported to Transnistria for allegedly neglecting their forced labor duties.¹⁰ This repatriation was in advance of the general repatriation that occurred in March 1944. The survivors of the Vigoda camp, at that point inmates of the Goltă ghetto (in the Goltă județ) where they ended up after repeated deportations, returned to Romania in November 1943 by train.

In 1945, the Bucharest People’s Court tried and sentenced to many years’ hard labor the military and civilian leaders who mistreated the Jews sent to Transnistria by General Cepleanu.

The general himself was under court investigation when he committed suicide.¹¹

SOURCES More information regarding the fate of the deportees sent to the Vigoda camp can be found in the following publications: Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vols. 5 and 6 (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Felicia Carmelly, *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria* (Scarborough: Abbeyfield Publishers, 1997). For a collection of documents regarding the forced labor of Jews in Romania, see Ana Bărbulescu and Alexandru Florian, eds., *Munca Obligatorie a Evreilor din România: Documente*, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Iași: Polirom in association with the Elie Wiesel National Institute for the Study of the Holocaust in Romania, 2013).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews in the Vigoda camp are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), AMAN (RG-25.003M), AME (RG-25.006M), and SRI (RG-25.004M). A memoir by survivor Sonia Palty is *Evrei treceti Nistrul! Însemnări din deportare* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1992). Palty’s testimony is also available in German as *Jenseits des Dnjestr: jüdische Deportationsschicksale aus Bukarest in Transnistrien 1942–1943*, trans. Erhard R. Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung Gore, 1995). VHA holds two testimonies (in English and Romanian) from Jewish survivors who were held in the Vigoda camp; three survivor testimonies (in Russian) document the massacre of Jews from Odessa in the Vigoda camp.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For a list of their names and places of origin, see “Tabel nominal de everii deportați în Transnistria,” August 1943, reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 383–389.

2. See MSM communications, USHMM, RG-25.003M (AMAN), reel 328, file 1054, p. 189 (see also pp. 180–182).

3. Diary entry for September 24, 1942, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 297. See a list of names of these Jews issued by the Ovidiopol Gendarmes Legion, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, pp. 132–133 (and verso).

4. See Vigoda camp survivor Sonyah Palty account, an excerpt of which can be found at www.nizkor.org/hweb/people/c/carmelly-felicia/palty-sonia.html.

5. See medical doctor Teofil Bucșa’s camp inspection report, October 10, 1942, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 16, fond 2358, opis 1, delo 710, p. 500.

6. See code of practice, “Consemn pentru jandarmii aflați de pază la Lagărul de evrei,” USHMM, RG-31.004M

(DAOO), reel 15, fond 2357, opis 1, delo 352, p. 134 (and verso).

7. VHA #18100, Sonyah Palți testimony, July 31, 1996.

8. See receipts after money transfers, USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 519, pp. 162, 164, 180.

9. Diary entry for November 10, 1942, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 300.

10. See notification from the General Inspectorate of Gendarmes for gendarme legions in Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 26, p. 419.

11. See court report, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 28, file 38882, vol. 1, pp. 2–3; see also vol. 2 in the same collection.

VIJNIȚA

Vijnița (pre-1941: Vijnitsa), a town in the Storoiineț județ, in northwestern Bukovina (today: Vyzhnytsya, Ukraine), is on the Ceremosh River, a tributary of the Prut River. Vijnița is 307 kilometers (191 miles) northwest of Chișinău and 55 kilometers (34 miles) west of Cernăuți. According to censuses taken by the Romanian authorities, in 1930 there were 2,666 Jews living in Vijnița; in December 1939 there were 14,832 Jews in the Storoiineț județ, and by September 1941, 4,311 Jews remained. Census data for Vijnița are not available for the 1939–1940 period, but conservative estimates claim that between 5,000 and 7,000 Jews lived there. Dozens of able-bodied Jewish men were mobilized into the Red Army, and although some Jewish families fled deeper inside the Soviet Union, the majority of Jews remained in place.¹

In the days following the Soviet retreat from Vijnița and just before the arrival of the German and Romanian armies, Ukrainian gangs from the area pillaged Jewish houses and demanded sums of money from the Jews in exchange for not murdering them.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Vijnița on July 5, 1941. An order was immediately issued that for 24 hours all the villagers were permitted to do as they pleased with the Jews. On entering the town, Romanian mountain infantry units commanded by Maior Ion Oprea and Locotenent Voinea, assisted by Ukrainian nationalists and German sympathizers, searched Jewish houses under the pretext of looking for hidden arms. During these searches, they robbed, beat, raped, and killed Jews. Twenty-one Jews were murdered at that time, and 14 others were shot near the forest on the town's outskirts. Soon the number of deaths reached into the hundreds as the pogrom lasted several more days. Men, women, and children were murdered in their homes, yards, or on the streets.² The initial killings were undertaken in response to fabricated accusations that the Jews of Vijnița had mistreated the Romanian Army during its retreat from northern Bukovina in June 1940 and had then welcomed the Soviet occupying forces. Not all military men were antisemitic, however. Maior Petruc, pass-

ing through Vijnița on his way to the front in June 1941, showed kindness to the Jews, stopping the killing of 23 Jews. He distributed food left behind in the town by the Soviet authorities and gave money to the widows of those murdered.³ The subsequent killings and deportations that occurred after his passing through town were part of a planned operation aimed at “cleansing the territory” of Jews and political “enemies” (communist sympathizers) behind the front line.

The Romanian administration took control of the town shortly after its occupation. The town's name was romanianized as Vijnîța (or Vișnița). The mayor in Vijnîța was Virgil Leonaș, and the deputy mayor was Tiron Meletic. The praetor was Eugen Posteuță, assisted by Petru Bolocan. A transit camp was established in a few buildings (most likely synagogues or former Jewish schools) in mid- to late July 1941. Its purpose was to hold temporarily rural Jews living around Vijnîța who were being deported to Transnistria. According to estimates of the Romanian military authorities, 1,820 such Jews were gathered in what became known as the Vijnîța camp (*lagărul Vijnîța*). In August 1941 they were marched from place to place, eventually reaching the Edineț camp (in the Hotin județ) where many succumbed to hunger, thirst, and illness. At that time the Edineț camp had approximately 12,000 Jews (mostly from rural areas in Storoiineț, Cernăuți, and Rădăuți). After weeks of internment, in September 1941, they were marched to Atachi and Cosăuți near the Dniester River, to be transferred to Transnistria.

Life under Romanian occupation was filled with restrictions for the Jews who remained in Vijnîța. A curfew was introduced, and walking through the streets was restricted to a few hours during the day. Bartering started immediately, because Jews could no longer work at their former jobs. Jews had to wear a distinctive mark on their clothing. They were forbidden to leave the town and instead were forced to undertake work for whoever needed them. In September 1941, all Jewish mental patients from Cernăuți were transported to and kept in the Beit Midrash school courtyard in Vijnîța. A Jewish committee set up for this purpose treated the patients and provided them with bedding, clothing, and food.

In October 12, 1941, on Hoshana Rabba (marking the seventh day of the Jewish holiday of Sukkot), drumbeats announced—as was customary in small towns at that time—that the Jews were being expelled from Vijnîța. At that time, 2,800 Jews were deported from the town. Some were transported on carts and some on train to the Nepolocăuți (today: Nepolokivtsi, Ukraine) train station, which was 36 kilometers (23 miles) northeast of Vijnîța. There they were loaded onto freight cars, 60 to 70 people per railcar, and transported to Atachi, one of the crossing points into Transnistria (across from Moghilev-Podolsk). After a short march from the Atachi train station they reached an assembly point (a temporary camp) near the banks of the Dniester River, where other Jews (from Suceava) awaited crossing by cable ferry. While waiting to embark on the ferry, they and their belongings were searched by Romanian gendarmes and their valuables (pre-

cious metals and foreign currency) confiscated. Their identity documents were also taken away. A few Jews, in desperation, committed suicide using cyanide pills and other similar poisons.

Once in Moghilev, the Jews of Vijnîța were dispersed in ghettos and camps throughout Transnistria, including in Moghilev, Berezovca, and Mostovoi. Some worked in government workshops (Birezula and Odessa), and others made it onto the lists of essential laborers who were retained in Moghilev. Of the 2,800 Jews deported from Vijnîța, 480 were brought to Djurin in the Moghilev județ (today: Dzhurin), 46 kilometers (29 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk, joining 5,000 other Jewish deportees. The 500 local Ukrainian Jews cared for them, taking them into their already crowded homes. The rabbi of Djurin, Rabbi Herzel Chrokmelnick, headed the provision of spiritual and material assistance. Rabbi Baruch Hager from Siret, also in Djurin, provided assistance. As far away as Bucharest, a committee that was established to help the Jews of Vijnîța and Cernăuți succeeded in sending them help each month via a Romanian officer. Of the 480 Jews from Vijnîța who were brought to Djurin, 390 survived. Jews deported to other locations were less fortunate. They suffered from hunger and epidemics, and many of them perished. Of the remaining 2,320 Jews deported from Vijnîța, only about 800 survived, including some children. They returned from Transnistria during the spring of 1944. Deputy Mayor Meletic was sentenced in February 1949 to 20 years' hard labor and confiscation of private property.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews of Vijnîța can be found in "Vijnîța," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyah: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-ad le-ahar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1969), 2: 460–462; "Vijnîța," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1395–1396; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 67; Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Doroboi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945); Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2012); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană," 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986).

Primary sources regarding the fate of Jews of Vijnîța are available at USHMM, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M)

and SRI (RG-25.004M). For the trial record of Tiron Meletic regarding his murder of Schulem Pressner, a Jew from Vijnîța, the physical and verbal abuse of other Jews of Vijnîța, and confiscation of Jewish property, see RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 52, file 1142, vol. 651, pp. 53–54, 81–82.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. VHA #00945, Leizer Hoffer testimony, February 15, 1995.
2. Entry on July 5, 1941, in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3a: 31.
3. Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Doroboi*, p. 45.

VINDICENI

Vindicieni, a village in the Iarișev raion, Moghilev județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Vendychany, Ukraine), is situated along the Vendychan River, a tributary of the Dniester. It is located 18 kilometers (12 miles) north of Moghilev-Podolsk. In 1930, there were 829 Jews in Vindicieni.

The German and Romanian armies overran Vindicieni on July 19, 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time the Jews were persecuted, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Vendychany to Vindicieni, and the raion's name became Iarișev. The praetor in the raion was Gheorghe Oșanu.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 835 deported Romanian Jews in Vindicieni in October 1942.¹ Siegfried Jägendorf, president of the Moghilev Jewish Council, estimated that up to 50 percent of the deported Jews in Moghilev (the town and district) perished during the winter of 1941 from cold, hunger, and typhus, chief among other fatal diseases.²

Convoys of Jews deported from southern Bukovina arrived in Vindicieni in October and November 1941. Many of the Jews in those convoys crossed the Dniester at Moghilev-Podolsk, stopping for a short time and being held in bombed-out buildings before being forced to press on; some came to Vindicieni directly and others by way of other locations (such as Ozarintsy). The newly arrived deportees—robbed and starved along the way—were crammed inside the homes of the local Jews, some of whom were still alive at that time. The Vindicieni ghetto was thus created. It was an open ghetto, at least for a period, and was guarded by Romanian gendarmes from the local gendarmes post, assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries. Leaving the ghetto without permission was punishable by death; indeed, Plutonier Mocanu, the gendarmes post chief, shot a local Jew for doing just that.³ A Jewish police unit also existed to maintain order and implement the authorities' demands. Survival was possible only through barter, bribery, and covert aid by generous local individuals.

In an effort to relieve overcrowding in the Moghilev-Podolsk ghetto and a few other nearby ghettos, Romanian

gendarmerie authorities transferred on May 30, 1942, a number of Jews (perhaps 100 or more) from the Vindiceni ghetto to the newly created but dreadful camp at Scazineți (today: Skazyntsi), some 14 kilometers (9 miles) southeast of Vindiceni. (These Jews from the Vindiceni ghetto were on the second transport; the first transport left a day earlier and included 1,000 Jews, mostly from the Moghilev ghetto.⁴)

Information about the living conditions inside the Vindiceni ghetto comes from a report of the Bucharest-based Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) that visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 8 and 9 in Moghilev-Podolsk. The commission, led by Fred Șaraga, learned in a meeting with S. Iosspovici and A. Segall, representatives of the Vindiceni ghetto, that at that time 750 Jews were living in the ghetto, the majority of whom were from the Dorohoi județ (Darabani, Săveni, and Dorohoi). The commission also learned that a soup kitchen had existed in the ghetto for a brief period of time, but it had run out of funds; the ghetto had no hospital, the sick being treated in the town's dispensary (Avraham Veisman, Israel Rabinovici, and Heni Hirș were doctors active in and outside the ghetto in 1943). The commission donated 1,500 RKKS (*Reichskreditkassenschein*; German-issued scrip) toward the reopening of the soup kitchen.⁵

CER sent a few more aid boxes to the Vindiceni ghetto over the course of 1943 and facilitated the transfer of sums of money from relatives or friends living in Romania to individuals in the ghetto.⁶ The aid was hardly sufficient to offset the deportees' many needs. A visit from M. Katz, the president of the Moghilev Jewish Council (*Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev*, CEM) after Jägendorf found the Jews in Vindiceni to be "physically weak, exhausted" and that, although some were working, "most had become beggars."⁷

A number of able-bodied people from the ghetto were taken to work in the local brick factory; some payment was received for that work.⁸ Other Jews worked in the Vindiceni sugar factory that the deportees had restored; it was run by Serghie Rachlitchi, a violent man who took pleasure in beating his workers. Some other Jews labored in forestry.⁹

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Vindiceni was 746; it is not clear whether the Ukrainian Jews were counted. On September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 262 Jews in the camp (3 from Bessarabia, 259 from Bukovina).¹⁰

The repatriation of the Jews from the Dorohoi district and the Regat took place in December 1943, along with a few other categories of Jews who were permitted to return earlier (such as World War I veterans or widows and orphaned Jewish children). Some Jews in the Vindiceni ghetto qualified for this repatriation. The Red Army recaptured the village at the end of March 1944, liberating the ghetto. Some of the Jews were immediately drafted into the Red Army, but most made their way back to Romania amid great challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Vindiceni can be found in the following publications: I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009); A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2011); and "Vindiceni," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-ad le-abar Sho'at Milbemet ha-'olam ha-shehiyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 436. Additional information can be found in A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Vindiceni can be found at USHMMA, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), AME (RG-25.006M), and GARF (RG-22.002). VHA holds 15 survivor testimonies in four languages (English, Russian, Hebrew, and German) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

2. Jägendorf memorandum, September 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 10, file 2699, vol. 22, pp. 257–289 (esp. p. 265). Survivors also attest to such deaths: see VHA #38599, Tsilah Fuks testimony, December 3, 1997.

3. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 400.

4. Ibid., 3: 286.

5. For a visitor's report, see USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, pp. 127–128; for a list of medical doctors in the Vindiceni ghetto in 1943, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, p. 226 (and verso).

6. See receipts of remittances, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 10, fond 2255, opis 1, delo 1180, pp. 86, 120–122.

7. An excerpt from Katz's memorandum can be found in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 397.

8. List of payments to Jewish workers, USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 34 (no fond, opis, or delo).

9. Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 290; see also VHA #21462, Sieghard Hacker testimony, November 5, 1996.

10. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 345; and for the September 1943 census, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

VLĂDENI-HOMOROD/LPRS NO. 2

Vlădeni and Homorod are two villages in the Țânțari township, Brașov județ (today: Vlădeni and Valea Homorod, Dumbrăvița township), in the central region of Romania. Located in a mountainous region, Vlădeni is 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Homord, 22 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of the city of Brașov, and 160 kilometers (99 miles) north of Bucharest. Following the German and Romanian attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the capture of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) necessitated the creation of camps to hold and exploit them.

Established in July 1941 as a camp for Soviet POWs in Vaslui, in the eastern part of Romania, this subcamp moved to Vlădeni-Homorod on August 3, 1941, and became a camp of its own. Soviet prisoners were brought to this camp to refurbish a segment of railroad tracks in the Vlădeni-Homorod area, especially the railway tunnel near Perșani, and to provide labor to other industrial and agricultural enterprises in the region. In August 1941, the Vlădeni-Homorod camp had a total of 2,556 prisoners, guarded by a contingent of 256 gendarmes and a few ranked officers. The commandant of the camp was Locotenent-colonel Căndea.

The camp became known as Camp No. 2 of Soviet prisoners (*Lagărul No. 2 de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici*), LPRS No. 2 followed by the place name Vlădeni-Homorod, Homorod-Vlădeni, or simply, Vlădeni or Homorod. The Command Office of the Interior Defense Forces (*Comandamentul Forțelor de Apărare Interioară a Teritoriului*) controlled and regulated the camp's affairs, while the V Territorial Command, located in Buzău (*Comandamentul V Teritorial Buzău*), administered the camp. POW camps like the Vlădeni-Homorod camp were designed as self-sufficient entities. The camp received a small budget and was expected to live within its means by securing additional revenue from the hire of its prisoners. The chief employer of the camp's prisoners was the Romanian Railways Company (*Căile Ferate Române*, CFR), but other enterprises hired prisoners from the camp as well. For example, 300 POWs were sent in August 1941 to Mangalia, near the Black Sea, as agricultural workers for the Agricultural Inspectorate of Constanța (*Inspectoratul Agricol Constanța*).

In the Vlădeni-Homorod camp, prisoners were housed in three large wooden barracks built by CFR, Section 2, Brașov, as part of their employer-designated responsibilities.¹ Each barrack was 300 meters (984 feet) in length but had different widths. The first barrack held 600 prisoners and was guarded

by 1 officer, 2 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 43 gendarmes. The second barrack, the largest of the three, held 1,110 prisoners; it was guarded by 2 officers, 3 NCOs, and 87 gendarmes. Finally, the third barrack had 759 prisoners, guarded by 2 officers, 3 NCOs, and 65 gendarmes. The three barracks were 3 to 5 kilometers (1.9 to 3.1 miles) from each other.

The barracks were primitive at best, each containing no more than a few small windows, a main door, and shared multitiered beds. Initially the camp lacked everything else: tables, chairs, bowls, spoons, storage rooms, showers, and toilets. Essential cooking equipment (such as large cooking pots) was procured and brought from the Vaslui POW camp. Gradually, a dining hall, outdoor lavatories, and a small infirmary were set up for each barrack. There was also a larger infirmary for the entire camp (for cases not requiring urgent hospitalization). Each barrack was encircled by barbed wire, and four watchtowers were placed at the camp's corners.²

A major delousing effort began soon after the prisoners' arrival at camp. An army mobile bathing train was used for washing, and several delousing ovens were used to disinfect the prisoners' clothes. The gendarmes, too, washed and had their clothes deloused. Dirty and louse-infested barracks were cleaned and washed with lime; old straw on which the prisoners slept was burned and replaced with new straw; and all prisoners had their hair cut short. In addition, an army nurse was assigned to the camp to monitor the health of the prisoners and troops and to prevent the outbreak of epidemics such as typhus or typhoid fever.³

The barracks were located close to the work sites. The prisoners were escorted on foot to the sites, guarded while working, and returned under escort to the camp in the evening. The payment of working prisoners was stipulated by contractual agreements established between the camp and the employers. However, records have yet to emerge verifying the payment of prisoners from the Vlădeni-Homorod camp.⁴

After a promising start, the lack of funds, absence of stored produce, and difficult road access up to the barracks on rainy and snowy days caused a food shortage in the camp. Many prisoners were taken captive when they were wearing light summer clothes, and many had been without shoes since their capture. Lack of the warmer clothes needed to live and work in a mountainous region led not only to the unemployment of those unable to perform their duties but also to illness. Furthermore, early camp reports indicate the absence of soap and underwear, leading to poor hygiene.⁵ Cases of illness needing hospitalization were reported. The most common sickness among the Soviet POWs held in the Romanian camps was tuberculosis, with related lung infections. Typhus was also a constant threat, in addition to other illnesses caused by battle wounds.⁶ The dead were buried in the Vlădeni village's cemetery. The bodies were later exhumed and reburied in the Soviet cemetery built after the war to honor Soviet soldiers who died in the area during the summer and fall of 1944.

Based on surviving documentation, the Vlădeni-Homorod camp was open until sometime in 1943. The remaining prisoners were likely absorbed by other camps, among them Camp

No. 3 Vameș (Covurlui județ; today: Galați județ), Camp No. 7 Budești (Ilfov județ; today: Călărași județ), and Camp No. 5 Tiraspol (Tiraspol județ).⁷

SOURCES For a secondary source mentioning the Vlădeni-Homorod camp, see Vasile Popa, "Prizonierii Sovietici în România (1941–1944)," in Cătălin Fudulu, ed., *Eroi și Morminte: Studii și comunicări susținute la sesiunea anuală a Oficiului Național pentru Cultul Eroilor, ediția 1, București 12.12.2007* (Buzău: Alpha MDN, 2008), pp. 1–9.

Primary sources documenting the lives of Soviet POWs in the Vlădeni-Homorod camp are available at USHMMA, in collection SRI (RG-25.004M). Soviet prisoner registration forms from the Vlădeni camp are available at TsAMO (fond 58, opis 977528, delo 134); and RGVA (fond 1512, opis 1, delo 20).

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Instructions regarding the treatment and employment of prisoners were formulated in August 1941 by the General Staff of the Commandment of the Interior Defense Forces of Romania and clearly stipulate the employers' responsibilities, cf. "Instrucțiuni asupra întrebuințării prizonierilor la munci," August 4, 1941, signed by General de divizie Hariton Dragomirescu, commandant of the Interior Defense Forces, USHMMA, RG-25.004 (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 23–25, 26–28. Colonel T. Turturescu, General Staff commandant of the V Territorial Command, transmitted such instructions to all camps coming under the supervision of his command center, including the Vlădeni-Homorod camp; see his secret note, p. 22 in the same file and volume.

2. Commandant Căndea's report, "Dare de Seamă," August 9, 1941, explaining the difficulties faced in organizing and running the camp, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 40–41, and the subsequent report covering the period August 11–18, 1941, p. 56. A follow-up telegram from Colonel Turturescu to the Command Office of the Interior Defense Forces reiterated the camp's needs, as did his more detailed report, "No. 206882," August 22, 1941, pp. 33 and 48 in the same file and volume.

3. Commandant Căndea's report and Colonel Turturescu's telegram report, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 45–47. See also the camp's medical report, pp. 58–59, in the same file and volume.

4. Regulations regarding payment owed to the camps for prisoner labor evolved continuously from July 1941 to May 1943. For the August 1941 rules, see General de divizie Dragomirescu's instructions regarding the employment of prisoners, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 23 and 26.

5. Commandant Căndea's report, "Dare de Seamă," August 9, 1941, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, p. 41; see also entries 3 and 4 in Colonel Turturescu's report for the Command Office of the Interior Defense Forces, August 22, 1941, p. 48, in the same file and volume.

6. With few exceptions, the reason for hospitalization is not indicated: see correspondence between the camp, the V Territorial Command, and the Command Office of the Interior

Defense Forces regarding discharge from the hospital of prisoners, USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 63–66.

7. POWs discharged from the hospital were not returned to the Vlădeni-Homorod camp, but were directed to Camp No. 3 Vameș, Covurlui județ, which seems to indicate where some of the internees were moved: USHMMA, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 42, file 40030, vol. 33, pp. 65–66. Similarly, see individual registration forms of Soviet POWs held in the Vlădeni-Homorod camp, "Foaia individuală a prizonierului," RGVA, fond 1512, opis 1, delo 20, p. 19; and the information gathered about each prisoner in "Stat nominal pentru prizonieri," TsAMO, fond 58, opis 977528, delo 134, pp. 193, 308.

VOITOVCA

Voitovca, a village in the Berșad raion in the Balta județ, in the northeastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Viitivka, north of Berșad, Ukraine), is situated near the Bug River. It is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) north of Balta. In 1939, there were 14 Jews in Voitovca.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Voitovca at the end of July 1941. The Romanian civil administration took control of the area beginning in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Voitovka to Voitovca, and the raion was renamed Berșad.

The praetor in the Bershad raion was Constantin Alexandrescu.

A camp, often termed a colony (*colonie*), for Jews deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina in Romania was set up in Voitovca in the fall of 1941. The camp was on the grounds of the local collective farm (*kolkhoz*). A handful of Romanian gendarmes aided by local Ukrainian auxiliaries guarded the camp. There was a ban on movement outside of the camp; violators were severely punished. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to many deaths, especially during the first two years of internment (1941–1942); deportees continued to die thereafter, but at a slower pace. It is estimated that 2,500 people perished in this way in the camp.¹ Wearing the yellow star was obligatory.² A Jewish Council existed in the camp under the leadership of Zisu Fraier.³

Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of local non-Jews helping those who sought aid were the key means of survival for many. Humanitarian aid sent by the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) in Bucharest during 1943 and early 1944 may have reached this camp; individual sums of money sent by the undeported relatives of those in the camp were also important for survival.⁴

Able-bodied Jews (men and women) undertook forced labor in various forms. Workers were occasionally recompensed with a watery soup and a slice (200 grams, 7 ounces) of stale bread or a handful of produce.⁵

At some point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the camp was 319 (64 men, 120 women, and 135 children). CER's census

in March 1943 listed Voitovca as having 280 Jews. On September 1, 1943, however, the camp held 893 Jews (475 from Bessarabia, 418 from Bukovina), without counting the local Ukrainian Jews. The increase was due to the transfer of internees from nearby ghettos, especially Berșad.⁶

Roma (Gypsies) deported from Romania in the summer of 1942 were scattered within the territory of the Berșad raion, coming to live in primitive huts in the winter of that year and thereafter. Some were brought to work on the kolkhoz in Voitovca in 1943, but fled for fear of encountering German soldiers, who were retreating from the other side of the Bug.⁷

The Red Army recaptured the village at the beginning of March 1944, immediately liberating the camp. Some Jews were conscripted into the army, and the rest of the survivors made their way home amid many challenges.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Voitovca can be found in the following publications: “Voitovka,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 177; “Boitovka,” in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukraïnskogo Evreïstva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskiï spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 67; “Boitovka,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2000), 4: 271; and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmi ta getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). See also A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000). For a collection of documents on the persecution of the Roma deported from Romania, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews imprisoned in the Voitovca camp can be found at USHMMA, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), and DAOO (RG-31.004M). VHA holds 16 survivor testimonies in three languages (English, Hebrew, and Russian) from Jews and Roma held in the camp for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. The figure is an estimate by ChGK, April 1945, USHMMA, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 3, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1242, p. 14.

2. VHA #46670, Leonid Batel'man testimony, September 17, 1998.

3. List of ghetto and camp leaders in the Balta județ, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562.

4. Receipts of remittances, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 12.

5. VHA #42867, Semen Borokhovskiy testimony, March 18, 1998. For a list of Jews undertaking forced labor on laying railway tracks, see USHMMA, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reels 32 and 33.

6. The March 1943 census does not contain Voitovca among the Jugastru district localities, as can be seen in “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346; for the September 1943 census, see “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 456.

7. VHA #33904, Vasiliu Radu testimony, September 10, 1997. See also Achim, *Documente privind deportarea țiganilor*, 2: 402–403 (Doc. 560).

VOROȘILOVCA

Voroșilovca, a small town in the Moghilev județ, in the north-eastern part of Romanian-occupied Transnistria (today: Voroshylivka, Ukraine), is located near the Bug River. It is 77 kilometers (47 miles) northeast of Moghilev-Podolsk. In 1923, there were 977 Jews in Voroșilovca. According to the 1939 Soviet census, the number of Jews in the Tivriv (Tyvrov) raion, of which Voroșilovca was then a part, had 1,840 Jews, with only a few hundred living in Voroșilovca. During the 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities, others were drafted into the Red Army, but many stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Voroșilovca in the second part of July 1941. After a short German military occupation, during which time some of the village's remaining Jews were killed by the Nazi SS and the Ukrainian collaborators, the Romanian civil administration took control of the village in September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Voroshilovka to Voroșilovca (occasionally spelled Voroșilofca), and the raion's name from Tyvrov to Tivriv. The praetor in the Crasna raion was Nicolae Coman.¹

A ghetto was established in Voroșilovca at some point during the summer of 1942, although a camp for Jews may have existed even earlier. Confirmation about the creation of the Voroșilovca ghetto comes from a report from the administrative inspector Ștefănescu, after his visit to the raions in the Moghilev district.²

Jews deported from Bukovina and northern Bessarabia in Romania, as well as Ukrainian Jews from northern Transnistria, were brought to the ghetto at that time. These Jews had survived the devastating winter months of 1941 and the great deprivations brought on by the Romanian administration.

The Jews deported to Voroșilovca were crowded inside the former homes of the local Jews. The perimeter was marked and guarded by Romanian gendarmes, assisted by Ukrainian auxiliaries. Wearing the yellow star was mandatory for all adult Jews. This and other ordinances were enforced in the ghetto by its leadership and the Jewish police. The Jews in the ghetto survived on charity and barter. Many perished from hunger, cold, and disease in the following two years. A mass graveyard was created in the Jewish cemetery in Voroșilovca. At the same time, as bad as conditions were, the Voroșilovca ghetto absorbed Jewish escapees from German-occupied territory across the Bug, such as Gnivan.

According to the statistical records of the Health Service of the Moghilev Prefecture, there were 238 Jews deported from Romania held in Voroșilovca in October 1942.³ The Relief Commission from the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews in Bucharest (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) visited Transnistria at the beginning of 1943, stopping on January 4 in Șmerinca, some 17 kilometers (11 miles) west of Voroșilovca. The commission, led by Fred Șaraga, was urged by the Jewish leaders of the Șmerinca ghetto to open a distribution subcenter in their ghetto so they could distribute aid to such places as the Voroșilovca ghetto.⁴ The distribution of individual funds sent by friends and relatives not deported from Romania to those in the Voroșilovca ghetto was also made possible through CER.⁵ This form of help, together with additional parcels sent by CER for the entire ghetto, made a difference, even if small, in ameliorating the conditions of the Jews in the Voroșilovca ghetto.

By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Voroșilovca was 639, probably not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 278 Jews in the ghetto (108 from Bessarabia, 170 from Bukovina).⁶ The difference in numbers is due to the relocation for forced labor to peat exploitation fields outside Tulcin and of a few skilled workers to the Trihati camp.⁷ The survivors from both camps returned to the ghetto at the end of the year.

The repatriation of the Jews originally from Dorohoi and the Regat began in December 1943, although only a few Jews from Voroșilovca qualified for it; the remaining Jews deported from Romania were not permitted to return to the country until the beginning of March 1944, on the eve of the Red Army's recapture of Voroșilovca. Those still in the ghetto were liberated at that time; men of military age were drafted into the Red Army, and the rest continued their journey to Romania amid great difficulties.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Voroșilovca can be found in the following publications: "Voroshilovka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wi-

goder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1413; "Voroshilovca," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopediyah shel ba-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasadam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 434; "Voroshilovka," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 184; "Voroshilovka," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainського Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 77; and A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005). For census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942, The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HolMod* 2/8 (2010): 18–26. On Jews fleeing across the Bug to Voroșilovca, see the rescue account of Vladimir Dlozhevskiy, a hero designated as a Righteous Among the Nations, available at <http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/family.html?language=en&itemId=4211579>.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Voroșilovca can be found at USHMM, in collections DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M). Declarations by survivors of the Voroșilovca ghetto can be found in Chernivtsi Jewish Survivors Organization Affidavits (USHMM, RG-31.020M). VHA holds 40 survivor testimonies in five languages from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For the praetors in the Moghilev județ, see USHMM, RG-31.011M (DAVINO), reel 13, fond 2383, delo 44, pp. 9–10.

2. Report is dated August 20, 1942, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 1, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 22, pp. 52–53 (and verso).

3. USHMM, RG-25.006M (AME), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 20, p. 281.

4. For a visitor's report, see USHMM, RG-25.004M (SRI), reel 9, file 2710, vol. 33, p. 115.

5. See examples of such money orders for Voroșilovca, USHMM, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 4, fond 2242, opis 1; reel 11, fond 2255, opis 1, delos 1364 and 1365; and reel 12, fond 2255, opis 1, delos 1400, 1403, and 1407.

6. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 346, and for the September 1943 census, see “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 457.

7. For correspondence between the German and Romanian authorities regarding the Trihati bridge, see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 23, p. 37 and the following unnumbered pages; for the list of specialists from the Stanislavci ghetto in June 1943, see the same collection, reel, and fond.

VRADIEVCA

Vradievca, seat of Vradievca raion, Golta județ (today: Vradivka), in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria, is 29 kilometers (18 miles) southwest of Golta. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 481 Jews in Vradievca, representing 6.85 percent of the village's population (the entire raion had 625 Jews).

The German and Romanian armies occupied Vradievca in early August 1941. Weeks later, some of the Jews still living in Vradievca and its immediate surroundings were gathered and shot by Einsatzgruppe D units. The killings took place outside the town near the Kodyma River, a Bug tributary. In September 1941, the town came under Romanian control and its name was romanianized from Vradievka to Vradievca. The Golta județ prefect was Locotenent-colonel Modest Isopescu, and Aristide Pădure was the deputy prefect. Corneliu Ciureanu directed labor in the Golta județ. The praetor in the Vradievca raion was Gheorghe Zaharia, and the chief of the gendarmes post in Vradievca was Plutonier Radu Ioan.

A ghetto was created in Vradievca in the fall of 1941 for Jews deported from Romania (Moldavia, Bessarabia, and Bukovina), and Transnistria (Odessa, Balta, and other places). For most of its early existence, the ghetto functioned as a transit center for convoys passing through to Golta's “death camps” (Bogdanovca, Domanovca, and Acmețetca). For this reason, the ghetto's population remained under 100 people. Thus, on June 22, 1942, there were 73 Jews in the ghetto (26 men, 26 women, and 21 children), of whom 6 were between the ages of 20 and 40.¹ The ghetto was enclosed and was guarded by Ukrainian police, if for no other reason than its proximity to the train line connecting Kiev to Odessa (via Golta). The Jews held in the Vradievca raion's detention sites were used in 1943 as forced laborers in workshops. Such workshops were designed according to trades, such as tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentry, whereas Jewish nurses and doctors worked in the Vradievca hospital and other medical centers throughout the raion. The organization coordinating Jewish labor in Vradievca was the Jewish labor office based in the ghetto. The members of this office were Iosifescu Iosifovici (chief and ghetto head), assisted by Hariton Viner and Huna Epelman.²

On May 20, 1942, 48 Jewish mental patients from Chișinău's Costiugeni Hospital, along with the last 156 remaining Jews from the Chișinău ghetto, were deported by train from Chișinău via Tiraspol to Vradievca. The deportation took place with the explicit approval of Bessarabia's governor, General de divizie Constantin Voiculescu, who had previously requested their deportation earlier that year.³ The Chișinău convoy reached the Vradievca train station on May 23; from there the Jews were dispatched to the camps in the Vradievca raion.

In September 1943, the Vradievca ghetto held 20 Romanian Jews (from Bessarabia), in addition to Ukrainian Jews.⁴

The Golta județ received many Roma (Gypsies) deported to Transnistria from Romania in the summer of 1942. Weeks after the Roma's arrival and dispersal to various collection centers, Golta's prefect confiscated their horses and carts (used by some to travel to Transnistria) to use them in Golta's farms where the Roma were also supposed to find work. Some 300 Roma were placed near Vradievca, housed in primitive wooden huts.⁵ Angered and hoping for a quick return to Romania, the Roma initially lived off whatever they were able to smuggle into Transnistria and sell (gold rings, foreign currency); lived off the land (fruit trees, bushes with berries, forest food); or stole. Petitions from the Roma deported to the Vradievca raion and on their behalf by relatives in Romania reached the authorities, but went unheeded.⁶

The complete lack of hygiene in which the Roma lived as a result of their inhumane accommodations led to a typhus outbreak in November 1942. The epidemic spread quickly through the Vradievca raion, especially because measures were not taken to delouse the Roma and the local hospitals were unprepared to handle the epidemic.⁷ Jewish physicians, like M. Michelson, were brought from Romania to the Vradievca hospital for 30-day periods to combat the epidemics and to provide general medical treatment. Thus, from November 20 to December 20, 1942, in addition to treating ghetto inmates, Dr. Michelson treated infections among schoolchildren in Vradievca, deloused 782 Roma transferred to various villages in the Vradievca raion, and attended to gendarmes' and army soldiers' medical needs (prescribing treatment, delousing).⁸ With the arrival of the winter of 1942, the Roma colony was moved to dilapidated homes in Vradievca. The Vradievca raion's Romanian physician informed the district sanitation service that resettling the Roma in the village would spread typhus among the Ukrainian population. He requested that all Roma be concentrated in one location, in a large camp of sorts, and kept under guard, but to no avail.⁹

Work was sporadic and insufficient for the Roma seeking to earn an honest living. Women, children under working age, and the elderly who depended on male adult family members to secure food or income suffered the most. Attempts to flee Transnistria from the Vradievca train station increased substantially in November 1943, as winter conditions settled in and there were even fewer opportunities to work. Some managed to reenter Bessarabia and even get home, but most stayed in place until March 1944 when they returned home

on their own. The Red Army liberated Vradievca on April 8, 1944.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews and Roma in Vradievca can be found in the following sources: “Vradievca,” in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 187; “Vradievca,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2000), 4: 288; A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 77; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 53; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, vol. 1: *History and Document Summaries* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vols. 3a and b: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Societatea Națională de Editură și Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană,” 1947); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); and Paul A. Shapiro, *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941–1942: A Documentary History in Romania's Contested Borderlands* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press in association with USHMM, 2015). For a collection of documents on the deportation of Romanian Roma to Transnistria, see Viorel Achim, ed., *Documente Privind Deportarea Țigănilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004). For information about rescuers of Jews in Vradievca, see Israel Gutman et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations*, vol. 5 (Europe, part 2) (Jerusalem: Keterpress, 2011), p. 432; and supplementary vol. 2 (The Netherlands-United States) (Jerusalem: Keterpress, 2010), pp. 763–764 (the articles are also available at http://db.yadvashem.org/righteous/familyList.html?placeTemp=Vradievca&results_by=family&placeFam=Vradievca&language=en).

Primary sources on the fate of Jews and Roma in Vradievca are available at USHMMA, in collections DAOO (RG-31.004M), DAMO (RG-31.008M), MAE (RG-25.006M), and AMANR (RG-25.003). At USHMMA, there are 46 oral testimonies (in Hebrew and Russian) of Jewish and Roma survivors who were deported to or from Vradievca.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. Statistical tables, “Tabel de evreii între vârsta de 20 și 40 de ani,” USHMMA, RG-31.008M (DAMO), microfiche, fond 2178, opis 1, delo 374, p. 119 (USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/374, p. 119); and “Situația numerică de evrei aflați pe raza județului Golta la data de 22 Iunie 1942,” USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/423, p. 163.

2. List of names for the Vradievca Jewish labor office, “Tabelul cuprinzând numele și pronumele evreilor de la Ghetoul

Vradievca județul Golta propuși pentru Biroul de muncă,” August 16, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 6, p. 57 (USHMMA, RG-31.004M/13/2264/1/6, p. 57). For labor duties, see “Situația Model 2 de utilizarea evreilor din Raionul Vradievca, Județul Golta,” November 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/373, p. 128.

3. Evacuation plan, “Plan de evacuarea evreilor din Ghetoul Chișinău,” signed by Colonel Teodor Meculescu, Chișinău’s chief gendarmes inspector, USHMMA, RG-25.003M (AMANR), reel 128, file 96, pp. 65–68, but see also subsequent reporting between various organizations carrying out the deportation, p. 69. For Voiculescu’s request, see his address No. 2141/March 17, 1941, to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, USHMMA, RG-25.006M (MAE), reel 10 (Problem 33), vol. 21, p. 177.

4. “Situație numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3b: 442.

5. For an estimated number of Roma in the Vradievca raion, see Praetor Zaharia’s note, November 13, 1943, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/372, p. 127.

6. Telegram and formal petition, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1912, pp. 110, 164.

7. Legiunea Jandarmi Golta, information report, “Nota informativă Nr. 1225,” November 21, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/31, p. 18.

8. Activity report, December 23, 1942, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/431, pp. 20–21.

9. Medical service report, USHMMA, RG-31.008M/2178/1/423, p. 46.

ZABOCRICI

Zabocrici, a small town in the Crijopol raion in the Juguștră județ, in the northern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Zhabokrych, Ukraine), is located 33 kilometers (21 miles) south-southeast of Tulcin. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 3,104 Jews in the Crijopol raion, 1,400 of whom lived in Crijopol and 679 in Zabocrici. Although some Jews retreated with the Soviet authorities and fewer still were drafted into the Red Army, most stayed in place.

The German and Romanian armies occupied Zabocrici in the middle of July 1941. During the short German military occupation, 435 Jews were killed between July 27 and 29 by German police forces and Romanian soldiers. About half of the victims were Jews from Zabocrici, and the other half were gathered from nearby villages; among the dead were 61 children. The Jews were shot in the cellars of local houses.¹ The Romanian civil administration took control of the town beginning in September 1941. The town’s name was romanianized from Zabokrich to Zabocrici, but was routinely spelled Iabocrici or Jabocrici. The prefect in the Juguștră județ was Colonel Ștefan S. Gheorghiadă.

A ghetto was established in the town probably in October 1941 or perhaps even earlier during the German occupation.

The local Jews were held in the ghetto, as were Jews deported from northern Bessarabia and southern Bukovina in October and November.² The majority of the deported Jews entered Transnistria via the Atachi and Iampol crossing points and then made their way on foot to Zabocrici. The convoys of deportees were robbed of many of their possessions at the entry points into Transnistria, as well as en route to their deportation place, adding substantially to their misery.

Life in the ghetto was fraught with privations. There was a ban on movement outside of the ghetto; violators were severely punished. Gendarmes and local auxiliaries watched the ghetto. Inside the ghetto, the deportees were crowded into the houses of local Jews, with several families sharing a single room. Epidemics (especially typhus), hunger, cold, and exhaustion led to deaths. Wearing the yellow star was obligatory. Barter, begging by the most destitute, and the generosity of a few local non-Jews were key means of survival for many.³ The establishment of government-controlled workshops (*ateliers*) where skilled Jews inside the ghetto could work in exchange for food or small sums of money also provided a means of survival. The creation of Jewish workshops was in accordance with Ordinance No. 23 of the Government of Transnistria, but it fell on the shoulders of the ghetto leadership to set them up. Fortunately, the Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (*Centrala Evreilor din România*, CER) provided some aid.

There were a number of workshops in the Zabocrici ghetto that came into existence most likely at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943 and were coordinated by Monia Fleişer. For example, there existed a tailors and furriers workshop, and there were workshops for hairdressers, ironsmiths, hatmakers, and mechanics. All in all, some 37 people were employed in the workshops in October 1943.⁴

At some point in early 1942, the number of Jews in the ghetto was 558. By March 1943, the known number of Jews in Zabocrici was 200, most likely not counting the Ukrainian Jews; on September 1, 1943, without including the Ukrainian Jews, there were 245 (70 from Bessarabia, 175 from Bukovina).⁵ Repatriations of deported Jews originally from the Dorohoi district and the Regat took place in December 1943, with a few cases applying to the Zabocrici ghetto. Orphaned children under age 19 were the next group to be repatriated; there were a small number of such children in the ghetto. Units of the Kovpak partisan formation were active around the Zabocrici area during the retreat of the German and Romanian armies from Transnistria at the beginning of 1944. The partisans' activities benefited the Jews in the ghetto as they distracted the guards and brought news of the Red Army's advancement, and in turn the Jews provided the partisans with shelter and information about the local administration.⁶

The Romanian administration retreated from Zabocrici at the beginning of March 1944 on the eve of the Red Army's recapture of the town at the end of that month. The deported Jews who remained in the ghetto were liberated at that time and began their difficult journey back home.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Zabocrici can be found in the following publications: "Zhabokrich," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 3: 1504; "Zabocrici," in Jean Ancel et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehillot: Romanyab: Entsiklopedyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min bivasdam ve-'ad le-ahar Sho'at Milhemet ha-'olam ha-sbeniyah*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 1: 439; "Zhabokrich," in I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na Territorii SSSR: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2009), p. 150; "Zhabokrich," in A. I. Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreystva, 1941–1944: Entsiklopedicheskij spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 112; "Zhabokrich," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4: 278; A. I. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by the Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); and M. G. Dubik, ed., *Dovidnik pro tabori, tiurmita getto na okupovanii teritorii Ukraini (1941–1944) / Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Ukrainian Archive State Committee, Ukrainian National Fond, 2000), 38; for census figures, see Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993). Additional information can be found in Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942, The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000); and Faina Vynokurova, "The Fate of Bukovinian Jews in the Ghettos and Camps of Transnistria, 1941–1944: A Review of the Source Documents at the Vinnytsa Oblast State Archive," *HM* 2: 8 (2010): 18–26.

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews deported to Zabocrici can be found at USHMM, in collections GARF (RG-22.002M), DAVINO (RG-31.011M), DAOO (RG-31.004M), and AME (RG-25.006M); the last collection contains a map of the Juguastu district showing the exact location of the Zabocrici ghetto and the number of inhabitants in 1942, in reel 11 (Problem 33), vol. 21. A Jewish survivor's testimony about his imprisonment in the Zabocrici ghetto can be found in the Chernivtsi Jewish Organization Affidavits, RG-31.020M, microfiche 24, folder 6, vol. 588. VHA holds 53 survivor testimonies in four languages (Russian, Ukrainian, Hebrew, and English) from Jews held in the ghetto for various periods of time.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. According to reports produced by ChGK, April 1945, USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 4, fond 7021, opis 54, delo 1265, pp. 20–23, 26–28.

2. See the list of ghettos in Juguastu district, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 13, fond 2264, opis 1, delo 22, n.p.

3. USHMMA, RG-50.477*0495, Sabina Spektor testimony, February 26, 1992. See also VHA #30996, Aleksei Brener testimony, April 29, 1997; and VHA #23080, Sarra Epshtein testimony, November 20, 1996.

4. Cf. confidential correspondence on Jewish workshops between the Juguastu Prefecture and the Labor Department, Government of Transnistria, USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 6, fond 2242, opis 1, delo 1562, pp. 96–104 (esp. pp. 98–99). Work in such facilities is attested also by VHA #9200, Mendel Halpern testimony, November 26, 1995.

5. For the March 1943 census, see “Tabloul numeric al evreilor deportați în Transnistria pe localități, raioane și județe,” reprinted in Ancel, *Documents*, 5: 348, and for the September 1943 census, see “Situatie numerică de numărul evreilor aflați astăzi în Transnistria pe județe și localități, dintre cei ce au fost evacuați din Basarabia și Bucovina. Situația la 1 Septembrie 1943,” reproduced in Carp, *Cartea Neagră*, 3: 458.

6. VHA #43724, Bella Khamko testimony, April 30, 1998; VHA #37431, Evgeniia Farber testimony, October 9, 1997.

ZAHARIOVCA

Zahariovca, a small village in the Vradievca raion in the Golta județ, in the eastern part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Zakhariivka, Ukraine), is located 36 kilometers (22 miles) south-southwest of Golta. This Zahariovca should not be confused with Zakhariievka/Zakharovka in the Zakhariievca raion, in the western part of Romanian-controlled Transnistria (today: Frunzivka).¹

The German and Romanian armies overran the village in late July or early August 1941. After a short German military occupation, the area came under Romanian civil administration at the beginning of September 1941. The village's name was romanianized from Zakhariiovka to Zahariovca (spelled also Zaharovca). The praetor in the Vradievca raion was Gheorghe Zaharia.

The dilapidated cowshed in the collective farm near the village was used in November and December 1941 as a transit camp for Jews deported from Bessarabia in Romania as well as for Ukrainian Jews from Transnistria (Balta and Ananiev județe). Groups of deportees escorted by gendarmes occasionally converged in larger villages along the deportation routes leading to the terrible camps in the Domanevca raion in the Golta district (an area labeled by Holocaust scholars as the “kingdom of death”). The meetings gave the escorts the opportunity to reorganize the groups as well as to change guards. One such meeting point was Vazdovca (today: Ivanovka), a village 4 kilometers (about 3 miles) northeast of Zahariovca. Zahariovca is located between Vazdovca and Domanevca, making it a suitable stopping point. Ukrainian policemen working for the Golta Prefecture were assisting the few Romanian gendarmes present at the camp.

The combination of extreme cold in the winter of 1941 and the inhumane living conditions in the cowshed (crowded, filthy, and unheated), not to mention the authorities' utter disregard for the deportees' lack of food supplies and warm clothing, meant certain death for vulnerable groups of people, such as the elderly, young, and sick. Holocaust survivor Haim Cogan, a Jew from Chișinău who passed through the Zahariovca camp in December 1941, described seeing thousands of Jews from Chișinău held there without food. As a result, “each day dozens of people died,” wrote Cogan, “and their bodies were thrown into the field because it was bitter cold.”² After spending varying periods of time in the camp, the convoys headed in wintry conditions to the camp in Domanevca and, beyond, to the Bogdanovca camp, where most were shot soon after their arrival and their bodies burned.

The Zahariovca camp was most likely abandoned at the beginning of 1942.

SOURCES Additional information about the fate of Jews deported to Zahariovca can be found in the following publications: Jean Ancel, *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaigns*, 3 vols. (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, Tel Aviv University, 2003); Paul Shapiro, *The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941–1942: A Documentary History of the Holocaust in Romania's Contested Borderlands* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press in association with USHMM, 2015); Jean Ancel, ed., *Documents concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust*, vol. 5: *Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria: Extermination and Survival* (New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986); Matatias Carp, ed., *Cartea Neagră: Fapte și Documente; Suferințele Evreilor din România, 1940–1944*, vol. 3: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Diogene, 1996); and Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*, foreword by Elie Wiesel, preface by Paul A. Shapiro (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with USHMM, 2000).

Primary sources documenting the fate of the Jews held in Zahariovca can be found at USHMMA, in collection DAOO (RG-31.004M), which includes a detailed list of towns and villages in the Golta județ in reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, pp. 10–12; the ANR records, fond IGJ (RG-25.010M) contains a contemporaneous map of the Golta județ showing the exact location of Zahariovca in reel 12, file 163, p. 17.

Ovidiu Creangă

NOTES

1. For the renaming of Zakharovka as Frunzivca after World War I, see <http://data.jewishgen.org/wconnect/wc.dll?jg~jgsys~community~1038725>. Note, however, that the old name is retained in the Transnistria settlement list produced in 1942 by Romanian census takers; see USHMMA, RG-31.004M (DAOO), reel 7, fond 2242, opis 2, delo 37, pp. 9–10.

2. Haim Cogan testimony, April 29, 1963, reproduced in Ancel, *Transnistria*, p. 86.

[illegible]

за запоседнуто југословенско подручје

[illegible]

za zaposlednuto jugoslovensko područje

Na temelju punomoćja izdatog mi od strane Vodje Reicha i Vrhovnog zapovjednika njemačke oružane sile, naredjujem sljedeće:

- [illegible]

Glavnokomanduluci nemacke vojske

An announcement issued by General Wilhelm List, the Supreme Commander of the Army in Serbia, outlining the rules and regulations of the German occupation. April 1941.

USHMM WS #90144. COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE

SERBIA

After the rejection of the Tripartite Pact and the formation of a new Yugoslav government on March 27, 1941, Nazi Germany and its allies decided to invade the kingdom of Yugoslavia and destroy it as a state. In a war that lasted from April 6 to 18, 1941, Yugoslavia was defeated, and the Axis powers divided its national territory per an agreement made at Vienna on April 22. On July 22, 1942, in Berlin, Yugoslavia's territorial dismemberment was formalized with the "Agreement concerning the Division of the Property of the former Yugoslav State."¹ The regimes carving up Yugoslav territories were the Reich, Italy (including Albania and Montenegro), Hungary, Bulgaria, the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*, NDH), and Serbia, represented by the German government.²

Serbia was the only area of Yugoslavia under direct German occupation (except for part of Slovenia). Three German infantry divisions conquered the territory, and in late 1941, two German divisions suppressed an incipient rebellion. German military administration was established in central Serbia, the Banat region, and northern Kosovo. From the end of 1941 there was a strong Bulgarian occupying force in southern and central Serbia. Other parts of the country were annexed by neighboring countries: the Bačka region by Hungary, the Srem region by the NDH, and most of the Kosovo and Metohija regions by the Italian protectorate of Albania.

Serbia's land area was about 51,100 square kilometers (19,730 square miles) with a population of approximately 3,810,000. In addition to Serbs and numerous members of the German (*Volksdeutsche*) and Hungarian minorities in the Banat, it had a population of approximately 17,800 Jews, including some 1,200 refugees from Central Europe.³

The Nazi regime pursued a policy of punishing Serbs as severely as possible, as the German occupiers introduced full control over Serbian social and economic life. German military courts extended their jurisdiction to include Serbia. The German authorities implemented curfews, censorship, bans on public gatherings, and food rationing. The military administration imposed a war indemnity totaling 1 billion Serbian dinars (roughly \$1 million in 1940 U.S. dollars) and responsibility for provisioning the occupation troops. It banned all political organizations except for the pro-fascist national movement, Zbor, under the leadership of Dimitrije Ljotić. The movement's name stemmed from the Serbian word for "assembly" and was also an acronym for the United Combatative Organization of Labor (*Združena Borbeno Organizacija Rada*). Zbor was a small political organization founded in early 1935. In the 1935 and 1938 elections it received less than 1 percent of the vote, too little to earn it any parliamentary seats.⁴

THE GERMAN OCCUPATION

As the German occupation began, the German police immediately imposed antisemitic measures requiring the registration, marking, forced labor, and property confiscation ("Aryanization") of Serbian Jews. By decree the military commandant of Serbia codified these measures on May 30, 1941.⁵ Accompanying the anti-Jewish measures was an ever more vitriolic antisemitic propaganda campaign, orchestrated by the Propaganda Department Southeast (*Propagandaabteilung Südost*). From the part of Slovenia annexed to the Reich, 6,720 Slovenes were deported to Serbia. According to an agreement between Germany and the NDH, Serbs from the NDH were also deported to Serbia. At the same time, many more Serbs were fleeing the NDH to escape mass murder being perpetrated by the Croatian forces, including the Ustaša. At the end of September 1941, approximately 150,000 refugees from various occupied areas had entered Serbia, and by the autumn of 1942, that number rose to about 400,000.⁶

The supreme authority was the Military Commander in Serbia (*Der Militärbefehlshaber in Serbien*). In succession, the following generals held this post (with the rank equivalent to a U.S. lieutenant general): General der Flieger Helmut Förster, General der Flakartillerie Ludwig von Schröder, General der Flieger Heinrich Danckelmann, General der Gebirgstruppe Franz Böhme, General der Artillerie Paul Bader, and General der Infanterie Hans-Gustav Felber. The occupying power operated through 4 regional military commands (*Feldkommandanturen*), 10 district commands (*Kreiskommandanturen*), and about 100 local commands (*Ortskommandanturen*). The commandant administering the occupied territory operated through the command headquarters (*Kommandostab*) for military affairs and an administrative headquarters (*Verwaltungsstab*) for governmental concerns. Headed by SS-Gruppenführer Dr. Harald Turner, the administrative headquarters exercised the functions of a provincial government and controlled the work of the Serbian authorities. One of its 12 departments oversaw Jews and immigrants. The General Plenipotentiary for the Economy in Serbia (*Generalbevollmächtigter für die Wirtschaft in Serbien*), Franz Neuhausen, managed the economy and oversaw the Aryanization of Jewish property. In Serbia, the Plenipotentiary of the German Foreign Office (*Bevollmächtigter des Auswärtigen Amtes*), Felix Benzler, also dealt with foreign policy issues involving the "Jewish Question."⁷

Soon after the military occupation of Yugoslavia, the Einsatzgruppe of the Security Police and Security Service for Yugoslavia (*Einsatzgruppe der Sipo und des SD für Jugoslawien*, EG-J) restricted its sphere of activity to Serbia. In Belgrade, the Einsatzkommando Belgrade (*Einsatzkommando der Sipo und des SD Belgrad*) performed mainly an operational executive

function. The commander of EG-J was SS-Oberführer Dr. Wilhelm Fuchs, and the head of Department IV (Gestapo) was SS-Sturmbannführer Hans Helm. The commander of the Belgrade Einsatzkommando up to October 1941 was SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Kraus. At the end of October 1941, EG-J and the Einsatzkommando were merged into a single bureau. Its main activity was geared to the Gestapo, whose organization was divided into six sections, one of which was Jewish Affairs, headed by SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Stracke.

The Serbian authorities and courts were gradually restored, but under strict German control. In late April 1941, with the exceptions of military and foreign affairs, the ministries were reestablished—but under the control of the respective departments in Turner's administrative headquarters. Serbian commissioners were appointed to head the ministries and sat on the German-established Council of Commissioners under the leadership of career police officer Milan Aćimović. In early May 1941, the Serbian gendarmerie was reestablished, consisting of about 3,000 gendarmes.⁸ In late May 1941, Serbian police officers and gendarmes were issued infantry weapons and a limited amount of ammunition. In the second half of April 1941, the Serbian police had been reestablished under collaborator and German informant, Dragomir Jovanović, who also served as mayor of Belgrade until 1944; it was directly subordinated to the German authorities. The reconstituted Belgrade police prefecture, which included 830 guards and 210 police agents in the summer of 1941, established two prisons: the first was located in the prefectural headquarters at Obilićev Venac and the second within the guard barracks on Takovska Street.⁹

The most important section of the Belgrade police was the newly formed Serbian Special Police (*Odeljenje specijalne policije*, OSP), which played a role comparable to that of the Nazi Sipo. It worked to suppress any activity against the occupation, especially the communist activities of the Partisans. The responsibility for combating the royalist resistance movement, which was associated with the Yugoslav government-in-exile in London, fell under the jurisdiction of the German police. The seventh section of OSP was responsible for the implementation of measures against Jews and Roma.

At the end of August 1941, the Military Commander in Serbia established the Serbian puppet government of former general Milan Nedić. Nedić represented political forces favoring Serbian statehood within the Nazi "New Order" and the state's social transformation into a "Government of National Salvation" (*Vlada nacionalnog spasa*). The Serbian national state was to be based on patriarchal traditions and a class hierarchy in which peasants had a dominant role. From its inception, the Nedić government campaigned to stop the persecution of Serbs in neighboring territories, primarily the NDH, as well as to expand Serbia's borders to include other Serb-inhabited areas. The German authorities rebuffed these attempts for political and ideological ("racial") reasons. Germany did not want to alienate or jeopardize their allies—the NDH, Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, and Albania (after the Italian capitulation on September 8,

1943)—or contribute in any way to the restoration of Serbian statehood.¹⁰

To combat the Partisans, the German authorities allowed the formation of Serbian armed detachments. Among them were volunteers from the Zbor movement, called the Serbian Volunteer Corps (*Srpski dobrovoljački korpus*, SDK). After signing an agreement with the German police, the *četnik* (Chetnik) units of Konstantin Kosta Milovanović Pećanac came under the puppet government's command as well. All these Serbian formations played an important role in crushing the uprising against German occupation in late 1941, especially in the persecution and arrest of insurgents. The Serbian police managed to break most of the organizations of the communist resistance movement and to arrest and intern a great number of their members. The Serbian police and other armed formations also took part in finding hidden Jews and in arresting Jews. By an order of the Military Commander in Serbia dated December 22, 1941, anyone caught hiding Jews could face the death penalty.¹¹

OVERVIEW OF GERMAN-RUN CAMPS IN SERBIA

The German police established a network of prisons and then camps that were managed by the Gestapo, but the German military commands played an important role as well.¹² The Serbian authorities also took part in the establishment and management of some of these detention sites. The first German police prison (*Polizeigefängnis*) was in the district court building for the Belgrade district. EG-J established its own prison (*Hausgefängnis*) at its headquarters in Ratnički dom. The network of German camps began to be established after Operation Barbarossa, Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union beginning on June 22, 1941. The most important camps were in Belgrade (Banjica), Šabac, Niš, and Semlin/Zemun (the Belgrade Fairgrounds); the last camp was better known as *Sajmište*. On July 20, 1942, a camp in Petrovgrad/Gross Betschkerek (today: Zrenjanin) was established for the Banat region. A series of minor and temporary camps and collection centers were established during roundup operations against the resistance.¹³

The Dedinje detention camp (*Anbaltelager Dedinje*) was established in the military barracks at Banjica in Belgrade in early July 1941. Its primary purpose was the detention of actual and potential opponents to the occupation. Although under the auspices of the Belgrade police prefecture and with a Serbian administration, the camp was actually under the command of the Nazi SS. Its guard force consisted of members of the Order Police (*Ordnungspolizei*, Orpo) and the Serbian gendarmerie. Two-thirds of the Dedinje camp was set aside for German arrest targets, and the remainder for the targets of Serbian arrests. Together with Jews, the opponents of the occupation served as a constant "human reservoir" for retaliatory shooting actions. From the end of April 1942, the prisoners in the Dedinje detention camp were sent to concentration and labor camps in the Third Reich and in occupied countries.

A facsimile of a newspaper article, announcing the formation of a new occupation government under Milan Aćimović, April 1941. USHMM WS #90151. COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.



Milan Nedić, the president of the collaborationist Serbian government, 1941–1944.

USHMM WS #90152, COURTESY OF MUZEJ REVOLUCIJE NARODNOSTI JUGOSLAVIJE.

After the uprisings against the occupation in Serbia, among the first victims of mass murder were the Jews. Large-scale roundups soon followed. The Šabac detention camp (*Anbaltelager Šabac*) was established to confine members of the resistance and hostages from western Serbia. Jewish refugees from Central Europe (called the “Kladovo transport”) were detained in the military barracks in Šabac on July 20, 1941. Local Jews from Šabac were subsequently taken prisoner. In October 1941, during a “punitive expedition” by General der Gebirgstruppe Franz Böhme, the Jewish men in the Šabac camp were shot, and their families were deported to the Semlin camp. Generally, after a brief period of detention the prisoners in the Šabac camp were shot or transferred to camps at Banjica and the Belgrade Fairgrounds.¹⁴

In September 1941, the Niš detention camp (*Anbaltelager Niš*) was established in the military barracks at Niš. The camp held resisters, hostages, and Jews from Niš and south Serbia. Some of the detainees were shot, and most of the remaining prisoners were sent to the Belgrade camps. After the breakout of prisoners from the camp on February 12, 1942, the remaining prisoners were murdered, among them Jewish men; their wives and children were sent to the camp at Semlin.

The anti-Jewish measures were implemented more quickly and completely in the Banat, where the *Volksdeutsche* governed, than in other parts of Serbia. From mid-August to September 20, 1941, all the Jews in the Banat were arrested and deported to Belgrade. Jewish men from the Banat were confined to artillery sheds (Serbian: *Topovske šupe*; German: *Kanonen-Schuppen*) located in Belgrade’s Autokomanda neighborhood. Jewish men from Belgrade and some members of the Roma community were subsequently held there as well. In October and November 1941, the camp became a major Jewish and Roma “hostage reservoir” for reprisal shootings. Almost all of the prisoners were killed, thereby destroying the Jewish male population in Serbia. The few survivors were transferred to the newly established camp for Jews at Semlin.

In late October 1941, the German occupation authorities decided to establish the camp at the Belgrade Fairgrounds, across the Sava River from downtown Belgrade. The former fair’s pavilions were redesigned to be the Semlin camp for Jews (*Judenlager Semlin*). On December 8, 1941, all the remaining Jews in Serbia, who by that time were mostly women and children, were confined to Semlin. A large group of Roma women and children were also detained there, but they were released by the spring of 1942. In mid-March 1942, a gas van was sent to Belgrade that killed all the Jewish prisoners at Semlin; this action lasted until May 10. The “Final Solution” thus came to its end in Nazi-occupied Serbia.¹⁵ Of approximately 16,600 Jews who lived in Serbia, 13,600 (almost 82%) lost their lives.¹⁶ All 1,200 Jewish refugees from Central Europe who found their way to Serbia were killed as well. The few Jews who survived did so by escaping to the Italian occupation zone and then to neutral and Allied countries. Some joined the Partisans, and a small number were rescued by friends and other patriots.

In early May 1942, the camp at Belgrade Fairgrounds became the Semlin detention camp (*Anbaltelager Semlin*). This reclassification was associated with a change in German policy concerning members of the resistance that was prompted by Germany’s acute labor needs. The camp was assigned the function of the central German concentration and labor camp in southeastern Europe for the detention of members of the resistance in Serbia, the NDH, Greece, and Albania. The camp at Banjica was in part charged with the same function. In mid-May 1944, Semlin was handed over to the Croatian police, and in the second half of July 1944 it was disbanded.

SERBIAN COLLABORATION

In early 1942 the German authorities established an even harsher occupation regime with the appointment of SS-Obergruppenführer August Meyszner as Higher SS- and Police Leader (*Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer*, HSSPF). Under Meyszner’s command were the Commander of the Order Police (*Befehlshaber der Orpo*, BdO), Oberst Andreas May, and the Commander of the Security Police and Security Service (*Befehlshaber der Sipo-SD*, BdS), SS-Standartenführer Emanuel Schäfer. Within BdS, SS-Sturmbannführer Bruno Sattler headed Department IV (Gestapo), and SS-Untersturmführer Fritz Stracke assumed direction over the Freemasons (Section IV B 3), in addition to Jewish Affairs (Section IV B 4).

The Meyszner appointment led to the reorganization of the Serbian armed units. The Serbian State Guard (*Srpska državna straža*, SDS) was established in early February 1942 and consisted of 15,000 soldiers and officers. It played a significant role in the persecution and arrest of the rebels in the months that followed. The captured and imprisoned insurgents, their supporters, and family members were assembled in temporary “prisoner camps” (*Gefangenenlager*) in Smederevska Palanka, Valjevo, Kragujevac, Čačak, Kruševac, and Leskovac. There they were interrogated and a few were released. However, most were sent to the Šabac, Niš, Belgrade, and Semlin camps, and the others were murdered.¹⁷

The camp in Smederevska Palanka gained a new purpose with Nedić's decree on August 4, 1942. At the initiative of the Zbor, the Education Ministry was authorized to set up the Institute for Compulsory Youth Education (*Zavod za prinudno vaspitanje omladine*) in the former camp, in tandem with the Serbian Interior Ministry.¹⁸ The Institute was under SDS security and OSP control. Its mission was the "reeducation" of members of the communist resistance movement in accordance with the ideological principles of the "New Order."

Serbian government, police, and armed units played an important role in the German occupation system. They pursued communist resisters and other occupation opponents, arrested individuals and groups, conducted interrogations and detentions, delivered detainees to the German police, and murdered detainees themselves. The Serbian police took part in the establishment and maintenance of the camp at Banjica, which partly served as its own camp. The police and educational authorities in the Serbian government also conducted the forced "reeducation" of young members of the communist resistance movement.

Although the German police directed antisemitic policy, the Serbian police also implemented anti-Jewish measures. After the roundups, the Serbian police and SDS hunted down hidden Jews. Serbian propaganda policy played a significant role in the anti-Jewish campaign. Confiscated Jewish property benefited not only local Germans but also Serbian collaborators. To accelerate the liquidation of Jewish property, on August 26, 1942, the occupying authority "donated" Jewish property to Serbia. In return, Serbia was obliged to pay the sum of 360 million dinars in reparations for alleged war damages that the Germans had suffered in Yugoslavia. It was yet another form of thinly veiled robbery of occupied Serbia.¹⁹

WAR CRIMES TRIALS

Immediately after the liberation of most of Serbia and Belgrade at the end of October 1944, military courts of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia began to impose summary death sentences on members of Serbia's quisling government, police, and the armed forces. The new Yugoslav government acted indiscriminately: there were mass executions, usually without trials, of thousands of people. Since the new government was communist and revolutionary in its character, members of the middle class were killed as well; the wealthy, whose property was confiscated on the grounds of their "economic cooperation" with the occupiers, were especially targeted. After the war, regular civilian and military courts were established, and a series of war crimes trials began.²⁰ Among the accused, however, was neither Milan Aćimović, who disappeared without a trace in the last days of the war, nor Milan Nedić. Nedić was arrested in Austria and extradited to Yugoslavia, but during the investigation he committed suicide early in 1946.

The charges against prominent representatives of the Serbian quisling government included participation in the persecution of Jews. In addition, in judgments against the German occupation authorities, one of the principal charges concerned

the persecution of the Jews in Serbia. The most important material documenting the charges was collected by the Yugoslav State Commission to Investigate Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators (*Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača*, DK). The documents on crimes against Jews and Roma were collected according to specific instructions. These materials were later used for the preparation of the "Black Book" detailing the suffering of the Jews in Yugoslavia.²¹ Dragomir Jovanović was convicted and sentenced to death by the military court on July 15, 1946.²² The Serbian administrator of the Banjica camp, Svetozar Vujković, was sentenced to death by the Belgrade county court on October 30, 1949.²³ On December 22, 1946, the military court in Belgrade sentenced 18 senior police officials in Serbia (among them, Wilhelm Fuchs, Hans Helm, and August Meysner) to death. On March 9, 1947, the military court of the Yugoslav Third Army condemned to death Harald Turner, his deputy Georg Kiessel, and the commander of Reserve Police Battalion No. 64, Adolf Josten.²⁴ On October 31, 1947, the military court in Belgrade sentenced Heinrich Danckelmann to death.²⁵ In 1953, the Federal Republic of Germany sentenced Emanuel Schäfer to six and a half years in prison. The commander of the Jewish camp at Semlin, Herbert Andorfer, was sentenced in 1967 in Austria to two and a half years in prison, while his assistant Edgar Enge was acquitted.²⁶ Bruno Sattler was arrested in 1947 and died in 1972 in prison in the German Democratic Republic.²⁷

SOURCES Among the secondary sources on Serbia during World War II, the most important are Branko Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu, 1939–1945* (Belgrade: Vojnoizdavački i novinski centar, 1992); and Stevan K. Pavlowitch, *Hitler's New Disorder: The Second World War in Yugoslavia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008). The following studies are also useful: Karl-Heinz Schlarp, *Wirtschaft und Besatzung in Serbien 1941–1944: Ein Beitrag zur nationalsozialistischen Wirtschaftspolitik in Südosteuropa* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1986); Akiko Shimizu, *Die deutsche Okkupation des serbischen Banats 1941–1944: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der deutschen Volksgruppe in Jugoslawien* (Münster: Lit, 2003); Mladen Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića 1934–1945* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1984); Branislav Božović, *Specijalna policija u Beogradu 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Srpska školska knjiga, 2003); and Bojan Dimitrijević, *Vojska Nedićeve Srbije: Oružane snage srpske vlade 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2011). On the Holocaust in Serbia, an older but still useful publication is *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Savez jevrejskih opština Jugoslavije, 1952). The most important newer studies are Christopher R. Browning, *Fateful Months: Essays on the Emergence of the Final Solution*, rev. ed. (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1991); Walter Manoschek, "Serbien ist judenfrei": *Militärische Besatzungspolitik und Judenvernichtung in Serbien 1941/42* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1993); and Branislav Božović, *Stradanje Jevreja u okupiranom Beogradu 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Srpska školska knjiga, 2004). On the rescue of Jews, see Milan Ristović, *U potrazi za utočištem: Jugoslovenski Jevreji u bekstvu od bolokausta 1941–1945* (Belgrade: Službeni list SRJ, 1998); and Milan Fogel, Milan Ristović, and Milan Koljanin, *Righteous among the Nations: Serbia* (Belgrade: Jewish Community in Ze-

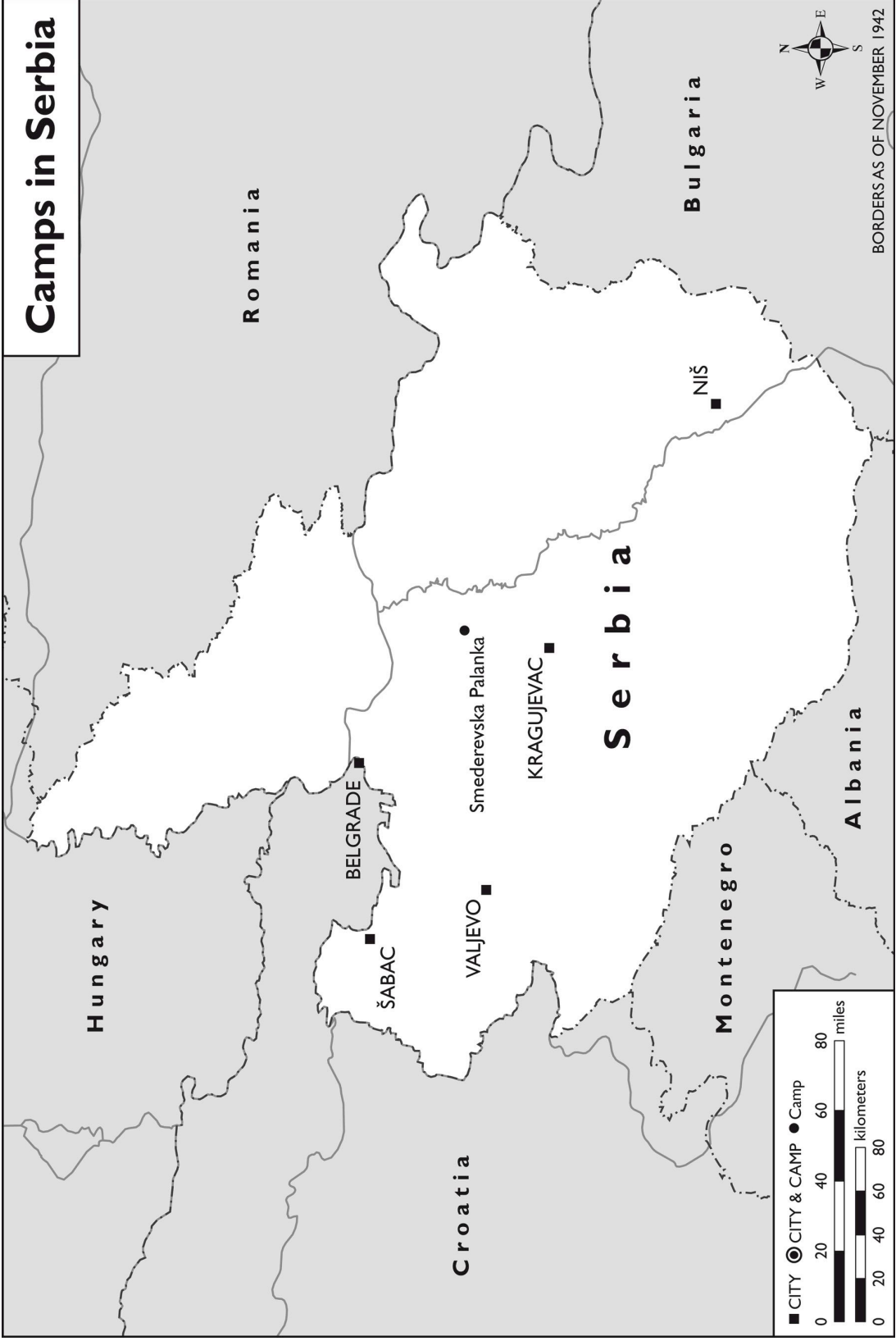
mun, 2010). On the state of Holocaust research in Yugoslavia there is a valuable study by Jovan Čulibrk, *Istoriografija holokausta u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrade: Pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet, Institut za teološka istraživanja, 2011). On the camps in Serbia see Miloš Krstić, *Nepokorena mladost: Koncentracioni logor u Smedervskoj Palanci 1942–1944* (Belgrade: Vuk Karadžić, 1981); Miroslav M. Milovanović, *Nemački koncentracioni logor na Crvenom krstu u Nišu i streljanja na Bubnju* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1983); Stanoje Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu* (Novi Sad: NP Dnevnik, 1967); Sima Begović, *Logor Banjica 1941–1944*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1989); and Milan Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1992). On the postwar trials, see the study by Srđan Cvetković, *Između srpa i čekića: Represija u Srbiji 1944–1953* (Belgrade: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 2006). On the case of Bruno Sattler, see Beate Niemann, *Mein guter Vater: Mein Leben mit seiner Vergangenheit. Biographie meines Vaters als Täter* (Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2008). For further discussion of Serbian sources related to the Holocaust, see Milan Koljanin, “Historical sources on the Shoah in Serbia (Archival Research and Findings),” in Jacques Fredj, ed., *Les archives de la Shoah* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1998), pp. 653–668.

Major primary sources about Serbia in World War II, the Holocaust, and the camp systems are stored in Belgrade archives: AJ; AS; IaB; VaB (some of this documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-49.008M, Selected Records from the Military Historical Institute of General Staff of the Armed Forces of Serbia on the German Zone of Occupation of the Former Yugoslavia, 1941–1944; and RG-49.010M, Nda); and JIM-bg (some of this documentation is available at USHMMA as RG-49.007M). The ITS holds several collections relating to persecution actions and camps in occupied Serbia under references 1.1.0.7 (Verschiedene Lager und Haftstätten in Jugoslawien) and 1.2.7.23 (Verfolgungsmassnahmen Serbien). This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA. Postwar trial documentation is available in published form in Đorđe Lopičić, ed., *Nemački ratni zločini 1941–1945: Presude jugoslovenskih vojnih sudova* (Belgrade: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2009); Jelena Lopičić-Jančić, ed., *Ratni zločini nemačkih okupatora u Jugoslaviji 1941–1945. godine. Presude jugoslovenskih vojnih sudova* (Belgrade: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2010); and *Izdajnik i ratni zločinac Draža Mihailović pred sudom. Stenografske beleške sa suđenju Dragoljubu–Draži Mihailoviću* (1946; Belgrade: Multinacionalni fond kulture, 2005).

Milan Koljanin

NOTES

1. “Vereinbarung über die Aufteilung des Eigentums der ehemaligen jugoslawischen Staats,” *RGBl*, May 18, 1943, Part 2: 154–165.
2. *SINo*, 83 (October 22, 1943): 1–3.
3. Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu*, pp. 111–147; Pavlowitch, *Hitler’s New Disorder*, pp. 65–66.
4. Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića*, pp. 41–71.
5. *VoB-Serbien*, 8 (May 31, 1941).
6. Pavlowitch, *Hitler’s New Disorder*, p. 85; Dimitrijević, *Vojska Nedićeve Srbije*, pp. 321–323.
7. Schlarp, *Wirtschaft und Besatzung in Serbien*, pp. 109–164.
8. Dimitrijević, *Vojska Nedićeve Srbije*, pp. 18–20.
9. Božović, *Specijalna policija u Beogradu*, pp. 36–72.
10. Petranović, *Srbija u Drugom svetskom ratu*, pp. 455–470.
11. *VoB-Serbien*, 27 (December 24, 1941); Božović, *Stradanje Jevreja u okupiranom Beogradu*, pp. 205–269.
12. The German-run detention sites described here will be treated in greater detail in subsequent volumes.
13. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, pp. 26–30, 45–53.
14. Filipović, *Logori u Šapcu*, pp. 180–181.
15. Browning, *Fateful Months*, pp. 68–85; Manoschek, “Serbien ist judenfrei,” pp. 185–195.
16. Koljanin, *Nemački logor na Beogradskom sajmištu*, pp. 130–131.
17. For the Čačak camp, see the statement by Pešadijski Narednik Novak B. Todorović in AJ, fond 382-1-511.
18. *SINo* 62 (August 4, 1942); *SINo* 14 (February 19, 1943).
19. *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*, pp. 48–50.
20. Cvetković, *Između srpa i čekića*, pp. 157–276.
21. *Zločini fašističkih okupatora i njihovih pomagača protiv Jevreja u Jugoslaviji*.
22. Božović, *Specijalna policija u Beogradu*, p. 320.
23. *Ibid.*, pp. 311–313.
24. Lopičić, *Nemački ratni zločini*, pp. 51–83, 99–156; Lopičić-Jančić, *Ratni zločini nemačkih okupatora u Jugoslaviji*, pp. 14–86.
25. Božović, *Stradanje Jevreja u okupiranom Beogradu*, pp. 144–146.
26. Manoschek, “Serbien ist judenfrei,” pp. 176, 183–184; Browning, *Fateful Months*, pp. 95, 104–106.
27. Niemann, *Mein guter Vater*, p. 170.



SMEDEREVSKA PALANKA

On August 4, 1942, the Nedić regime established the Institute for Compulsory Youth Education (*Zavod za prinudno vaspitanje omladine*) at Smederevska Palanka, located 64 kilometers (approximately 40 miles) southeast of Belgrade. Called “the Institute” and erroneously described by British war crimes investigators in 1947 as a “reformatory,” it was a youth reeducation camp for young Serbian men and women, aged 14 to 25, accused of leftist associations or considered vulnerable to communist propaganda.¹ The Internal Affairs Ministry maintained order and security, whereas the Education Ministry oversaw the faculty and curriculum. When it was set up, confinement lasted between six months and two years. However, on February 19, 1943, the regime, in agreement with the Education Ministry, empowered the Institute’s director to extend the minimum stay to eight months.²

The Institute occupied the military barracks in Smederevska Palanka. Built in 1940, it served as a German Frontstalag, a POW camp, in April 1941 and then as a camp for captured rebels and hostages beginning in late 1941. Its last large group of 82 prisoners was sent to the German-run camp at Banjica on June 18, 1942. In October and November 1942, six prisoners from this group returned to the new youth camp.³

Establishing the camp required approval by the German Commander of the Security Police and Security Service (*Befehlshaber der Sipo und des SD, BdS*), through the Serbian Special Police (*Specijalna policija Srbije, SPS*). The camp administration was formed on September 7, 1942, and the first 28 detainees, called “pupils” or “cadets,” arrived from Belgrade’s Đuša Street prison on September 22. Another 48 followed from Banjica on October 10 and 11, 1942. Banjica’s prisoner files showed that they were “sent to the Smederevska Palanka camp.”⁴ In February 1943, there were 311 detainees, and the number increased to 454 in September 1943, but the size of the population declined thereafter.⁵ The total number of detainees was between 1,000 and 1,270.⁶

The initiative to reeducate leftist youth in the “New European Order” came from the Serbian fascist movement, Zbor (an acronym for United Combative Organization of Labor, *Združena Borbena Organizacija Rada*). Zbor was the only legal political party under the Nedić regime. Its leader, Dimitrije Ljotić, lectured at the Institute. Smederevska Palanka’s director of the male dormitory was Milovan Popović, a lecturer at the University of Belgrade, general secretary of the Yugoslavian Anti-Marxist Committee (*Jugoslovenski antimarksistički komitet*), and Zbor propagandist. His wife, another prominent Zbor member, Dr. Dragojla Popović-Ostojić, oversaw the female inmates. The Serbian State Guard (*Srpska državna straža, SDS*), the Nedić regime’s armed forces, guarded the institute. Popović unsuccessfully sought to reassign this duty to the Zbor paramilitary, the Serbian Volunteer Corps (*Srpski dobrovoljački korpus, SDK*). After the Partisans attacked neighboring villages in the spring of 1943, the Institute tightened security.

Above the camp’s entrance stood the sign, “Educational Institute of the Ministry of Education” (*Vaspitni zavod Ministarstva prosvete*). Barbed wire and guard towers surrounded the camp. Smederevska Palanka had 19 wooden barracks housing inmates, staff, and guards, with a capacity of approximately 500 people. The camp compound also contained a kitchen, mess hall, infirmary, warehouse, library, community hall, prison, workshops, garden, 14-hectare (approximately 35-acre) farm, and pasture for livestock. Sales revenues from camp-made goods supplemented institutional contributions and monthly payments by the detainees’ parents. Only the poorest families were exempt from paying these fees.

In comparison with the detention sites in which they had earlier been held, the inmates’ living conditions were initially much better, but food, housing, and hygiene soon deteriorated. Food supplies decreased further when the Institute prohibited care packages in retaliation for a revolt in April 1943 (see the later discussion). As Popović complained to the Education Ministry, insufficient food and heating caused widespread illness during the winter of 1943.⁷

The pupils were a closely supervised unit. Required to work in workshops and on the farm, they attended morning and evening roll calls. Penalties for transgressing camp rules included prolonged physical labor; reprimand; 1 to 15 days’ imprisonment; beatings (even by Popović and his wife); and transfer to Banjica. Monthly family visits took place in a special barrack under supervision. The staff maintained individual rehabilitation files, and Popović reduced the lengths of stay for those showing improvement. Three pupils were released in March 1943 and 11 more in April 1943. Sixteen of the “best” inmates joined the camp administration.

The Institute approached indoctrination holistically. Male inmates were divided into three categories according to their educational level and familiarity with Marxism: the first were university students and high school graduates; the second were high school students, workers, and peasants captured as Partisans or communist youth leaders; and the third were deemed susceptible to communist propaganda. The females were only divided into two categories; a number of them attended lectures with males in the first category.⁸ First-category detainees took a liberal arts curriculum and were subjected to intensive indoctrination in anticommunism, antisemitism, anti-Free Masonry, and Zbor ideology. The second-category inmates received a simpler version of the same curriculum. In addition to vocational training, third-category detainees got a rudimentary education emphasizing Zbor ideology. The instructors’ essay assignments required pupils to reflect on the reason(s) for their arrest and to demonstrate ideological reform. Their evaluations weighed heavily in determining the length of confinement.

Extracurricular activities reinforced the indoctrination. Weekly theatrical and musical events, which took place in the community hall, began and ended with the inmate-composed anthem of the Institute. The theatrical troupe staged Serbian works and William Shakespeare’s authoritarian play, *Coriolanus*, a favorite among fascists.⁹ All inmates played sports. The

soccer club, named the Sports Club Institute, was considered among Serbia's best.¹⁰

The revolt on April 11, 1943, exposed the ineffectiveness of the reeducation effort. A large group of detainees conspired to disarm the guards and join the Partisans. A pupil's betrayal led to their arrest and transfer to Banjica, where 12 of them were murdered. Interpreting this revolt as proof of the Institute's failure, the German authorities enjoined Education Minister Velibor Jonić to reassign the inmates to forced labor. The Serbian government refused to do so, but the Institute imposed a harsher regime, placing recalcitrant inmates in "isolation" (*isolator*), a segregated part of one barrack. Additional infractions resulted in solitary confinement.

Fifty more escapes occurred in 1944. On August 30, 1944, Jonić ordered Popović to draft the reformed inmates and create a list of the "unreformed." A few days later, 104 of the 200 remaining pupils were registered in government service, but soon fled and joined the Partisans. After the September 7, 1944, escape of 25 pupils, Popović dismissed the others, and he departed three days later. On October 10, 1944, Partisan units entered Smederevska Palanka.

The Yugoslav State Commission to Investigate Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators (*Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača*, DK) declared Popović, Popović-Ostojić, and other Institute staff as war criminals, but the British rejected their extradition.¹¹ However, Jonić was extradited to Yugoslavia in 1946, sentenced to death, and executed as a war criminal.

SOURCES The most comprehensive work about the Smederevska Palanka youth reeducation camp is the monograph by Miloš Krstić, *Nepokorena mladost: Koncentracioni logor u Smederevskoj Palanci 1942–1944* (Belgrade: Vuk Karadžić, 1981). Early Yugoslav historiography and publications about the Institute include Milan Borković, *Kontrarevolucija u Srbiji: Kvislinška uprava 1941–1944; Knjiga prva (1941–1942)* (Belgrade: Sloboda, 1979); Mladen Stefanović, *Zbor Dimitrija Ljotića 1934–1945* (Belgrade: Narodna knjiga, 1984); Đurica Labović, *Da se čita Oče naš* (Smederevska Palanka: Hermes, 1970); and Dušan Azanjac, Ivo Frol, and Đorđe Nikolić, eds., *Otpor u žicama: Sećanja zatočenika*, 2 vols. (Belgrade: Vojnoizdavački zavod, 1969), vol. 2. For contemporary Serbian historiography on the Institute, see Maja Nikolova, *Zavod za prinudno vaspitanje omladine u Smederevskoj Palanci 1942–1944* (Belgrade: Pedagoški muzej, 2010); and Ljubinka Škodrić, *Ministarstvo prosvete i vera u Srbiji 1941–1944: Sudbina institucije pod okupacijom* (Belgrade: Arhiv Srbije, 2009), pp. 223–228. Useful information can be found in Nenad Ristić, *Razbibriga u baraci br.8. Pozorišni život u Zavodu za prinudno vaspitanje u Smederevskoj Palanci* (Smederevska Palanka: "Ben Akiba," 2000); and Boro Majdanac, *Pozorište u okupiranoj Srbiji: Pozorišna politika u Srbiji 1941–1944* (Belgrade: Altera, 2011), pp. 144, 252, 568–569.

The most important primary sources on Smederevska Palanka are found in AS, collections of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, and in DK. In VaB, collections on

Nda (copied to USHMM as RG-41.010M) and on German archives hold documentation related to the youth camp. At IaB, there are relevant collections on the Belgrade Police Prefecture-SPS, BdS, and the Smederevska Palanka camp. Institute lesson plans can be found in Pm. Cinematic documentation, in the form of a newsreel by Ufa (Universum Film AG) Magazin marking Smederevska Palanka's first anniversary in the fall of 1943, which can be found at AJK. The ITS holds CNI cards on Dragojla Popović-Ostojić, whom U.S. authorities were seeking as late as June 1992. The most important contemporaneous publications, primarily newspapers and magazines, are *Novo Vreme*, *Obnova*, *Srpski narod*, *Službene novine* I, and *Prosvetni glasnik*. They are available at NbS. The most important published testimonies can be found in "Saopštenje br. 10 Državne komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača," *Saopštenja br.7–33 o zločinima okupatora i njihovih pomagača* (Belgrade: Demokratska Federativna Jugoslavija, Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača, 1945), pp. 145–171; Evica Micković and Milena Radojičić, eds., *Logor Banjica: Logoraši; Knjige zatočenika Koncentracionog logora Beograd-Banjica (1941–1944)* (Belgrade: Istorijski arhiv Beograda, 2009); and Miodrag Zečević and Jovan Popović, eds., *Dokumenti iz istorije Jugoslavije*, 4 vols. (Belgrade: Arhiv Jugoslavije, Printer komerc, 1998), 2: 556–557. Serbian apologies published by Institute staff emphasized its role in rescuing Serbian youth: Predislav Kuburović, "Vaspitni zavod u Smederevskoj Palanci 1942–1944," *Zapisi iz dobrovoljačke borbe*, 2 (1955): 70–90; Marko Pivac, *Koraci u noći* (N.P., 2002); and Branislav Žorž, *Zavod u Smederevskoj Palanci-ostrvo spasa ili robijašnica* (Belgrade, 2006). Pivac's account includes some reprinted documentation, unfortunately without archival provenance. A Serbian-born Austrian author published a testimony about Smederevska Palanka in novelistic form: Milo Dor (pseud., Milutin Doroslovac), *Tote auf Urlaub: Roman* (1952; St. Polten: Residenz-Verlag, 2005).

Milan Koljanin

NOTES

1. *Službene novine*, August 4, 1942; British war crimes investigation, "Staff of Smederevska Palanka Reformatory," Hamburg, November 30, 1947, reproduced in Pivac, *Koraci u noći*, p. 380.
2. *Službene novine*, February 19, 1943.
3. Banjica prisoner files reproduced in Micković and Radojičić, *Logor Banjica*, 1: 424–429.
4. Ibid., 1: 425–426, 430, 441, 443–446.
5. IaB, UGB, SP IV, k. 252, Monthly reports on Institute activities, February–March 1943.
6. Pivac, *Koraci u noći*, p. 161; Kuburović, "Vaspitni zavod u Smederevskoj Palanci," p. 75.
7. VaB, fond Nda, k.30A, reg. br. 63/4, Popović to Education Ministry, March 1, 1944.
8. AS, fond Ministarstva prosvete i vera, G-3, Popović to Education Ministry, January 3, 1943.
9. Pivac, *Koraci u noći*, pp. 362–363.
10. Ibid., p. 364.
11. Zečević and Popović, *Dokumenti iz istorije Jugoslavije*, 2: 556–557.

SLOVAKIA



Jewish prisoners at forced labor paving a road in the Novaky labor camp, circa 1943.
USHMM WS #08652, COURTESY OF BEDRICH FRED VOHRÝZEK.

SLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia came into being in 1918, after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary at the end of World War I. It included the Czech provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia, the province of Carpatho-Ruthenia (or Transcarpathia, today part of Ukraine), and portions of Austrian Silesia. According to the 1921 Czechoslovak census, its population of roughly 13.5 million included 3 million Germans, almost 750,000 Hungarians, and approximately 180,000 Jews; Slovakia had 3 million people, including 145,844 Germans, almost 656,000 Hungarians, and 135,918 Jews.¹ Despite its multinational population and tense relations with its neighbors, all of which coveted its territory, Czechoslovakia remained a parliamentary democracy with a flourishing economy until the Munich crisis of September 1938.

Internal politics, particularly in the Slovak territory, reflected the complexities of Czechoslovak democracy. The economic crisis during the interwar period affected the entire territory; however, it had deeper and longer lasting effects in Slovakia, where many areas were already economically underdeveloped. In response to that underdevelopment and perceived discrimination, the Slovak People's Party, led by Roman Catholic Priest Andrej Hlinka and thus known after 1925 as the Hlinka Slovak People's Party (*Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana*, HSES), advocated for autonomy and the recognition of Slovak sovereignty. From the second parliamentary elections in 1925 until the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, the HSES (also known as *Eudáks*) remained unequivocally the strongest political party in Slovakia. One-third of the inhabitants in Slovakia supported HSES policies.

At the Munich conference of September 1938, France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and Nazi Germany reached an agreement that forced Czechoslovakia to cede the Sudetenland, its predominantly German-inhabited region, to the Reich. Czechoslovakia lost more than 4 million people, as well as 28,000 square kilometers (10,810 square miles) of territory. The HSES quickly took advantage of the weakened central government; its leaders seized the opportunity to achieve the party's long-term goal: autonomy of Slovakia within Czechoslovakia.

On October 5, 1938, Eudáks leaders met in Žilina to discuss Slovak autonomy, with encouragement from the Nazi regime. On October 6, the day after the resignation of Czechoslovak president Edvard Beneš, the executive committee of the HSES agreed to declare the autonomy of Slovakia in Žilina; this declaration, which the representatives of some other political parties also signed, was called the Žilina Agreement. The HSES also formulated the Manifesto of the Slovak Nation, which included the following declaration: "We will stand side by side with other nations fighting the Judeo-Marxist ideology of destruction and violence."²

The territory of Slovakia (*Slovenská krajina*) subsequently became an autonomous part of the Czechoslovak Republic, and the Slovak autonomous government was formed. Jozef Tiso, a Roman Catholic priest and one of the leading Eudáks, originally from Veľká Bytča, became its prime minister.

A clerical-conservative and later a fascist party, HSES began to create an authoritarian regime and gradually liquidated the most important elements of democracy. Some political parties were forced to unite with HSES, others, including communists, social democrats, and two Jewish parties, as well as the Slovak National Party, were dissolved. Civic societies and local government organs were dissolved too.

The HSES created its own paramilitary organization called the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) and awarded it the property of dissolved organizations. Within the Hlinka Guard, the youth paramilitary organization called the Hlinka Youth (*Hlinkova mládež*) was formed.

Another two political parties of national minorities existed within the authoritarian political system: the Magyar Párt (Hungarian Party) and the Deutsche Partei (German Party, DP) which also had its own paramilitary organization, the *Freiwillige Schutzstaffel* (FS).

The HSES considered control of the mass media and public opinion to be of critical importance. In October 1938, the government established the Office of Propaganda (*Úrad propagandy*), with Alexander (Šaňo) Mach at its head. It eliminated independent journals and newspapers, effectively creating a government monopoly on the provision of information and doing away with dissenting opinions and newspapers representing other political parties or views. The Office of Propaganda used its control of the press to vilify Czechs and Jews, creating an imperative for eliminating "enemies" of the new regime.



Baldur von Schirach, leader of the Hitler Youth, is greeted by Jozef Tiso, President of Slovakia, while on an official visit, March 1939.

USHMM WS #09681, COURTESY OF SCHERL BILDERDIENST.

On November 2, 1938, Germany and Italy decided on the new borders of Slovakia in the First Vienna Award. More than 10,000 square kilometers (3,861 square miles) of Slovak territory had to be ceded to Hungary. The official HSEŠ propaganda was eager to blame the Jews for this loss, describing them as enemies of Slovakia and Slovaks. The first deportations of Jews from Slovakia were organized almost immediately.

In December 1938, elections to the new autonomous 63-member parliament (*Snem Slovenskej krajiny*) were held, but HSEŠ allowed only a united list of candidates to run. As a result of these manipulated elections, Ľudáks gained 95 percent of the votes. This was the final blow to Czechoslovak democracy.

INDEPENDENT SLOVAKIA

Because Nazi Germany sought a pretext to annex the Czech territories of Bohemia and Moravia, it pressed Ľudáks to declare an independent Slovak state. It did so on March 14, 1939. On that day, and with German acquiescence, Hungary seized Carpathian Ukraine (former Carpatho-Ruthenia). On March 23, Slovakia and Germany concluded a Treaty of Protection, by which Slovakia aimed to “organize its military forces in close agreement with the German armed forces” and also closely align its foreign policy with its new protector.³ The treaty also forged close economic cooperation between the two countries.

The new Slovakian regime was originally led by Prime Minister Jozef Tiso, Ferdinand Ďurčanský (foreign minister and minister of interior), General Ferdinand Čatloš (minister of national defense), and several other mostly conservative Ľudáks ministers.

HSEŠ first consolidated its power by focusing on the creation of core ministries, power structures, and constitution of a new state. The constitution, which was adopted in July 1939, renamed the state as the Slovak Republic. It confirmed the central and authoritarian position of HSEŠ, stipulating that Slovaks could participate in political life only through the HSEŠ.

The *Deutsche Partei* and *Magyar Párt*, however, remained part of the system. While the DP, led by Franz Karmasin and its paramilitary organizations *Freiwillige Schutzstaffel* and *Deutsche Jugend*, was privileged, *Magyar Párt* played only a marginal role within the Tiso regime. No other national minority was allowed to create a party.

The executive branch of the government was quite strong. Its rulings and decrees, passed without the involvement of the parliament, organized the various spheres of life. The president, even though he was elected by the parliament for a seven-year term, was not accountable to the parliament. He was the highest commander of both the army and the *Hlinka Guard* (*Najvyšší veliteľ Hlinkovej gardy*). He also controlled academic life, appointing and dismissing professors. In late October 1939 Jozef Tiso was elected the president of Slovakia while the leader of the radical wing within the HSEŠ, Vojtech Tuka, became the prime minister.

The parliament, called the Assembly of Slovak Republic (*Snem Slovenskej republiky*) was the main legislative body. The 63-member body was formed in the pre-independence elections held in December 1938, and new elections were never held. It never played more than a marginal role in political life for the whole period of the regime's existence.

In addition to the government ministries, the Assembly, and the president, there was also the State Council (*Štátna rada*), which was intended to be the unofficial “second chamber” of the parliament. In reality it only served as an advisory body and had no power to make laws. Its members, who were appointed, represented the elite of society. Some were members of the clergy, such as deputy chairman, Roman Catholic bishop Ján Vojtaššák.

The powers and responsibilities of the entire system of security agencies (including the state police and gendarmerie) were strengthened by Ľudáks. In early 1940, the political police, called the Central State Security Headquarters (*Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti*), was created with the help of Nazi Germany to ferret out antistate activities. It cooperated with Nazi Germany's secret services.

The internal politics of Slovakia was characterized by the power struggle of two wings within the HSEŠ: the conservatives (moderates), led by Jozef Tiso, and the radicals, led by prime minister Vojtech Tuka and *Hlinka Guard* Chief Commander Alexander (Šaňo) Mach. Although the cabinet contained members of both wings, its members carried out HSEŠ policies in their respective functions.

Power struggles between conservatives and radicals were always closely followed and influenced by Nazi Germany, and they sometimes resulted in changes of ministers or high dignitaries. Probably the most significant change occurred after the German-Slovak talks in Salzburg at the end of July 1940.



Dr. Vojtech Tuka (on right, with sash), prime minister of Slovakia, attends a session of the Slovak National Parliament, between 1939 and 1944. USHMM WS #80652, COURTESY OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY.

In Salzburg, Adolf Hitler demanded changes in the Slovak government, and Ferdinand Ďurčanský was removed. The radical prime minister Vojtech Tuka then took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Alexander (Šaňo) Mach became the Minister of the Interior. Mach also resumed the position as Chief Commander of the Hlinka Guard, from which he had resigned a few months earlier.

Hitler, however, maintained Jozef Tiso in power. From 1942 on, Tuka and his camp started to lose influence, and Tiso remained at the top of the Slovak political scene. This was confirmed by the title of Leader (*Vodca*) that Tiso bore from October 1942 on. Tuka, whose health deteriorated, left the top tier of politics in 1944, when the whole Ľudák regime was already in deep internal crisis.

Domestically, the regime created legislation that progressively eliminated many political and personal freedoms, including freedom of the press, assembly, and movement, which had all been enjoyed during the existence of Czechoslovakia. Any act of disobedience resulted in a large fine or a prison sentence.

The HG played a significant role in Slovakia. As the voluntary paramilitary organization of HSELS, it attracted mostly radical members of the party and various opportunists. Many HG members, wearing its dark blue uniform, called for social revolution and the solution of “the Jewish Question.” Government authorities participated to an extensive degree in developing antisemitic policies, enacting hundreds of laws, decrees, and regulations that encroached on the rights of Jewish citizens, and HG members brutally implemented them. They co-organized persecution of Jews, looted Jewish property, ran labor camps holding Jews, prepared transports of Jews, and eventually participated in mass murders of Jews on Slovak territory in 1944 and 1945.

After the establishment of the Slovak state, the persecution of Roma (called *Cigáni*: “Gypsies”) began. Initially, Ľudáks persecuted those Roma without permanent residence and prevented them from obtaining citizenship. After January 1940, Roma could only serve in the labor units of the army. Several months later, the regime defined a Roma for the first time as “a person of Gypsy origin from both parents, living a nomadic life, or avoiding work.”⁴

In 1941, the authorities ordered Roma living the traditional nomadic life to return to their home villages. They had to sell their caravans, and the state administration tried to settle them near villages. In certain areas, settled Roma had to move their houses away from main roads and the local population.⁵ Other measures included appointing local representatives in Roma communities, called “*Vajda*,” in 1941.⁶

In accordance with the Interior Ministry Ordinance of April 2, 1941, the first work units (*pracovný útvar*) for people deemed “asocials,” including Roma, came into being.⁷ In addition, the first seasonal labor camps for so-called asocials were created. In 1942, permanent labor camps were established in Hanišovce nad Topľou, with subcamps in Bystré, Nižný Hrabovec, and Petič. Roma and other “asocials” had to build the strategically important rail line from Prešov via Vranov nad Topľou to Strážske. Other camps of this kind were opened

in Dubnica nad Váhom, Ilava, and Revúca. All of those were guarded by gendarmes.⁸ In the autumn of 1944, the regime decided to solve the “Gypsy” question by concentrating the Roma. The work unit in Dubnica nad Váhom was turned into a concentration camp for Roma, including women and children, in November 1944, and the work unit in Ústie nad Oravou was similarly repurposed.⁹

From 1938 to 1945, the Tiso regime operated at least 38 camps of different types in Slovakia.

THE HOLOCAUST IN SLOVAKIA

The persecution of the Slovak Jewish population from 1938 to 1945 was central to the domestic policy of the Slovak state because it was the result of German expectations and, starting in August 1944, direct Nazi intervention. Anti-Jewish measures permeated every aspect of public and social life; intimidation and the threat of prison made any form of opposition extremely dangerous. A powerful propaganda machine, building on existing currents of antisemitism in Slovakia, set up the Jews as the perfect target—the “enemies of the state.” The regime’s agenda was systematically and purposefully employed to isolate, dispossess, and deport the majority of Slovakia’s Jewish citizens.

Tiso took the opportunity to blame Jews for Slovakia’s extensive territorial losses to Hungary as part of the 1938 First Vienna Award. On the day preceding the announcement of the Award, a group of Jews had demonstrated to support the annexation of Bratislava to Hungary, and Tiso seized the chance to demonize them. As historian James Mace Ward has pointed out, Slovak antisemites closely identified Jews in Slovakia with Hungary and Magyarization.¹⁰ On November 4, 1938, Tiso ordered district offices to gather Jews “without material means” from their districts and bring them into what was then Hungary; this order was amended later the same day to target Jews with foreign citizenship. Moreover, Jews who possessed more than 500,000 Czechoslovak crowns (Kč) were arrested to prevent their emigration. Between November 4 and 7, 1938, Slovakia deported 7,500 Jews into the annexed territory,¹¹ but Hungary refused to accept them. Because the respective governments forbade them to move into residences in either Slovakia or Hungary, the deported Jews, including the elderly and children, needed to fend for themselves in the cold autumn weather in camps in Vel’ký Kýr and Miloslavov, where they were trapped.¹² These camps existed for only a few months and drew a strongly negative international response, particularly from the United Kingdom and France, because of humanitarian concerns.

The HSELS considered the “solution” of the “Jewish Question” to be a priority and thus began implementing anti-Jewish actions even before establishment of the independent Slovak state. In January 1939, the autonomous government created the Committee for the Solution of the Jewish Question, which discussed the drafts of various anti-Jewish laws, including those defining the term “Jew” or the confiscation of Jewish property.¹³ Some politicians claimed that they needed to address

the matter urgently for economic reasons. By 1940, there were approximately 89,000 Jews in Slovakia, amounting to just over 4 percent of the population.

With the creation of an independent Slovakia, Ľudáks made anti-Jewish policy a state doctrine. Only a month after the declaration of independence, the first official anti-Jewish law went into effect. On April 18, 1939, the government defined the term “Jew” (Slovak: *Žid*) on the basis of religious criteria, describing Jews as all persons of the Jewish faith who had not been baptized prior to October 30, 1918, or persons without any denomination born to Jewish parents. The very same law limited the number of Jews allowed to practice the profession of lawyer to 4 percent. All journalists falling into the category of “Jew” were expelled from all non-Jewish newspapers.¹⁴

Further regulations limited the number of Jews allowed to practice the profession of medical doctor or pharmacist to 4 percent. In June 1939, Jews serving in the army became the target of persecution. Following the military ruling, the authorities transferred Jewish soldiers from full military service to special labor units. In September 1939 they were stripped of their rank.

Anti-Jewish policy continued with measures in the economic sphere. The confiscation of Jewish property and its transfer to the non-Jewish (“Aryan”) population, called Aryanization, became increasingly rigorous. It first targeted the so-called agricultural and enterprise property of Jews. In April 1940, the Slovak Assembly adopted the First Aryanization Law (No. 113/1940). It defined the term “Jewish business” and authorized the county offices and the Ministry of Economy “to decide, according to free consideration and with final validity whether and under what conditions” the Jewish business should be liquidated or Aryanized. Aryanization was defined as “selling of the business to a qualified Christian candidate.”¹⁵ The property owner could suggest the Aryan person who would become the owner of at least 51 percent of the company. This was colloquially called “voluntary Aryanization.”

Aryanization of enterprise property was sharply criticized by radical Ľudáks who demanded quick “removal” of Jews from the society. Shortly after the Salzburg meeting with Adolf Hitler on July 27–28, 1940, anti-Jewish policy radicalized. Nazi advisor for the “Jewish Question” Dieter Wisliceny of the Reich Security Main Office (*SS-Reichssicherheitshauptamt*, SS-RSHA), as well as several other German advisors for various other “questions,” arrived in Slovakia.¹⁶

On September 3, 1940, the Slovak Assembly adopted the Constitutional Law (210/1940) that empowered the government within the period of one year “to take all measures necessary for the exclusion of the Jews from Slovak economic and social life and for transferring all Jewish property into Christian ownership.”¹⁷ This law, signed by President Tiso, allowed the government to regulate anti-Jewish policy according to its own requirements, and thus accelerate its implementation.

Prime Minister Vojtech Tuka acted quickly. On September 16, 1940, a new government agency, the Central Economic Office (*Ústredný hospodársky úrad*, ÚHÚ), came into being under Tuka’s advisor Augustín Morávek. ÚHÚ’s main

task was to craft and implement all the necessary steps needed to remove Jews from economic and social life.

The escalation in the number and severity of racial policies and guidelines continued, and the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ) was created. It was the only non-religious organization of Jews in Slovakia that was allowed at the time, and each Jew was obliged to become a member. The ÚŽ was to help the regime with the enforcement of its measures.¹⁸ Within a few months, the Slovak government adopted regulations allowing the Central Economic Office (ÚHÚ) to take complete control over various types of Jewish property. Houses and apartments of Jews were subordinated to the so-called temporary administration.¹⁹ The bank accounts of Jews in all banks in Slovakia were blocked, and any payments made to Jews could be put into these blocked accounts only. Jews could withdraw only 1,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) per week, and this sum was reduced subsequently to 500 Ks and 150 Ks.²⁰ Employment of Jews was subject to ÚHÚ’s approval, and a special fee had to be paid by the employer.²¹

The Aryanization of “Jewish businesses” according to the First Aryanization Law was soon stopped. From November 1940 on, the Central Economic Office became the sole body to decide whether a Jewish business would undergo the process of Aryanization (now called “transfer”) or be liquidated. In this new process, in contrast to the First Aryanization Law, the Aryanizer no longer needed to be a “qualified Christian candidate,” and “voluntary” Aryanization was no longer possible. Under the leadership of Morávek, the ÚHÚ began to issue liquidation and Aryanization decrees in great numbers in 1941, thus depriving thousands of Jews of a means of earning a living. Aryanization of businesses culminated in the middle of 1941. Of a total of about 12,300 businesses, nearly 2,300 were Aryanized and about 10,000 liquidated.²² The whole process was heavily corrupt.²³

In 1940, another ruling mandated that Jews and Roma work for two months each year for state defense. The associated labor units belonged to the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO). According to the Defense Law, Jewish and Roma recruits could serve only in labor units. In 1941, all Jewish and Roma recruits were assigned to the Sixth Labor Battalion (*Šiesty robotný prápor*), made up of three Jewish and two Roma companies. Jews wearing blue uniforms and blue berets received their basic military training with shovels and picks instead of rifles, and were subsequently sent to various construction sites all over Slovakia. They worked in Sabinov, Liptovský Svätý Peter, Láb, Svätý Jur, and Zohor. The Sixth Labor Battalion was dissolved in 1943, and its Jewish members were sent to various labor camps for Jews.²⁴

The intensity of anti-Jewish views increased in 1941. On their own initiative, local representatives of the regime persecuted Jews living in the territory under their control. Thus for example Andrej Dudáš, the head of Šariš-Zemplín County, ordered tens of thousands of Jews living in the county to wear “a 3 cm [a little over an inch] wide yellow (lemon) ribbon” around the left arm from April 1941 on. This triggered various manifestations of physical violence.²⁵



Group portrait of a Jewish forced labor unit in Slovakia, 1940. USHMM WS #08826, COURTESY OF BEIT LOHAMEI HAGHETAOT (GHETTO FIGHTERS' HOUSE MUSEUM).

In April 1941, a decree issued by the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo Vnútra*, MV) allowed the creation of small labor camps for jobless Jews, and in July, the government issued a regulation that authorized the ÚHÚ to order Jews to perform labor assignments. In September 1941, there were about 80 smaller labor camps for Jews in Slovakia, with about 5,500 Jews working manually for private companies. By the end of 1941, most of these camps had been dissolved. The official propaganda said that camps had been closed because of the harsh weather conditions that complicated the work at various sites.²⁶ Little documentation has survived on most of these camps.

By early September 1941, the one-year period during which the Slovak government had the right to dictate anti-Jewish policy, was almost over. The state then adopted, on September 9, 1941, Decree 198/1941, officially called "On the Legal Status of Jews" and commonly referred to as the Jewish Code (*Židovský Kódex*, ŽK). Its 270 paragraphs defined Slovakia's anti-Jewish restrictions, and according to domestic propaganda, they were the strictest in all of Europe, even more stringent than the Nuremberg racial laws. Most of the paragraphs summarized the antisemitic regulations that had been passed by that time, but there were some brand-new elements. The ŽK defined the term "Jew" on explicitly racial grounds as "a person who comes from at least three Jewish grandparents in terms of race."²⁷ It also introduced the term "Jewish half-breed" (*židovský miešanec*) as a person who "comes from one Jewish grandparent in terms of race."²⁸ Jews six or more years old had to wear the yellow star and also affix a Jewish star on their correspondence and envelopes, something even the German authorities had not mandated. According to Paragraph 255, the president of the Slovak Republic had the right to partly or fully exempt individual Jew from the regulations in the ŽK.²⁹

The promulgation of the ŽK marked the disappearance of the Jews' last rights and privileges in Slovakia. The humiliating laws forbade Jews from being members of any clubs, sports teams, or organizations, and Jews could only shop for groceries during restricted hours. They were no longer allowed to use radios and phones. Jews were allowed to travel,

but only on third-class railway cars at set times. Jews and "Jewish half-breeds" were forbidden to be HSES members or Hlinka Guardists.

All these and numerous other measures within the ŽK effectively isolated Jews from the rest of society. No longer allowed to control property or businesses, participate in public life, or have social ties to non-Jews, they were outcasts. As this process continued, the special anti-Jewish Department 14 was created at the MV.

As a result of the process of exclusion of Jews from social and economic life, the Jewish population in Slovakia was in ruins. About 16,000 of the 27,000 Jewish households lost their regular income. In other words, the process deprived about 64,000 of 89,000 Jews of their means of living.³⁰ In the summer and autumn of 1941, more and more Jews living in Slovakia became dependent, and their living space was severely restricted.

Ludáks were searching for the answer to the question: what to do with Jews without a living income? Some proposals suggested moving Jews to large labor camps. In August 1940, Minister of Interior Alexander Mach officially announced that the state would build such labor camps for Jews in Sered' and Nováky. Construction started in September 1941.³¹

By October 1941, the ÚHÚ had started to assign new residences to Jews, forcing them from their homes and restricting them to suburban sections of towns. The ÚŽ was required to administer this process, determining which personal items Jews could take with them for resettlement and which items the state would confiscate. Many Jews were also forced to leave Bratislava and were sent to distant towns in eastern Slovakia.

It did not take long until the government realized that building labor camps for thousands of socially deprived Jews would be a lengthy and costly process. On October 20, 1941, SS-chief Heinrich Himmler suggested to Tiso, Mach, Tuka, and Čatloš, during their visit to Hitler's headquarters near Rastenburg, that they should deport the Slovak Jews to German-occupied Poland. A few months later, Mach said openly that this was how the idea of deportation came into being.³²

In November 1941, Nazi Germany requested permission from Bratislava for the deportation of Jewish Slovaks from the territory of the Third Reich, including the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the Ostmark, to a designated area in the east. As historian Eduard Nižňanský noted, once permission had been given to deport Jewish Slovak citizens from the territory of the Reich, the deportation of Jews living in Slovakia was the next logical step.³³ The Slovak-German talks in early 1942, which had the aim of sending 20,000 laborers from Slovakia to Germany, marked the moment when the idea of deportation began to have practical consequences. The Slovak government discussed the deportation of Jews on March 3, 1942, and the State Council did so on March 6, 1942. It was Prime Minister Tuka who briefed these bodies about deportation and presented the displacement of Jews in economic terms.

It is still not exactly clear whether Nazi Germany asked for the 20,000 Jewish laborers or Slovak officials offered them Jews

instead of Slovaks.³⁴ However, the question of initiative should not be overrated. There is no doubt at all that, regardless of who actually took the initiative, the Germans did not have to force Ludáks to deport the Jews from Slovakia and that on March 26, 1942, only a day after the deportation started, Interior Minister Mach openly said, "We have also obtained help from the Germans on this Jewish question. We want to rid ourselves of the Jews with the help of Germans."³⁵

Many hoped that Tiso would intervene on behalf of the Jews. Rabbi Frieder, the head rabbi in Slovakia, personally handed him a memorandum, which equated the deportation with "the physical destruction of the Jews in Slovakia." Tiso did not react.³⁶

Roman Catholic bishop Karol Kmet'ko, as well as the Vatican's diplomat in Slovakia, Giuseppe Burzio, both of whom had received reliable reports about the genocide of Jews in Ukraine, also confronted Tiso. According to the Nazi secret service SD, Burzio even threatened Tiso with an interdict. As James M. Ward noted, Jozef Tiso responded to such pressures with half-measures. Tiso said that he had had assurances from the Germans that they would treat Jews well. Both Minister of National Defense general Ferdinand Čatloš and Slovak general Jozef Turanec later testified that they had reported the mass killings of Jews to Tiso by February 1942.³⁷

MV's Department 14 managed the nationwide organization and deportation of Slovak Jews, with the help of Nazi advisor Dieter Wisliceny; however, other ministries as well as the regional state administration, security forces, HG, and FS also participated. The gendarmerie, together with the Hlinka Guard and FS, first took Jews from individual municipalities to district seats and from there to one of the newly established concentration camps for Jews (*Koncentračné stredisko Židov*) in Poprad, Žilina, Bratislava-Patrónka, Nováky, and Sereď; from there the Jews were to be put on transports and deported from Slovakia. The first transport left Slovakia from Poprad on March 25, 1942; it consisted of 1,000 girls and women between the ages of 16 and 45.³⁸ The transport arrived in Auschwitz the next day. In the first few transports, men and women were deported separately. From April 10, 1942, on, the deportation of whole families began. Transports were organized either in the above-mentioned concentration camps or in district towns.

Between March 25, 1942, and October 20, 1942, a total of 57 transports carrying 57,628 Jews left Slovakia³⁹: 19 transports went to Auschwitz and 38 to the Lublin region in the General Government.⁴⁰ Only a few hundred people survived the deportations of 1942.

Dieter Wisliceny, the advisor to the Slovak government on the "Jewish Question," was present during many of the deportations. The Germans charged a "resettlement fee" of 500 Reichsmarks for each Jew deported out of Slovakia, which ultimately, the Slovak government paid.⁴¹ The Nazis followed through on their promises that most of the Jews would not return to Slovak territory and would not demand repayment for former possessions—by murdering them in various killing centers.

In the beginning, the deportations started without a legal basis and despite protests by the representatives of the Jews or



Jews boarding boxcars for deportation from Slovakia, circa 1942. They are supervised by Hlinka Guardsmen. USHMM WS #33092, COURTESY OF YAD VASHEM PHOTO ARCHIVES.

the Holy See. On May 15, 1942, however, the Slovak Assembly legalized the deportations retroactively. All but one parliamentarian, János Eszterházy, a representative of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, raised their hands in support of deportation.⁴²

The Slovak leadership played an active role in the deportation of Slovak Jewry. On August 17, 1942, Tiso gave a speech in Holíč in which he claimed that the deportations were for the good of the nation: "People ask whether what is being done with the Jews is Christian. Is it human? Is it not robbery? . . . I ask is it Christian when the nation wants to free itself from its eternal enemy? . . . And we did it according to the commandment of God: Slovak, free yourself from those who harm you."⁴³

The reactions among the Jews who had not yet been deported ranged from emigration to desperation. Many Jews attempted to escape their fate, with the help of local clergy, through mixed marriages or baptisms. Other options included bribing local officials, Hlinka Guards, and especially officials of MV's Department 14. According to post-World War II testimonies, Anton Vašek, the head of Department 14, accepted hundreds of thousands of Slovak crowns in bribes during this period.⁴⁴

Only those Jews who had managed to obtain work permissions from ministries, presidential exemptions, or false papers, or who were held as workers in one of the labor camps remained in Slovakia after the transports ceased. They ended in October 1942 due to growing internal resistance.

As of January 1, 1943, there were 18,945 Jews living in Slovakia. Approximately five to six thousand Jews had already fled to Hungary, which was the only country at that point that did not yet deport Jews. About 2,500 Jews lived in three major labor camps (*pracovný tábor*) in Sereď, Nováky, and Vyhne at that point. The regime also opened smaller labor camps, called work centers (*pracovné stredisko*), at various building sites in Slovakia. Camps and work centers were controlled by the Ministry of Interior, through the Government Commissar of Labor Camps, Július Pečúch (an employee of Department 14), and

guarded by the HG and later the gendarmes. The ÚŽ was obliged to collaborate with the MV (and the government commissar) on the organization of Jewish labor camps and centers.

In 1943, Jewish Councils (*Židovská rada*) were established in Jewish labor camps and centers, which helped organize life and tried to improve conditions in the camps. Their self-sufficiency, turnover of finished goods, and level of production were the only factors that really mattered for the dignitaries of the Interior Ministry and several other representatives of the regime, however. To keep up with production quotas, the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps (*Ústředná kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov*) was established at the ÚŽ, which helped camps secure orders from various customers. In addition, Jewish Councils bribed commanders of camps and HG in order to ease the life of the inmates. Jews were under constant threat of the resumption of deportations.

Alexander Mach, the Interior Minister and the Main Commander of the Hlinka Guard, called for the resumption of deportations in February 1943. His plans sparked new protests from Catholic bishops and the Holy See. When a formal papal protest arrived in Bratislava, the authorities put further deportations on hold; in addition, Germany's military setbacks made Slovak politicians less eager to participate in the further deportation of Jews. Moreover, despite general and personal risk, many locals and church officials rescued Jews by offering block baptisms (along with certain financial incentives to the authorities) and hiding family members in their homes. Several priests ignored jail threats from the HG and MV and were arrested, imprisoned, and tortured in the Ilava detention camp for helping Jews.

THE WORKING GROUP

In the summer of 1941, a group of Jewish activists within and outside the ÚŽ coalesced clandestinely and across political or religious affiliations for the purpose of better coordinating aid and rescue efforts. In the spring of 1942, the government's decision to start deportations to Poland prompted this Working Group led by Gizela (Gizi) Fleischmann, the head of the ÚŽ emigration department, and Rabbi Michael Dov Weissmandel—together with Andrew (Ondrej) Steiner, Tibor Kováč, Oskar Neumann, Rabbi Abraham (Armin) Frieder, and a group of public figures and activists in the various youth movements—to massively lobby among state functionaries, economic leaders, and Catholic clergy. Members of the group bribed key Slovak figures and intervened with Tiso, yet failed to stop the deportation wave. Subsequently, their multiple efforts to reach a deportation moratorium focused on a two-pronged approach: first, exerting pressure on regime officials, combined with material incentives, particularly vis-à-vis the Interior Ministry's Department 14 head Anton Vašek; and second, entering into negotiations with Dieter Wisliceny, also involving large bribes. Many credit the Working Group with the halting of mass deportations, but other factors also influenced their suspension after October 1942, including pressure from the Vatican and local bishops who were displeased with Tiso.

The temporary halt in deportations convinced the members of the Working Group that bribery was effective. For this reason, Rabbi Weissmandel initiated the Europa Plan, an attempt to save the remaining Jews in German-dominated Europe by paying ransom. The group entered into secret negotiations with SS officials in the fall of 1942, a time when Himmler was starting to develop an interest in negotiating with representatives of what he deemed "international Jewry" for the purpose of undermining the Allied war effort, but also as a means to obfuscate the ongoing implementation of the "Final Solution" and improve Germany's image in the event of an armistice. Members of the Working Group coordinated with Jewish organizations overseas, particularly the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), to help raise money demanded by their German interlocutors, until it became clear in late summer 1943 that the Reich's representatives were using the negotiations merely as a means of delay and personal enrichment.⁴⁵

In addition to their pursuit of the Europa Plan, the members of the Working Group tried to assist Jews in a number of ways. They not only tried to improve the conditions of Slovak deportees but also found hiding places for Jewish refugees coming from Poland and provided them with false identification papers. At the same time, the members of the group spread information about the mass murder of Jews, hoping to interfere with the expected deportation of the Hungarian Jews. Slovak Army officers had already reported the mass shootings of Jews in occupied Galicia and Soviet territories in the summer and autumn of 1941. Since the summer of 1942, reports of mass murder in German camps had reached Slovakia; however, eyewitness testimony of Jewish extermination became available only in April 1944, when two Slovak Jews, Rudolf Vrba (Walter Rosenberg) from Topolčany and Alfred Wetzler from Trnava, managed to escape from Auschwitz. After several weeks in hiding, they were able to provide firsthand testimonies to the ÚŽ, which reached Geneva, the Swiss press, the Czechoslovak government in exile, as well as the United States.⁴⁶ Ultimately the efforts of the Working Group failed: some members were arrested, and toward the end of 1944 their leaders, Gizi Fleischmann and Rabbi Weissmandel, were deported. Weissmandel jumped from the deportation train, survived in hiding, and later emigrated to the United States. Fleischmann was murdered in Auschwitz.

THE SLOVAK NATIONAL UPRISING

By the end of 1943, the Ľudák regime was in deep internal crisis. After Germany's military defeats on the eastern front and the capitulation of Italy, the future of the Tiso regime was not bright. The previously fragmented resistance movement, consisting of communists and "civic" (noncommunist) groups, joined forces and created the Slovak National Council (*Slovenská národná rada*, SNR) at the end of 1943. From the spring of 1944 on, the SNR cooperated with the underground group within the Slovak army called the Military Center (*Vojenské ústredie*, VÚ). Their goal was to prepare a military uprising and

overthrow the Tiso regime. The plan was to attack the rear of the retreating German Army near the mountainous eastern border of Slovakia, thus opening the Carpathian passes for the Red Army. At the same time, the Ľudák regime was to be overthrown in the west of the country. If that failed, there was to be immediate resistance to the German Army in case of an unexpected German occupation of Slovakia.⁴⁷

During the summer of 1944, Slovakia became the operational area of various partisan groups formed by Soviet officers. They were dropped into Slovak territory to operate in the German rear. The increase in partisan activities and operations of various partisan groups in coordination with the Soviet partisan headquarters, but not with the SNR, provoked German military intervention.⁴⁸

On August 29, 1944, the landscape in Slovakia changed dramatically when the first German units crossed Slovakia's borders. What came to be referred to as the Slovak National Uprising (*Slovenské národné povstanie*, SNP) to resist the German occupation and overthrow the Tiso government began under the command of the Banská Bystrica-based Military Center.

In reaction to the uprising, the HSELS regime underwent major changes. A new government came to power under Prime Minister Štefan Tiso, and the security apparatus was reorganized. Special units of the Hlinka Guard (*Pobotovostné oddiely Hlinkovej gardy*, POHG) were formed to help the Nazi security forces in suppressing the uprising and persecuting its supporters.

German Einsatzgruppe H der Sipo und des SD units began to fight in Bratislava with its Einsatzkommandos and Sonderkommandos operating all over the progressively occupied areas of western and central Slovakia. In eastern Slovakia, Nazi Kommando ZbV 27, under the control of KdS Krakau (Krakow), started to operate.⁴⁹

When Nazi Germany invaded Slovakia, its goal was to liquidate partisan groups, but in the area of central Slovakia its units instead faced an organized army. The First Czechoslovak Army in Slovakia, under the command of General Ján Golián, succeeded later by General Rudolf Viest, fought against better equipped and trained German units (and their Slovak collaborators) until October 27, 1944. On that day, the center of the uprising, Banská Bystrica, fell. Insurgents retreated into the mountains and carried out a guerilla campaign; this combat continued until the liberation of Slovakia in 1945.

The German reaction was predictably harsh. The Germans shot or arrested Slovaks whom they suspected of aiding the uprising and razed 93 villages in retaliation for suspected collaboration. A later estimate of the death toll among civilians was 5,304 people, and postwar authorities discovered 211 mass graves resulting from those atrocities.⁵⁰ The largest mass killings occurred in Kremnička and Nemecká; other civilians were taken to the various concentration camps where they were tortured and murdered.

The failed uprising and the German occupation ushered in the final bloody stage of the Holocaust in Slovakia. The Tiso regime's hostility toward the remaining Jewish population escalated. The regime attempted to use the "Jewish Question"

to strengthen its power, describing the Jews as "Judeo-bolsheviks" and other undesirables who wanted to gain control of Slovakia and take advantage of all good Slovaks and Christians. The regime-sponsored newspapers were filled with antisemitic propaganda that in some ways surpassed in intensity that in the 1940 to 1942 period.

German military and security authorities began to organize deportation trains from Sered' and from eastern Slovakia. From the end of September 1944 to March 1945, 11 transports from the Sered' concentration camp and several transports from Prešov carried the remaining Jews out of Slovakia. Some were sent to Auschwitz, and others to Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, or Terezín. Approximately 13,500 people were deported.⁵¹

The occupation units and the members of the POHG or other Slovak forces no longer recognized exemptions and employment licenses for Jews. Acts of brutality, robbery, and murder accompanied the deportations, and German units, sometimes with the help of Hlinka Guard (either POHG or field companies of the HG) murdered hundreds of Jews and Roma immediately on capture.

After the Red Army conquered Slovakia in April 1945, Tiso fled first to Austria and then to a Capuchin monastery in Alttötting, Bavaria. U.S. forces captured him there in June 1945 and extradited him to the restored Czechoslovakia, where he was tried. On April 15, 1947, the Czechoslovak National Court (*Národný súd*) found him guilty of treason and sentenced him to death. Tiso was executed wearing his clerical garb in Bratislava on April 18, 1947.

SOURCES Political histories of the Slovak state include Yehoshua Robert Büchler, Gila Fatranová, and Stanislav Mičev, *Fragmenty z dejín židovstva na Slovensku* (Banská Bystrica, Slovakia: Datei, 1991); Ingrid Graziano and István Eördögh, *Josef Tiso e la questione ebraica in Slovacchia* (Cosenza: Periferia, 2002); Katarína Hradská, *Prípad Dieter Wisliceny: Nacistický poradcovia a židovská otázka na Slovensku* (Bratislava: AEP, 1999); Yeshayahu Jelínek, *The Parish Republic: Hlinka's Slovak People's Party 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: Eastern European Quarterly, 1976); Hana Kubátová, *Nepokradneš! Nálady a postoje slovenské spoločnosti k židovské otázce, 1938–1945* (Prague: Academia, 2013); Eduard Nižňanský, *Nacizmus, holokaust, slovenský štát* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 2010); Eduard Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a slovenským štátom v stredoeurópskom kontexte* (Prešov, Slovakia: Universum, 1999); Peter Sokolovič, *Hlinkova garda 1938–1945* (Bratislava: Ústav Pamäti Národa, 2009); Tatjana Tönsmeier, *Das Dritte Reich und die Slowakei 1939–1945: Politischer Alltag zwischen Kooperation und Eigensinn* (Paderborn, Germany: Schöningh, 2003); and these works by James Mace Ward: *Priest, Politician, Collaborator: Jozef Tiso and the Making of fascist Slovakia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013); "People Who Deserve It: Josef Tiso and the Presidential Exemption," *NatPprs* 30:4 (2002): 571–601; and "The First Vienna Award and the Holocaust in Slovakia," *HGS* 29:1 (Spring 2015): 76–108.

With the fall of the Iron Curtain, a new generation of historians has focused on a myriad of topics related to the Holocaust, including general aspects of the Slovak state, political history of the clerico-fascist nation, local history of towns or

specific sites of discrimination, and non-Jewish victims. In addition, many conferences have been hosted in Slovakia whose papers have contributed to numerous edited volumes on the Holocaust in Slovakia. The following list of works is not comprehensive, but should provide the reader with a solid starting point for examining Slovak sources related to the Holocaust. General books and articles about the Slovak state include Gila Fatranová, *Boj o prežitie* (Bratislava: SNM—Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2007); idem, “Die Deportation der Juden aus der Slowakei 1944–1945,” *Bohemia* 37:1 (1996): 99–119; idem, “The Working Group” *HGS* 8:2 (Fall 1994): 164–201; Tomáš Gerboc, *Štát proti Židom*, available at www.impulzrevue.sk/article.php?816; Gabriel Hoffmann, *Katolícka cirkev a tragédia slovenských židov v dokumentoch* (Partizánske, Slovakia: Vyd-vo G-print, 1994); Katrína Hradská, “Deportácie slovenských Židov v rokoch 1944–1945 so zreteľom na trasporty do Terézína,” *Hcb* 45:3 (1997): 455–471; Yeshayahu Jelínek, *Židia na Slovensku v 19. a 20. storočí* (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999); Martin Lacko, *Slovenská Republika 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Perfekt, 2008); Ján Mlynárik, *Dejiny židů na Slovensku*, trans. Milan Pokorný (Prague: Academia, 2005); Peter Salner, *Mozaika židovskej Bratislavy* (Bratislava: Albert Marencin Vydavateľstvo, 2007); Peter Salner, *Prežili Holokaust* (Bratislava: Veda, 1997); and Lenka Šindelářová, *Finale der Vernichtung: Die Einsatzgruppe H in der Slowakei 1944/1945* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2013).

Works that deal with particular labor, concentration, or transit camps include Igor Baka, *Židovský Tábor v Nováckoch* (Bratislava: Zing Print, 2001); Marek Danko, “Internáčne zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary,” (Košice, Slovakia: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 2010) available at www.saske.sk/cas/public/media/5813/201001_03_danko.pdf; Ján Hlavinka and Eduard Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračný tábor v Seredi 1941–1945* (Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2009); Mauro M. Langfelder, *Žilina: Il vino e il sangue* (Milan: Terziaria, 2003); Eduard Nižňanský and Lucia Könözyová, eds., “Židovské pracovné stredisko v Degeši: v dokumentoch,” *SHN* 10 (2002): 219–236; Karen Spira, “Memories of Youth: Slovak Jewish Holocaust Survivors and the Nováky Labor Camp” (unpub. MA thesis, Brandeis University, 2011); Jana Stráska, “Koncentračné stredisko v Žiline,” *AFHUMBW* 3:4 (2010): 88–95; Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld, eds., *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010); and Milena Balcová, “Šiesty robotný prápor Pracovného zboru Národnej obrany a jeho činnosť v rokoch 1941–1944,” *VH* 2 (2012): 79–97.

Before 1989, the Holocaust was not addressed in many historical studies. Despite the topic's controversial nature, Ivan Kamenec, Ladislav Lipscher, Livia Rothkirchen, and Ctibor Nečas explored Slovakia's collaboration with Nazi Germany, but many of their manuscripts were not published until after 1991. See Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991) or translated into English as *On the Trail of Tragedy: The Holocaust in Slovakia*, trans. Martin C. Styan (Bratislava: H & H, 2007); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v slovenskom štáte 1939–1945*, trans. Irma Knezlová and Magdalena Pechová (Bratislava: Printservis, 1992); and Livia Rothkirchen, *Hurban Yabadut Slovakiah: te'ur histori bi-te'udot* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1961); idem, “The Dual Role of the ‘Jewish Center’ in Slovakia,” in *Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe 1933–1945*

(*Proceedings of the 3rd Yad Vashem International Historical Conference*) (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1979), pp. 219–227. More recent works on the Holocaust in Slovakia include Waclaw Długoborski, *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia: 1938–1945: Slovakia and the “Final Solution of the Jewish Question”* (Oświęcim, Poland: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2002); Peter Sokolovič, ed., *Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945: Slovenská Republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov VII* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2008); and Jozef Vicen, “K problematike Zaisťovacieho tábora v Ilave v rokoch 1939–1945,” in *Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov IV. Zborník*, eds. Michal Šmigel' and Peter Mičko (Banská Bystrica, Slovakia: Ústav pamäti národa, 2005), pp. 135–143.

Although the majority of the works focus on Jewish victims, some authors have also written about non-Jewish victims, particularly the Roma and others deemed “asocials.” Such works include 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, UK: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999–2006); Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010); Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté Táboory* (Trenčín, Slovakia: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); and Július Tancoš and Rene Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002). For the Roma, see Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovenští Rómové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1994); and Milena Hübschmannová, “Po Židoch Cigáni”: *Svědectví Romů ze Slovenska, 1939–1945* (Prague: Triada, 2005).

Primary documents on the Holocaust and camps in Slovakia can be divided into edited volumes, archival materials, memoirs, and oral history. The most comprehensive edited volumes were written by Eduard Nižňanský. These crucial works not only include the most important documents, organized thematically, but also place them within the proper historical context. The volumes most used for this chapter were Eduard Nižňanský and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 2: Prezident, vláda, Snem SR a Štátna rada o židovskej otázke (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2003); Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie anatómie (6.10.1938–14.3.1939)* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2001); Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004); and Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6: Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005). In addition to the *Holokaust na Slovensku* series, there are primary source compilations in the following works: Katarína Hradská, *Listy Gisely Fleischmannovej (1942–1944): snaby Pracovnej skupiny o záchranu slovenských a európskych židov: Dokumenty* (Zvolen, Slovakia: Klemo, 2003); Ladislav Hubenák, ed., *Riešenie židovskej otázky na Slovensku 1939–1945: Dokumenty* (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1994); Milena Hübschmannová, “Po Židoch Cigáni” *svědectví Romů ze Slovenska, 1939–1945* (Prague: Triada, 2005); and Ústredný svaz židovských náboženských obcí na Slovensku, ed., *Tragédia slovenských židov: fotografie a dokumenty* (Bratislava: The Centre, 1993). The Treaty of Protection can be found in *NCA*.

USHMMA holds more than 3,200 items regarding the Holocaust in Slovakia. Specifically, it holds 15 collections from SNA and various local archives in Slovakia. The most compre-

hensive collection, RG-57.001M (Slovak Documents related to the Holocaust), contains more than 1,500 reels of documentation from various Slovak ministries, local administrations, applications for exemption from deportation, Aryanization records, and more. In addition, USHMMA holds collections from ÚPN, the Conference for Jewish Material Claims against Germany, ŠOA-B, ŠOA-N, VHÚ, and VHA. The archival records of the International Tracing Service (ITS) are also a valuable source.

The number of published testimonies has grown exponentially since 1989. The following list is only a fraction of the published memoirs; as one can see, they deal with various experiences including labor camps and concentration camps. Perhaps the best-known memoir was written by Rudolf Vrba, *I Cannot Forgive*, ed. Alan Bestic (1964; Vancouver: Regent College Publishers, 1997). Others include Edith Ernst-Drori, *Des Lebensrechts beraubt: Drei Jahre im Untergrund. Jüdische Schicksale in der Slowakei 1942–1945* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2000); Abraham-Aba Frieder, *Z Denníka mladého rabína*, ed. Emanuel Frieder (Bratislava: Edícia Judaica Slovaca, 1993); Alexander Hochhäuser, *Zufällig überlebt: Als deutscher Jude in der Slowakei* (Berlin: Metropol, 1992); Marie Magdaléna Hornáková-Jodasová, *Neobyčajný život* (Prague: Nakl. Jaroslava Poberova, 2005); Hilda Hrabovecká, *Arm with Tattooed Number* (Bratislava: PT, 2002); David Huban, *Bol som mladý a chcel som žiť* (Bratislava: Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2004); Hani Kehat, *My Nitra: A Family's Struggle to Survive in Slovakia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2015); Ján Gál Podd'umbierský, *Z kalicha utrpenia: Rozpomienky na zážitky v koncentračnom tábore v Ilave* (Komárno, Slovakia: Pravda, 1947); Elo Šándor, *Ilava: Zážitky z policajného lapáku a z koncentračného tábora z čias, keď sa rodila naša sloboda* (Brno: Mir, 1947); Harold Saunders, *Zeugnis geben: Von Bratislava durch Auschwitz-Birkenau ins Lager Gleiwitz I und zurück. Jüdische Schicksale in der Slowakei 1938–1945* (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 2001); Juraj Spitzer, *Nechcel som byť Žid* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 1994); and Juraj Spitzer, *Svitá, až keď je celkom tma* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 1996).

Vanda Rajcan, Madeline Vadkerty and Ján Hlavinka

NOTES

1. Vladimír Srb, *Obyvateľstvo Slovenska 1918–1938*, available at www.infostat.sk/vdc/pdf/slov1918.pdf, 10; Akiva Nir, "The Zionist Organizations, Youth Movements and Emigration to Palestine in 1918–1945," in *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia*, eds. Waclaw Dlugoborski et al. (Oswiecim, Banská Bystrica: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2002), 37; Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6.

2. Michal Barnovský, ed., *Dokumenty slovenskej národnej identity a štátnosti*, vol. II (Bratislava: Národné literárne centrum, 1998), p. 178.

3. Treaty of Protection concluded between the German Reich and the State of Slovakia, March 23, 1939, 1439-PS, *NCA*, 4:19.

4. Ctibor Nečas, "Pronásledování Cikánů v období slovenského státu," in *Rómovia a druhá svetová vojna*, eds. Ingrid Vagačová and Martin Fotta (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku), p. 41.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., p. 42.

9. Ibid.

10. Ward, "The First Vienna Award and the Holocaust in Slovakia," pp. 76, 84, 92.

11. Eduard Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a Slovenským štátom v stredoeurópskom kontexte* (Prešov: Universum, 1999), pp. 40, 54.

12. Ibid.

13. Nižňanský and Kamenec, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 2: 25–26.

14. Decree No. 63/1939 Sl.z., *Slovenský zákonník*, 1939, p. 77.

15. Law No. 113/1939 Sl.z., *Slovenský zákonník*, 1939, pp. 166–170.

16. Fatranová, *Boj o prežitie*, p. 40.

17. Constitutional Law No. 210/1940 Sl.z. *Slovenský zákonník*, 1940, p. 343.

18. Gila Fatranová, "Pracovná skupina: pokus o záchranu," in *Aktivity ilegálnej židovskej Pracovnej skupiny počas holokaustu na Slovensku. Zborník príspevkov zo seminára* (Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2007), pp. 6–7.

19. Decree No. 257/1940 Sl.z. *Slovenský zákonník*, 1940, p. 407.

20. Ibid., p. 429.

21. Decree No. 271/1940 Sl.z., *Slovenský zákonník*, p. 262; Ján Hlavinka and Martina Fiamová, "Arizácia židovského majetku," in *Slovenský štát 1939–1945: predstavy a realita*, eds. Martina Fiamová, Ján Hlavinka, and Michal Schvarc (Bratislava: Historický ústav SAV, 2014), 263.

22. Eudovít Hallon, "Arizácia na Slovensku 1939–1945," *Acta Oeconomica Pragensia* 7 (2007).

23. Ján Hlavinka, "'Kapitál má slúžiť národu . . ." Korupcia v arizácii podnikového majetku na Slovensku," in *Korupcia*, eds. Peter Šoltés and László Vörös (Historický ústav SAV Veda, 2015).

24. Ján Korček, "Vojensky organizované pracovné formácie v pôsobnosti MNO a MV Slovenskej republiky 1942–1945," in *Pracovné jednotky a útvary slovenskej armády 1939–1945. VI. Robotný prápor*, ed. Dezider Tóth (Bratislava: Zing Print, 1996), pp. 43–92.

25. Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy*, p. 157.

26. Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 11.

27. Decree 198/1941 Sl.z., *Slovenský zákonník*, 1941, p. 643.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 113.

31. Ján Hlavinka and Eduard Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračný tábor v Seredi 1941–1945* (Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2009), p. 20.

32. Zápisnica o III. zasadnutí Štátnej rady. SNA, fond Úrad predsedníctva vlády, box 242.

33. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 13.

34. Ibid., 6: 14–15.

35. Zápisnica o III. zasadnutí Štátnej rady. SNA, fond Úrad predsedníctva vlády, box 242.

36. Ward, *Priest, Politician, Collaborator*, p. 231.

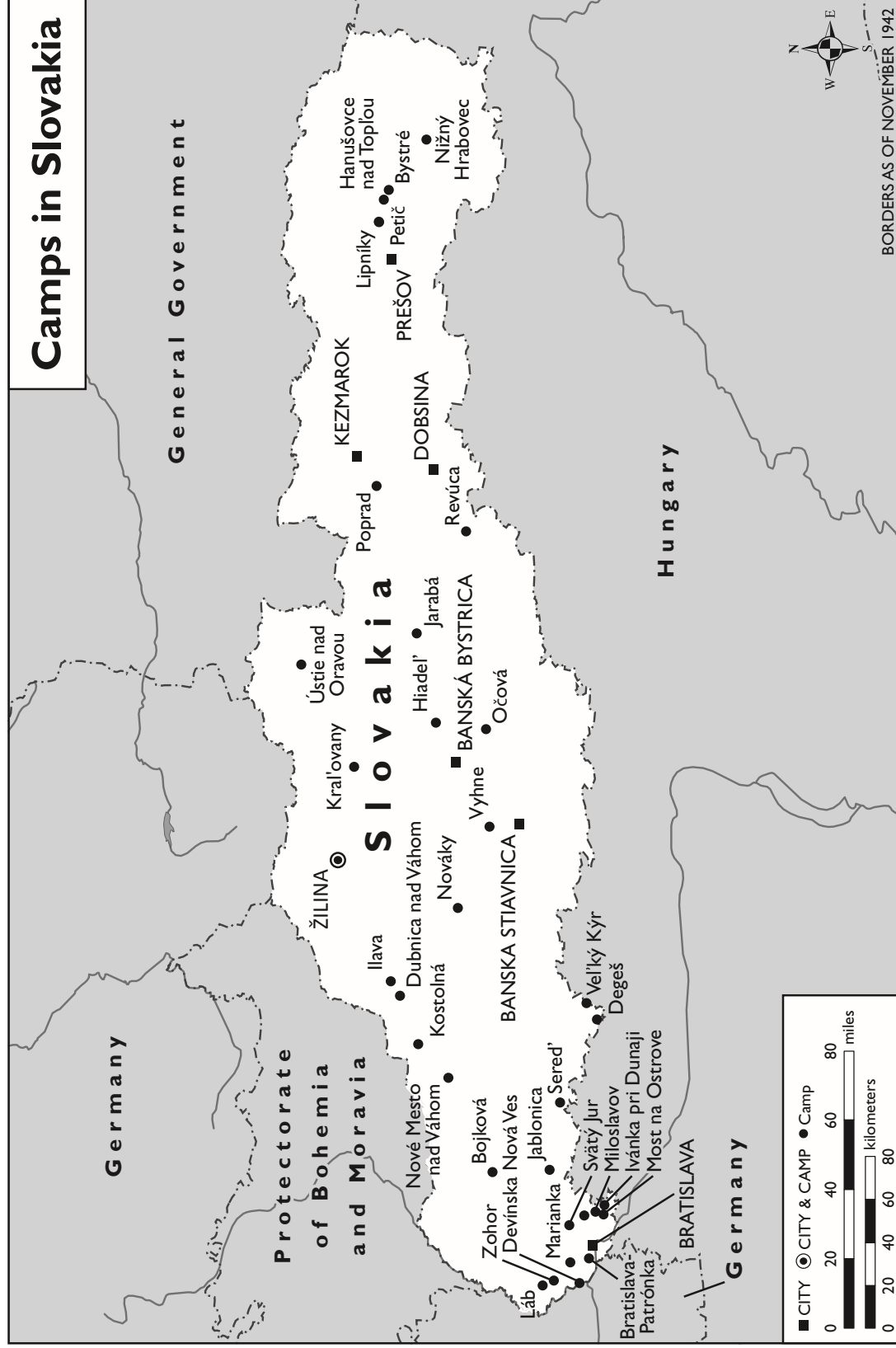
37. Ibid., p. 227.

38. SNA, fond MV, box 227, file 1.

39. Letter of the Ministry of Interior No. 12361/42. SNA, fond MV, box 262.

40. Jehošua Róbert Büchler, "Deportácie Židov zo Slovenska do oblasti Lublin v Poľsku v roku 1942," in *Acta Judaica Slovaca*, ed. Pavol Mešťan (Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum - MŽK, 2002).
41. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 59–61.
42. Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy*, p. 157.
43. Tiso speech reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 206.
44. USHMM, RG-57.004M, 59/101–102.
45. Yehuda Bauer, *Jews for Sale? Nazi-Jewish Negotiations, 1933–1945* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 91–101.
46. The Vrba-Wetzler Report is available at <http://german-historydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/English45.pdf>.
47. Igor Baka et al., *Slovensko a Slováci vo víre druhej svetovej vojny* (Bratislava: Pro Militaria Historia), p. 98.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 104–108.
49. Dušan Halaj et al. *Fašistické represálie na Slovensku* (Banská Bystrica: ÚV SZPB, Múzeum Slovenského národného povstania), p. 145.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
51. Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy*, p. 337.

Camps in Slovakia



BOJKOVÁ

Bojková is located just over 53 kilometers (33 miles) northeast of Bratislava. In 1942, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV), Department 53, created the Educational Asylum for Women (*Ženský výchovný ústav*) on the premises of the state-owned agricultural project. MV issued the asylum's internal order on June 20, 1942. It was intended for "asocial" women, particularly prostitutes. Women were sent to the asylum by the chief of the Police Directorate in Bratislava (*Policačné riaditeľstvo v Bratislave*). In Bojková they lived in housing that the MV provided and were cared for by civilian authorities or nuns.¹ MV's Department 53 administered the center and made administrative and personnel decisions.

The facility had the capacity to hold up to 150 women, but initially housed 35.² Dr. Straka, the head of Department 53, considered expanding the center to hold up to 250 people later in 1943. It is known that at one point more than 94 women labeled as "asocial and morally defective" were in the camp.³ A medical doctor provided health care on the premises. Women kept in the asylum worked at their own farm as well as other farms in the vicinity. During bad weather and off-season they performed tailoring or laundered underwear for state asylums. On May 31, 1943, Dr. Straka asked his superiors in the MV for permission to open a "similar asylum for Jewish females" by building two additional barracks with a total capacity of 200 persons.⁴ There is no evidence that this request was approved. It is also not known when the camp was liquidated.

SOURCES Very little is known about this site. Primary sources can be found in SNA, box 549, and in USHMM in the SNA collection (RG-57.001M), reel 176.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. "Pracovné útvary pre asociálne osoby ženského pohlavia," March 16, 1943, Slovak National Archives (SNA), fond MV, box 549, file D-1109/43 (549/ D-1109/43).

2. SNA, fond MV, box 577, file 1228/44.

3. "Pánu prezidiálnemu šéfovi," n.d., SNA, fond MV, 549/D-1117.

4. SNA, fond MV, box 577, file 1228/44.

BRATISLAVA/PATRÓNKA

The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) created the Patrónka concentration camp (officially called *Koncentračné stredisko Židov Bratislava-Patrónka*) on March 5, 1942. The camp was established in buildings belonging to the Asylum for Disabled Persons (*Ústav pre zmrzačených*), which was situated in an old abandoned ammunition factory in Patrónka, a suburb of Bratislava named for its manufacturing of weaponry (*patróny*). Much as Poprad served as a concentration and transit camp for Jews living in eastern Slovakia, Patrónka housed Jews from Bratislava and western Slovakia. As with the Poprad transit camp, Patrónka initially served as

a camp for women between the ages of 16 to 45; however, over time, men and families were also detained there.²

While the Jews from Bratislava were escorted to the Patrónka camp under the supervision of the police directorate in Bratislava and the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG), Jews from other western Slovakian towns and districts (such as Trnava, Myjava, and so on) were escorted to the camp by the gendarmerie, together with HG and *Freiwillige Schutzstaffel* (FS).³ First women from western Slovakian towns were brought to the Červený Most train station, which was less central than Bratislava's main train station, where the camp's guards then escorted them to the Patrónka camp, a distance of one kilometer (0.6 miles).⁴ The internees were allowed to bring up to 50 kilograms (110 pounds) of personal belongings in their suitcases, including food and clothing. The deputy commandant, Július Pavlík, conducted personal searches for valuables as soon as the young women arrived in Patrónka. Confiscated items included gold, watches, and pens; these property lists are available in the archives.⁵ Three guards were arrested for stealing Jewish property in Patrónka after missing property was found in their houses. They were incarcerated in the Ilava prison.⁶

The Patrónka camp consisted of three buildings. In Building I (the "good building"), wooden planks without pallets, arranged in two tiers, served as beds. It could house up to 700 Jews. Building II, which was labeled as "damaged," held 70 metal double beds that could accommodate 140 Jews; additional deportees slept on wooden planks. Building III, which was located between the two other buildings, was divided into two parts. One half housed the HG, and the other half of the building provided the necessary office space for the camp commandant. In addition to the three buildings, the Jews built a wooden shed that served as a storage space for the deportees' luggage.⁷

Depending on the part of the camp where they were located, the prisoners slept either on their own belongings or on wooden planks, which could accommodate three people. Some of these wooden planks were found on the floor of the factory, and the Slovak Red Cross provided additional planks from an as-yet unidentified repatriation camp.⁸ Some hay was available to use as bedding, which the women spread out and then swept up in the morning. The prisoners were not given any blankets, but used personal belongings brought from home to cover themselves while sleeping. Some women also slept in the factory's offices. The military kitchen supplied food to the camp: for breakfast, the detainees received black coffee and a piece of bread, whereas soup was served for either lunch or dinner.⁹

Camp discipline was strict, and the Jews offered no resistance. The HG was responsible for guarding the camp, which was surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire fence. The camp commandant was Imrich Vašina, who had been in charge of the warehouse; he later became the commandant of Sered' in 1942.¹⁰ During his trial at the Slovak National Court, Vašina admitted that he had to fire 12 to 16 members of the HG for their harsh treatment of Jews in Patrónka.¹¹ In addition, court records indicate that Vašina accepted at least 50,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) in bribes, as well as alcohol, from individuals and

the Jewish Organization (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ), by which they hoped to avoid deportation.¹²

Deportations occurred once the quota of one thousand persons was achieved in the camp. The first transport, comprising 1,002 young female prisoners, left Patrónka for Auschwitz on March 27, 1942.¹³ Transports totaling approximately 7,500 persons left the camp under Vašina's command.¹⁴ Some transports that departed from Patrónka went through the Žilina camp, where more prisoners were added to the train to fulfill the quota of 1,000 persons per transport. Other, so-called supplementary transports brought Jews from Patrónka to the Žilina and Sered' camps, where they were later put into the transports departing for German-occupied Poland.¹⁵

Once selected, the deportees marched 3.3 kilometers (just over 2 miles) through the fields to Lamač where the trains were already waiting. The marches took place at night so the local population would not see the deportees. The trains left Lamač at 6:55 P.M., arriving in Čadca for the transfer of the guards at 4:28 A.M.¹⁶

When the Patrónka camp closed in late August 1942, Vašina was transferred to command the Sered' labor camp. The Slovak National Court sentenced him to thirty years of imprisonment on March 27, 1947.¹⁷ He died in 1954.

SOURCES Patrónka is briefly mentioned in numerous secondary sources, including Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6: Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v Slovenskom štáte 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Printservis, 1992); and Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991).

Primary sources that document the camp at Patrónka can be found in SNA; they are copied in microfilm to USHMMA as RG-57.001M (Slovak Documents Related to the Holocaust) and are in digital form as RG-57.004M (selected records of trials of the National Court of Slovakia, including the Jozef Tiso trial). In RG-57.001M, Patrónka files include reel 17, box 226, file 17; and reel 28, box 215, file 969. Additional documents can be found throughout the collection. RG-57.004M includes the Vašina trial. VHA has 31 testimonies from Patrónka survivors.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. Martina Fiamová, "Koncentračné stredisko Bratislava–Patrónka," in Matej Medvecký, ed., *Fenomén Bratislava* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2011), p. 234.

2. VHA #27295, Blanka Broch testimony, February 2, 1997; VHA #1079, Jeannette Nagel testimony, February 20, 1995.

3. Fiamová, "Koncentračné stredisko Bratislava–Patrónka," p. 237.

4. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 7, box 205, file 612 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/7/205/612).

5. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/17/226/17.

6. USHMMA, RG-57.004M, SNA, folder 10, file 1, pp. 9–10 (USHMMA, RG-57.004M/10/1, with pages).

7. "Hlásenie č. 1," March 7, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 205, 609/1942, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 121–122 (Doc. 22).

8. Ibid., 6: 121 (Doc. 22).

9. "Ministerstvo vnútra," March 12, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 206, 638/42; and fond MV, kartón 287, 406–560–13, reprinted in ibid., 6: 142 (Doc. 37).

10. USHMMA, RG-57.004M/10/1, pp. 9–10.

11. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/28/215/969; VHA #29893, Verona Javorová interview, May 29, 1997.

12. USHMMA, RG-57.004M/10/1, pp. 9–10.

13. "Eskorty pre transporty Židov," March 12, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 207/14, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 136 (Doc. 35).

14. USHMMA, RG-57.004M/10/1, pp. 9–10.

15. Fiamová, "Koncentračné stredisko Bratislava–Patrónka," p. 248.

16. "Preprava zaradencov Židov," March 11, 1942, SNA, fond NS, Dr. A. Vašek, Tnlud, 17/46–65, kartón 110, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 128 (Doc. 29).

17. Ibid., 6: 9–10.

BYSTRÉ

Bystré is located 341 kilometers (212 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) created the camp there on July 1, 1942.¹ It was a subcamp of the Hanušovce nad Topľou camp, and it consisted of nine wooden barracks that could accommodate 900 forced laborers. Barracks were built in Hlibovec, Habeš, and Čierne. In addition, a barrack located near the quarry in Hermanovce belonged to the camp. One barrack was set aside to house the camp commander and the gendarmes who were guarding the camp. Approximately two-thirds of the forced laborers were Roma (also referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*), and the remaining third consisted of persons labeled "Aryan asocials." The number of inmates fluctuated between 300 and 900.

The Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec construction firm was responsible for building a railway from Vyšný Žipov to Rybníky as a part of the strategic railway line between Prešov and Strážske. The work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) used mostly unemployed Roma men between the ages of 18 and 50. The barracks were located only about 100 meters (328 feet) from a forest, which led to a high number of desertions. Of the initial 640 workers in Bystré, approximately 200 escaped, mostly to escape the poor housing conditions. Local police arrested some of the deserters and brought them back to the main camp.

The forced laborers were subdivided into two groups, according to their ability to work. Those who could not keep up with the pace either had to stay on the job longer or received deductions from their pay. Some laborers in the camp barely made enough money to pay for their own food. On September 26, 1942, the firm turned away 50 people because they were too weak to work. In addition to decreases in pay for working at a slow rate, deductions were also made for food, social insurance, housing, and the rental of equipment. For example, a worker could make between 93 Slovak crowns (Ks) and 300 Ks every two weeks without deductions; with deductions that amount could be as low as 75 Ks per pay period.

According to the contract with the MV, the contracting firm was responsible for providing adequate housing. However, the housing in Bystré was substandard and a source of frequent complaints among the forced laborers. Lice, insects, and rodents were found throughout the barracks; even the representatives from MV Department 16, the department responsible for the “asocials,” deemed the barracks unsuitable during inspections. At the end of July 1942, two-thirds of the 860 forced laborers did not have blankets or sufficient clothing and slept on insect- and flea-infested wooden boards. One-third of the workers did not have shoes.

The camp commander, Engleman, maintained strict discipline. At first, 14 gendarmes guarded the camp; however, that number increased to 20 on March 15, 1943.² The camp commander complained on several occasions that monthly payments were not made to the gendarmes: the MV did not pay the gendarmes’ salaries for the months of March, April, and May 1943. On April 15, 1943, 509 laborers (168 asocials and 341 Roma) worked in the camp, and the camp commander complained to the MV that the reeducation lectures could not occur due to a lack of space. He requested that the firm provide larger barracks or rooms for these presentations and for church masses in case of inclement weather. He argued that the laborers could not attend religious worship services in the town because they did not have sufficient clothing. He contended that the high desertion rates were directly correlated with the lack of reeducation presentations. The laborers did not work on Saturday afternoons and used that time to clean their barracks, shower, and wash clothes. They attended church functions on Sunday mornings, but according to Engleman that did not provide sufficient time for training and reeducation. In fact, he requested that the laborers stay in their barracks two Saturdays a month to continue with these vital cultural and reeducation campaigns, an idea that the MV quickly dismissed.

The worst food conditions and frequent complaints came from the camps in Bystré and Hanušovce nad Topľou, over a kilometer away. The camp commander mentioned the insufficient rations in his reports; however, the contracting firm refused to increase food portions. The workers were charged 10 Ks per day for food, even though the rations were very meager. Those who worked in the kitchen often stole food. For example, when the camp’s command inventoried the food supply on January 17, 1943, they found that 12 kilograms (26.7 pounds) of 73 kilograms (160 pounds) of food was missing. When the food arrived in the camp, a gendarme signed for it, and the camp commander locked the food away to prevent theft and other questionable dealings. In addition, Engleman fired Jan Sabol, the camp’s cook, who stole food and made soap at night that he later sold. Engleman even started criminal proceedings against him in the district court in Gíraltovec. He also fired Vojtech Krupa for failing to prove himself to be an adequate cook.

The camp commander frequently communicated to the MV about the camp’s conditions; he was particularly concerned about the lack of gloves and appropriate winter shoes during the cold months; however, nothing came of his complaints.

At first, the laborers traveled to Hanušovce nad Topľou to see a doctor; however, eventually a medic treated the laborers on site so they did not lose a whole day of work in transit. A high percentage of laborers did not work in November and December, mostly because of the severe weather and illness. Among those who did not work, doctors reported 411 injuries and 1,209 cases of illness, particularly ear, eye, respiratory tract and lungs, gastrointestinal, and cardiac conditions. Work was also suspended around Christmas; instead, the workers attended training and reeducation lessons given by the local priest or the camp command.

A typhus outbreak occurred in February and March 1943, and a strict quarantine was enforced for 14 subsequent days. Dr. Róbert Pollák, the camp doctor for the Bystré and Hanušovce camps, concluded that there was a serious shortage of soap and documented the unsanitary conditions. An inspection by state health officials found 12 sick patients. The barracks were in horrible condition, and the officials proposed their disinfection.³ Because 200 additional laborers were scheduled to arrive on March 14, solving the hygiene situation was particularly important.⁴ Pollák and his colleagues recommended that these new workers be barred from the camp until the disinfection of the barracks was concluded.

The Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec company was accused of not cleaning and properly disinfecting the barracks, an accusation that the firm promptly denied; instead it blamed the camp leadership for the unhygienic conditions. After 6 people became ill with typhus, 50 gendarmes, health personnel, site supervisors, and others were vaccinated first, at 100 Ks per vaccination. Although some workers were deloused, the barracks were not properly dealt with, so the problem persisted despite the camp commander’s continuing documentation and reporting.⁵

Unusually favorable weather conditions in March and April allowed the workers to finish most of the road construction. The firm requested the camp be closed between June 1 and 15, 1943,⁶ although it was not liquidated until July 22, 1943. One hundred and eighty forced laborers from the Bratislava and Trenčín regions were then moved to the Dubnica nad Váhom camp, 160 workers from the Nitra and Tatra regions were moved to the Ilava camp, and 57 workers from Šariš and Zemplín were moved to the Revúca camp. In addition, the Lanna firm, a firm responsible for another phase of the road construction, transported 44 workers to Lipníky to continue working on its project.⁷

SOURCES Additional information about Bystré can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, “Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovních táborů a středisk na Slovensku v letech 1942–1944,” in *Nové obzory č. 8: Spoločenskovedný zborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Július Tancoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, “Internáčne zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary” (Spoločenskovedný

ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary sources documenting the Bystré camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA collection), reels 185–191; and in SNA, boxes 549–551. Published documents on the MV can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. “Pracovný útvar–Bystré,” March 15, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 549, file 1087/43 (SNA, fond MV, 549/1087/43).
2. “Veliteľstvo pracovného útvaru Bystré,” March 15, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 549/D-1128/43.
3. “Pracovný útvar–Bystré,” March 3, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 549/1087/43.
4. “Bystré,” n.d., SNA, fond MV, 549/D-1109/43.
5. “Škrvňový týfus medzi zaraďencami tunajšieho útvaru,” February 25, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 549/D-1109/43.
6. “Zrušenie pracovného tábora v Bystrom,” May 17, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 550/D-1153/43.
7. Ibid.

DEGEŠ

Degeš (today: Rastislavice) is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) east of Bratislava. A forced labor camp for Jews was opened in Degeš in July 1942, when the construction firm, Centrolomy, petitioned the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) for the allocation of additional forced labor. The Nitra regional roads authority called on Government Commissar of Labor Camps, Július Pečúch, who was in charge of the MV's forced labor camps for Jews, to establish the Degeš labor camp for 80 workers to meet the project's goals—building roads between Ivánka, Urmín, Degeš, and Branč, totaling 28.2 kilometers (17.5 miles), and between Taraň and Urmín, amounting to 8.2 kilometers (5.1 miles).¹

On July 24, 1942, 30 Jewish forced laborers were deployed on the Ivánka-Urmín-Degeš road construction site. The Jews deployed at the camp in 1942 proved reliable and henceforth partially replaced non-Jewish, blue-collar workers on the site.²

On February 2, 1943, Pečúch granted the request of the Nitra regional roads authority, thus formally establishing the Degeš Jewish work center (*Pracovné stredisko Židov*). Effective March 3, 1943, the camp was assigned to construction work in the Nitra regional district, and 80 Jewish construction workers were assigned to Degeš.³ On March 1, 1943, 41 Jewish forced laborers were assigned to work on the 12-kilometer (7.5-mile) Branč-Taraň-Pol'ný Kešov road segment, and construction began the following day. On temporary assignment, the remaining 39 Jews worked on the Ružový Dvor farm until March 25, 1943.

The Jews were housed in a separate building in Degeš. Altogether there were 75 Jewish laborers and their 133 family

members. The laborers were not allowed to leave their labor assignment and accommodations. Wearing the yellow star at work was obligatory. Their earnings not only had to cover their personal living expenses but also support family members. They worked 10 hours a day in summer, 9 hours a day in October, and 8 hours a day in November and December. Jewish workers were paid 3.75 Slovak crowns (Ks) per hour. MV reported that 98,325 hours of forced labor were performed at the camp in 1943, or 1,229 hours per person.⁴

Overseeing the forced labor were foremen Ján Klesken, Štefan Hadzo, and František Hrivniak, as well as labor supervisor Štefan Obranec. Alexander Freund, a Jewish doctor, was in charge of the mandatory weekly medical check-ups.⁵

The Degeš work center ceased to function on September 7, 1944, during the initial and very tumultuous period of the Slovak National Uprising (*Slovenské národné povstanie*, SNP). By means of violence and threats, three gendarmes and five to six members of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) removed the Jews from the camp. It is not clear where the Jews were taken after the camp was dissolved.⁶

SOURCES Information about the ŽPT at Degeš pri Nitre can be found in Marek Danko, “Internáčné zariadenia v Slovenskej Republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary,” available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/; Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991); and Gila Fatranová, *Boj o prežitie* (Bratislava: Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2007).

Unpublished primary sources on the Degeš pri Nitre forced labor camp for Jews can be found in ŠAN and AMNSP. Published primary documents can be found in Eduard Nižňanský and Lucia Könözyová, eds., “Židovské pracovné stredisko v Degeši,” *SHN* 10 (2002): 219–236; and Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004).

Eduard Nižňanský and Vanda Rajcan
Trans. Marianna Kramarikova

NOTES

1. ŠAN, fond Župa nitrianska III, box 568, 1945/I-a/516.
2. ŠAN, fond Župa nitrianska III, box 24, 1132/1942 prez.
3. Ibid.
4. AMNSP, fond IX, S. 152/81.
5. “Pracovné stredisko Židov pri stavbe cesty v Degeši,” February 3, 1943, ŠAN Nitra, fond Župa Nitrianska III, box 568, 1945/Ia/516, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 195–198 (Doc. 97).
6. ŠAN, fond Župa nitrianska III, box 568, 516/1945.

DEVÍNSKA NOVÁ VES

Devínska Nová Ves is located approximately 13 kilometers (8 miles) northwest of Bratislava. Today, it is one of the capital city's suburbs. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) signed an agreement with the Účastinárske Brickworks and Chemical Companies (*Účastinárske tehelne*

a chemické podniky) in Hodonín, which had its offices in Devínska Nová Ves, on June 25, 1943, to establish a forced labor camp, called a work center for Jews (*pracovné stredisko Židov*) in that town. The camp opened on July 5, 1943.

The creation of the camp addressed a shortage of unskilled labor. The laborers not only worked in the brickyard but were also responsible for the construction of materials for state venues, including the Slovak National Bank (*Slovenská národná banka*).¹ Earlier, on May 31, 1943, the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) had released 840 people from the Sixth Battalion—a battalion composed of Jewish, Roma and so called “asocial” forced laborers. Of these, 490 were moved to various forced labor camps for Jews, including 68 to Devínska Nová Ves.

The number of laborers fluctuated between 60 and 75. All of the workers were males born between 1917 and 1920. Sixty-seven of the forced laborers were labeled as “Israelites,” and four workers had been baptized.²

Very little is known about the living conditions in the camp. Although the MV handled the central management and supervision of all forced labor camps for Jews, the camp commander was responsible for daily maintenance and functioning. The forced laborers were subject to the organizational and behavioral rules governing the forced labor camps for Jews.³ The Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) provided the security in the camp, which was very strict. The MV enlisted the local gendarmes to assist the camp’s security forces, in particular with keeping peace at the camp and preventing desertions.

In addition, the camp commanders ensured that all laborers wore a yellow star in accordance with the *Kódex (Židovský Kódex, ŽK)*. The MV also attempted to address the high desertion rates in the camp by no longer allowing the camp commanders to grant leaves of absence or vacations. Previously, such permits could be secured locally, but the new policy stipulated that only the MV could issue the required documentation.⁴

On July 15, 1943, the Slovak MV created the Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR) to assist the commander and the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps (*Ústredná kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov*) in Bratislava with daily administration of the camp. Karol Zinsenheim, as head of the Jewish Council, was responsible for administrative and labor-related matters. Jozef Koth II addressed matters of materials and food rations. Ladislav Feldmann responded to health and social issues in the camp. The three-member ŽR conducted its work in accordance with and under the direction of the camp’s commander.⁵

On August 25, 1943, Karol Volár, the camp’s commander, wrote to the MV about the insufficient resources available for his workers and requested 33 pairs of shoes. He noted that the manual labor performed by the laborers in the brickyard was impossible without proper footwear and urged the MV to remedy the situation quickly.⁶

On September 4, 1944, the camp’s commander informed the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps that 35 men had fled from the forced labor camp in Devínska Nová Ves and 21 remained on site.⁷ On December 15, 1943, the Transportation and Public Works Ministry (*Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných*

prác, MDVP) and *Účastinárske tebeľne a chemické podniky* firm in Devínska Nová Ves agreed to release 20 to 30 forced laborers to construct Slovak railways. It is unclear when the camp was closed.

SOURCES Secondary sources that describe the Devínska Nová Ves camp are Marek Danko, “Internáčne Zariadenia v Slovenskej Republike (1939–1945) so Zreteľom na pracovné útvar,” available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813; Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991); and Gila Fatranová, *Boj o prežitie* (Bratislava: Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2007).

Primary sources about Devínska Nová Ves can be accessed in the SNA, MV collection, boxes 1152, 581, and 393; and USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA collection), in reels 178–181. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: *Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. “Správa o židovských pracovných táboroch a strediskách,” October 5, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 581, file 1818-7/43.
2. “Výročná správa Ministerstva vnútra o židovských pracovných táboroch za rok 1943,” n.d., AMSNP, fond IX, S 152/81, published in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 254–272 (Doc.117).
3. “Správa o židovských pracovných táboroch a strediskách,” October 5, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 581, 1818-7/43.
4. “Pracovné tábory a strediská židov—zákaz cestovania a udeľovania dovoľení pre príslušníkov táborov a stredísk,” July 29, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 393 D-1041/43.
5. “Pracovné stredisko Židov v Dev. Novej Vsi-židovská rada—zriadenie,” June 15, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 581/1475.
6. “Vráťanie topánok,” August 25, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 393, D1041/43.
7. “Zbehnutie zaradencov, hlásenie,” September 6, 1944, SNA, fond MV, box 581, 1478/44.

DUBNICA NAD VÁHOM/ CONCENTRATION CAMP FOR ROMA

Dubnica nad Váhom (Dubnica), located 120 kilometers (74.5 miles) northeast of Bratislava, was the largest concentration camp for Roma (also referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*) in Slovakia during World War II. It played a key role in the persecution of the Roma in 1944. It was originally a labor camp with five wooden barracks, but when it became a concentration camp, the jurisdiction changed from the Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) to the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO). The concentration camp for Roma officially opened on November 2, 1944, and the labor camp closed soon thereafter, on November 15.¹

The concentration camp was supposed to begin operation immediately after the work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) was liq-

uidated, but the labor camp's closure proved to be difficult. The MNO ordered workers from the "white race," even those interned for their criminal past, to be released immediately and without further questions. The Roma workers were ordered to stay in the camp because detention was no longer based on putative asocial characteristics but on ethnicity. According to the memorandum, "in this camp, Gypsies will be concentrated here without consideration to age."² The labor camp gendarmes staffed the camp until MNO created its own units; part of the gendarmes' responsibility was to create a list of detainees and gather information about them. The detainees were divided by gender and age.³

Conditions for the Roma deteriorated once authority for the camp changed from the MV to the MNO, which was responsible for the provision of food. The barracks from the previous labor camp continued to be used. Some Roma were deployed to build fortifications and bomb shelters in the Piešťany region, whereas others continued working in the hydroelectric plants in Ilava and Dubnica. The number of detainees nearly doubled after the MNO took over: although its capacity was 300, the camp housed 729 Roma in December 1944. Each barrack had 16 rooms that were 5 × 8 meters (16.4 feet × 26 feet) and designed to hold 10 people. However, in December 1944, between 60 and 80 Roma occupied each room. Most slept on the ground on rags because of the shortage of beds and space. They did not have adequate food rations or clothing, and there was a shortage of drinking water. The camp also lacked showers and washrooms.

The extreme overcrowding created catastrophic hygienic and health conditions for the Roma. Within a few weeks, lice and scabies were prevalent. In response, the Roma were shaved and painted with a disinfectant solution. In addition to disease, a difficult winter also adversely affected the prisoners, particularly the children and the elderly. Given that the entire country suffered from a shortage of medical supplies, Wehlhart, the camp physician, had a particularly difficult task in the camp, lacking supplies to cure even the most basic diseases. Many children died of pneumonia, whereas the elderly died from heart attacks and typhus.⁴

A typhus outbreak occurred on December 14, 1944.⁵ The camp was quarantined almost immediately, and Roma deportations to the camp ceased. The typhus outbreak worried many in the surrounding area, Germans and Slovaks alike. The German authorities, fearing an outbreak among the workforce of their vital Škoda ammunition factory in Dubnica, sent a doctor into the camp, who confirmed the unhygienic conditions.⁶ The Germans agreed with Dubnica's mayor, Paskai, who demanded that the MV liquidate the camp or at least move it to a new location. However, the MV refused to finance the quarantine, arguing that because jurisdiction rested with the MNO, it was not in the MV's purview to deal with the situation. Because the measures against the typhus outbreak were insufficient, the disease still raged in the camp a month later, on January 17, 1945.⁷ At least 43 Roma had died of typhus by the middle of February.⁸

Tensions grew within the camp. The prolonged typhus outbreak caused unrest among the Roma. When one of the guards got sick with the disease, other soldiers refused to guard

the camp. A few of the Roma took advantage of the situation and fled, which caused panic in Dubnica and its surroundings. The retreating German Army was already in the area, and given their concerns about the fate of the ammunition factory, as well as the weaponry in the area, they temporarily took charge of the camp, deploying troops to quash the unrest.⁹

When the Germans took over the camp from the Slovak military, they murdered all those infected as well as those suspected of being sick. On February 23, 1945, the director of the Dubnica arms factory, Sonnewend, allowed a mass grave to be built in the "Valley" (*Údolie*) near Dubnica. Despite the German claim that the sick were going to the Trenčín hospital, in reality, the German soldiers drove the trucks with 26 people to Údolie, murdered the prisoners, and dumped the bodies in the mass grave.¹⁰

The quarantine ended on February 24, 1945, and control reverted to the Slovak Army under Stotník Mikuláš Mickovic.¹¹ Although the command changed, the Slovaks were not able to improve camp conditions. The lack of food remained a problem; even though food was available in Ilava, there were no carts to bring the bread to the camp, so hunger prevailed.¹²

When the Germans returned to the camp, Mickovic relinquished command and left with most of the Slovak troops. The Germans wanted to liquidate the camp by shooting the Roma and pressed Poručík Jozef Krkoška for permission to do so on April 6, 1945.¹³ When he refused, they decided to move the camp to Moravia. Suspicious of the Germans' intentions, Krkoška tried to get permission from the civil authorities to liquidate the camp, a request that was quickly denied. He then went directly to the Roma and told them when the Slovak Army was leaving. Many did not even wait for the evacuation and fled immediately, after which the locals came to the camp and looted what they could.¹⁴

Because of the typhus outbreak, Slovak officials wanted to burn the buildings. The retreating German Army solved the problem when soldiers set most of the camp on fire. The construction firms Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec and Ing. Petri, which had originally used inmates of the labor camp, retrieved the remaining materials. The camp was then liquidated.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Dubnica include Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova Univerzita, 1994); Július Tancoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010); 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, England: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999–2006); and Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld, eds., *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010). An estimate on the number of prisoners in Dubnica can be found at www.dubnica.sk/historia/obdobie-ii-svetovej-vojny.

Primary sources include the SNA collection at USHMM under RG-57.001M, in reels 187, 178, 290–300, 304, 310, and 502. There is also very limited and scattered information in the

court records, Ľudový súd, available digitally in USHMMA, collection RG-57.004M. VHA holds one testimony on Dubnica by Petr Weber.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, MH, reel 304, box 43, file 1; USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 310/7/5; SNA, MH, box 69, 10349/1944.
2. ŠABY, f. Trenčianska župa, box 65/1731/1945, reprinted in Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945*, p. 135.
3. AM V SR Levoča, f. E 5, sign 6, reprinted in Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej Republike*, pp. 89–90.
4. ŠAPB, f. ONU Dubnica, box 23/591/1945, reprinted in Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945*, p. 135.
5. ŠABY, f. Trenčianska župa, box 65/37/1943 prez., reprinted in Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej Republike*, pp. 89–90.
6. ŠAPB, f. ONU Dubnica, box 22/7853/1944, reprinted in Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945*, p. 137.
7. “Škrvňový týf v cigánskom tábore v Dubnici nad Váhom,” January 17, 1945, ŠABY, f. Trenčianska župa, box 65/1731/1945 prez., reprinted in Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej Republike*, p. 90.
8. AMV SR Levoča, f. E 5, sign 6, reprinted in *ibid.*, p. 91.
9. ŠABY, f. VD Dubnica, box 15, 4/51-336-1945, reprinted in Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945*, p. 138.
10. ŠAPB, f. ONU Dubnica, box 24, 2194/1945, reprinted in *ibid.*, p. 138.
11. VHAT, f. PSS III, box 3, 489/Dov1945, reprinted in Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej Republike*, p. 92.
12. *Ibid.*
13. AMV SR Levoča, f. E 5, sign 6, reprinted in *ibid.*, p. 92.
14. *Ibid.*

DUBNICA NAD VÁHOM/WORK UNIT

Dubnica nad Váhom (Dubnica), located 120 kilometers (74.5 miles) northeast of Bratislava, was one of the most important work units (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) for non-Jews deemed “asocials” (*asociáli*) in Slovakia during World War II. This category included Roma (referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*) as well as people accused of “avoiding work.”

The Dubnica nad Váhom labor camp was opened by the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) in September 1942, despite the opposition of the municipality as well as of officials of the local Škoda ammunition factory. The decision came about as a result of negotiations between MV and the building company Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec, which was constructing a hydroelectric plant in Dubnica nad Váhom. The PÚ was located at the outskirts of the town, between the railroad and the building site for the plant.

Between September 7 and September 14, 1942, the first 76 workers (*zaradenci*) were brought to the camp; from there, the number grew quickly. By the end of November 1942, there were already 342 workers in the camp.¹ The highest number was reached in the summer of 1943, when the camp housed

423 inmates (of whom 203 were Roma), but the number declined later and ranged between 203 and 286 in 1944.² According to Slovak historian Karol Janas, about 2,000 people went through the camp during the period of its existence.³

Similarly to other work units for so-called asocials, the work unit in Dubnica nad Váhom was guarded and commanded by gendarmes. While in February 1943 there were 8 gendarmes in the camp, at the turn of June and July 1944 there were 14.⁴ The gendarmerie unit responsible for guarding the camp was armed with rifles and a heavy machine gun.⁵

The living conditions in the camp were poor. The camp's original capacity of 300 people was exceeded soon after the camp opened. The rooms of the five barracks were not heated and were full of bed bugs and lice. Hard manual work and poor-quality food made imprisonment in the unit very difficult. Inmates (workers) were often beaten by gendarmes, and according to preserved documents, even the official investigation of such incidents was conducted by the MV and military prosecutor in 1943.⁶ Despite various measures taken by the gendarmes as well as the staff of the building company, there were numerous attempts to escape from the camp, and the number of successful escapes was quite significant. According to the report of the District Gendarmerie Commander in Ilava (who was responsible for monitoring the security situation in the camp), in October 14, 1943, the total number of workers registered in the camp was 327, with as many as 50 workers registered as fugitives.⁷

To provide the inmates of the camp with basic medical treatment MV sent the Jewish doctor, Dr. Martoň, to the camp. Dr. Martoň was later relieved of his camp duties, and the regional state doctor from Ilava, Dr. Habaň, began visiting the camp regularly. This was just temporary, because Dr. Habaň was soon drafted into the army and the camp was left without any medical services in December 1943.⁸

In the summer of 1944, there were 260 workers at the unit, working in three shifts. Due to the terrible hygienic conditions, a typhoid epidemic broke out in the camp on June 20, 1944. As a result, one worker died, and several others were sent to the state hospital.⁹

After the beginning of the Slovak National Uprising (*Slovenské národné povstanie*, SNP) in August 1944 and the occupation of Slovakia, the camp became a concentration camp for Roma. All non-Roma workers were released. In November 1944, jurisdiction changed from the MV to the Ministry of National Defense (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) but the camp continued to operate as a concentration camp for Roma, including women and children.¹⁰

SOURCES Primary sources about this camp are scarce; what there is can be found in SNA, fond MV. Secondary sources about this camp can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, “Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovních táborů a středisk na Slovensku v letech 1942–1944,” in *Nové obzory č. 8: Spoločenskovedný zborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38;

Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010); Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, “Internáčné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary” (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Ján Hlavinka

NOTES

1. Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010), p. 41.
2. Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002), p. 78.
3. Soznam príslušníkov žandárstva zaradených u veliteľstva pracovného útvaru v Dubnici n/V., okres Ilava. SNA, fond MV, box 550, D-119/44.
4. Zápisnica o prehliadke Pracovného útvaru v Dubnici nad Váhom, vykonanej v čase od 30. júna 1944 do 6. júla 1944. SNA, fond MV, box 550, D-1128/1.
5. Pracovné útvary—vyzbrojenie gul'ometami. SNA, fond MV, box 551, D-1185/1.
6. Vyšetrovanie žandárov v pracovných útvaroch. SNA, fond MV, box 551, D-1214/43.
7. Pracovné útvary v okrese Ilava, zpráva o prehliadkach. SNA, fond MV, box 550, 677/1943.
8. SNA, fond MV, box 550, D-1141/3.
9. Zápisnica o prehliadke pracovného útvaru v Dubnici nad Váhom. SNA, fond MV, box 551, 2075/44.
10. Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)*, p. 44.

HANUŠOVCE NAD TOPĽOU

Hanušovce nad Topľou is located 338 kilometers (210 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. Department 16 of the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV), the office that dealt with the “asocial” question, first proposed the location of the camp on May 26, 1942. Most of the workers in Hanušovce nad Topľou were Roma men between 18 and 50 years old and were assigned to construct a part of the railway between Prešov and Strážske as part of a strategically important project of the Slovak state. The entire railway was more than 61 kilometers (38 miles) long; additional work sites (subcamps) existed in Petič, Bystré, and Nižný Hrabovec. The camp functioned from July 1, 1942, until November 8, 1943.

Some workers were housed in a small castle in Hanušovce; the castle's capacity was 500 people. In addition, the castle also had rooms for the commander, management staff, a kitchen, and some storage space. Additional housing, consisting of eight wooden barracks, was built 500–2,500 meters (0.3–1.6 miles) from the castle. The barracks soon became infested with rodents and other vermin. The Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec firm was responsible for the provision of all equipment, beds, hay, housing, and food. Every forced laborer was supposed to ar-

rive with a blanket and a food bowl, but that was not always the case. The workers slept either on bare wooden boards, or three people slept together on a straw bed.

The laborers awoke at 6 A.M. and, for the next hour showered, exercised, listened to daily orders and presentations, and ate breakfast. They worked from 7 A.M. until noon, ate lunch, and then worked from 1:30 P.M. until 5 P.M. The workers were subdivided into nine-member groups. The labor unit consisted of three to five of these groups, each of which had its own commander.

The MV determined the number of officers needed at each venue. The camp commander was also the head of the security force of seven gendarmes. This number of security personnel was insufficient for a project stretching 61 kilometers (38 miles), and therefore, the guards could not prevent laborers from escaping. Although physical punishment was officially forbidden, it was an everyday occurrence. Discipline in the camp was strict; infractions could earn laborers up to two weeks in solitary confinement. Given the nature of the work performed, a doctor was supposed to be on site to address medical issues. The hard labor, poor food, and unsatisfactory hygienic environment all contributed to poor health conditions and a very high rate of illness.¹

The forced workers earned very low wages for their labor and had to pay for food, housing, washing of their clothes, equipment rentals, and upkeep of the camp. The overwhelming majority of the workers were underdressed and lacked shoes, so they had to work almost half-naked and shoeless. Food consisted of a little black coffee and a part of a potato for breakfast, potato or beans for lunch, and, for dinner, potatoes and coffee. The rations were insufficient for the physically difficult labor and so greatly limited the workers' productivity. Of all the labor camps in Slovakia, Hanušovce nad Topľou was reported to have the worst quality food. Conditions did not improve even after the Slovak president Jozef Tiso and Interior Minister Alexander Mach visited the site.

Seven hundred and fifty laborers worked in Hanušovce nad Topľou, of whom 95 percent were Roma. Of the 750 laborers, 90 percent were without underwear, 70 percent lacked shoes, and 50 percent were only partially clothed.² Despite these conditions, the workers met their quotas and completed the road-building project. The camp was closed on November 8, 1943.

SOURCES More information about the Hanušovce nad Topľou camp can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, “Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovních táborů a středisk na Slovensku v letech 1942–1944,” in *Nové obzory č. 8: Společenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); and Július Táncoš, and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002).

Primary sources about Hanušovce nad Topľou can be found in SNA, folders 549–551, at USHMM in RG-57.001M (SNA), reels 185–191. Published documents on MV can be found in

Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Simečku, 2004).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. SNA, fond MV, odd 16, 1942, D-1102/42.
2. SNA, fond MV, odd 16, 1942, D-7369/42.

HIADEL'

The village of Hiadel' is located in the Banská Bystrica region of Slovakia, approximately 179 kilometers (111 miles) northeast of Bratislava. This area, which had belonged to Austria-Hungary, was formally ceded to Czechoslovakia with the 1920 Treaty of Trianon. Scarce evidence suggests that in 1941, Department 14 of the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV), which dealt with the "Jewish Question," created a work camp for Jews in Hiadel'. The Work Center in Hiadel' (*Pracovné stredisko*) was one of the first labor camps for Jews created by the Slovak Interior Ministry for a specific construction project and company. This labor camp was established based on the agreement between the MV and the Directorate of State Forests and Properties in Banská Bystrica (*Riaditeľstvo štátnych lesov a majetkov v Banskej Bystrici*). The task of Jewish workers detained in Hiadel' was to build the road from Hiadel' to Prašivá peak in the Low Tatras mountain range. All costs related to the opening and upkeep of the camp were covered by the MV.¹ Survivor testimony and other documentation suggest that Jewish forced laborers were registered at Hiadel' as early as July 1941.²

Survivor Alex Hochhäuser, who was born in 1912 to a Jewish family in Breslau, completed a brief period of forced labor in Hiadel' after his transfer from a forced labor camp in Žilina. At Hiadel', Hochhäuser and approximately 500 young Jewish men initially lived in tents while they built the barracks. The men completed various heavy labor projects, including forest clearing, road construction, and excavation. Hochhäuser, who was a physical education teacher by training, organized regular group exercises for the inmates to help them build their stamina and strength. He remembered that conditions in the camp were difficult. However, the guards became friendlier and more permissive as time wore on. According to him, the labor camp at Hiadel' closed after the ground froze in the fall and earthwork had to be suspended. Hochhäuser was then transferred to the Nováky forced labor camp.³

The fate of the other inmates is not clear, but according to the Central Name Index (CNI) of the International Tracing Service (ITS), other Hiadel' inmates were dispatched to the Slovak-run camps at Svätý Jur and Sered'.⁴

There is a possibility that the Hiadel' labor camp reopened in 1942.⁵

SOURCES For secondary information on the Hiadel' labor camp, see Ivan Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy: The Holocaust in Slovakia*, trans. Martin Styan (Bratislava: H&H, 2007).

Primary documentation can be found in Slovak National Archives, fond MV, box 411 as well as the following collections of USHMM: three VHA testimonies are indexed for Hiadel', including the testimony of former forced laborer Alex Hochhäuser, April 19, 1996 (#13716); see also Gertrud Friedman, August 25, 1995 (#4355) and Itzhac Stern-Shavit, February 12, 1997 (#25783). The CNI of the ITS contains inquiries about several, mostly Jewish, camp inmates registered at Hiadel'. These cards suggest that forced laborers were stationed here in 1941 and possibly in 1942. The cards are available in digital form at USHMM.

Alexandra Lohse, Ján Hlavinka

NOTES

1. Výkaz hospodárenia "Fondu pre podporu vyst'ahovania Židov," SNA, fond MV, box 411, 1498/1943, 200/375/19.
2. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Alexander Hochhäuser, Doc. No. 52034702; and Bartholomew Klug, Doc. No. 53204970.
3. VHA #13716, Alex Hochhäuser testimony, April 19, 1996.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI cards for Salomon Schmucl Tibor Givoni, Doc. 52857977; and Adolf Allen Elefant, Doc. No. 52670226.
5. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Larry Alter, Doc. No. 52830111.

ILAVA/DETENTION CENTER

The sixteenth-century castle in the town of Ilava, located 126 kilometers (78 miles) northeast of Bratislava, was historically used as a jail and began to be used as a detention facility in October 1938. On March 24, 1939, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) issued an order "concerning the imprisonment of the enemies of the Slovak State." It authorized the Interior Minister to "arrange for the jailing of persons whose past and present activities give reason to fear that they would continue to obstruct the building of the Slovak State."¹ Ilava prison became the detention site for Slovak democrats—authors, priests, teachers, journalists, and statesmen—as well as simple farmers, workmen, students, and delinquents.

The penal camp in Ilava (*Zaist'ovací tábor v Ilave*, ZTI) became a symbol of lawlessness, state control, and the suspension of civil rights. The camp's goal was to reeducate and reform the individual. The state security regime actively persecuted political opponents, followers of democratic ideals, and people who could not prove their "Aryan" descent. Individuals were imprisoned in Ilava for numerous reasons, including participating in banned parties, publicizing or spreading inflammatory news, insulting the head of state, overcharging for goods, poaching, and assisting "non-Aryans."²

The camp's first phase, when it was under Slovak control, lasted from April 29, 1939, to September 1, 1944. During the second phase, mobile German security forces controlled Ilava from September 8, 1944, until Ilava's liberation by the Red Army on April 29, 1945. When the camp was under German control, conditions worsened dramatically.³

The jail comprised 190 cells, 2 of which were converted to closets (one for bread and one for prisoners' valuables). Each cell

was originally designed to hold only one prisoner, but both the Slovak police and German authorities ignored spatial constraints and often placed two prisoners in each cell. Prisoners slept in the damp and dirty cells on straw mattresses and pillows. Lice, fleas, and other vermin were “part of the punishment.”⁴

The prisoners were banned from speaking to each other; harsher punishments, including solitary confinement and a ban on walks, were imposed on those who were caught even whispering. Prisoners were allowed to walk twice a day, eight paces between one another. Walks were supposed to be for one hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon, but their duration was at the guards’ discretion. The local priest from Ilava or Púchov arrived every Saturday to celebrate Mass, despite the presence of numerous jailed clergymen. Afterward, the prisoners returned to wash the floors and walls in the blocks. Cleaning time occurred when the prisoners were allowed to leave their cells to throw out the dirty water in the washrooms and replace it with clean water.⁵

Breakfast consisted of a half-loaf of black bread split in three. One hour later, the prisoners were given two deciliters (6.75 ounces) of black coffee in unwashed mugs. The prisoners barely drank the coffee before the porter returned to retrieve the mugs for use by prisoners on other floors. The cell doors were opened after breakfast; every prisoner then emptied their waste buckets.

When the camp became overcrowded, only the strongest and healthiest were selected for work; the others remained in their cells. The “privilege” of leaving the cell and permission to send one letter per month were given only after a prisoner had spent a month in jail. Prisoners welcomed the chance to work outside because doing so also meant receiving increased food rations at the city hall or the priest’s house.⁶

The detainees were imprisoned without due process. Many communists (and those from other groups) were imprisoned based on denunciations or following arrests by state and local police officers. The State Security Headquarters (*Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti*, ÚŠB) imprisoned more than 500 former communists and communist sympathizers when the war against the Soviet Union began in June 1941.⁷ After the start of deportations in March 1942 targeting Slovak Jews, “Aryans” were imprisoned if they were deemed guilty of helping Jews cross borders or obtain false documents or if they were caught housing Jews. Many Catholic as well as Protestant and Orthodox priests were also imprisoned for baptizing Jews, particularly children, and failing to stop doing so after being warned by the police.⁸

Jews were imprisoned separately, and their punishment was more severe than that meted out to the political prisoners. Poručík Kokavec, on his own initiative, beat every Jew during their interrogations; he was later replaced as the commander by Pospíšil and the gendarmes Jerge and Faško. In 1941 and 1942, in addition to the sentences given according to prison rules, Jews were also subjected to physical punishment and beatings; dehumanization; bullying and torture during interrogations; bans on walks, correspondence, and food; and soli-

tary confinement in a dark basement. When one person escaped the camp during a local labor assignment, the entire camp was collectively punished by being denied daily walks for between 10 and 14 days. A torture chamber existed in the church, and screams were frequently heard throughout the jail. This harsh treatment of prisoners continued under the tenure of Pospíšil and the gendarmes Jerge and Faško, whom the prisoners nicknamed “guardian angels” (*“strážny anjeli”*).⁹ In late 1943, when it became apparent that Nazi Germany was losing the war, Pospíšil allowed prisoners to receive packages from their families. However, when the packages arrived, he looted them first, after which the guards got a turn, and the prisoners received what was left.¹⁰

Beginning on February 14, 1944, people could be incarcerated only with written documentation from the MV, which was given on the recommendation of a three-member committee. This Bratislava-based commission also recommended whether people should be imprisoned or released in Ilava. The members of the commission were nominated by the ruling party; the only stipulation was that at least two of the members needed to possess law degrees. On May 27, 1944, the Hlinka Slovak People’s Party (*Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana*, HSES) nominated Dr. Peter Starinský, Dr. Štefan Lucký, and Štefan Král to the commission. The commission served as Prime Minister Alexander Mach’s advisory council, and in most cases the Interior Minister followed its recommendations.¹¹

Conditions improved as the Red Army advanced. At times, the guards left cell doors open so prisoners could visit with friends. Some guards even illegally brought in newspapers or allowed prisoners to send correspondence home. Increased possibilities for communication led to the escape of some of the prisoners on September 1, 1944: when the cell doors opened for the morning walk, the prisoners coordinated a mass escape. By the time the German authorities were mobilized, it was too late.¹²

The ZTI’s second phase began when mobile German SS units arrived in Ilava on September 8, 1944. Although the Slovaks still retained some authority over the camp, the Germans assumed primary control. The German SS took advantage of the camp’s location (outside the partisan-controlled territories and close to the border) to accomplish two primary tasks: the concentration of prisoners and liquidation of the camp.¹³ Many escaped prisoners were recaptured and later deported to concentration camps.

Conditions worsened under German control. As indicated in later court testimony, “there are over 700 people in the concentration camp; there are not enough blankets and the reeducation center will not have enough food to feed them. The conditions are completely desolate, which does not even begin to describe it. It is crucial to fix the situation as soon as possible. Also, some of the newly imprisoned have lice.”¹⁴ Overcrowding led to a shortage of beds, and many slept on the bare ground without blankets.

Between December 1938 and August 1944, more than 3,000 people went through the camp—some for days, weeks,

months, or even years.¹⁵ Among them were the famous humorist Elo Šándor, author Ján Gál Podd'umbierský, senators, actresses, and religious leaders. The camp was liberated on April 29, 1945.

SOURCES Secondary sources that mention the Ilava prison include Jozef Vicen, "K problematike Zaisťovacieho tábora v Ilave v rokoch 1939–1945," in *Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov IV. Zborník* (Banská Bystrica: UPN, 2005); Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004); Jozef Lettrich, *History of Modern Slovakia* (New York: Praeger, 1955); Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991); Waclaw Długoborski, *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia: 1938–1945: Slovakia and the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2002); Anton Spiesz, Dušan Čaplovič, and Ladislav J. Bolchazy, *Illustrated Slovak History: A Struggle for Sovereignty in Central Europe* (Mundelein: Bolchazy-Carducci Publishers, 2004); and Jan Karel Coetzee, Lynda Gilfillan, and Otakar Hulec, *Fallen Walls: Prisoners of Conscience in South Africa and Czechoslovakia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2004).

Primary sources on the Ilava camp can be found in SNA, with copies on microfilm at USHMMA, RG-57.001M. This collection holds files on individual prisoners as well as MV correspondence about perceived political enemies. Dr. Peter Starinský's trial records are available at USHMMA in the RG-57.004M (Serphos) collection, reels 5–8. VHA includes seven Ilava testimonies. Two published testimonies are Ján Gál Podd'umbierský, *Z Kalicha utrpenia: Rozpomienky na zážitky v koncentračnom tábore v Ilave* (Komárno: Pravda, 1947); and Elo Šándor, *Ilava: Zážitky z policajného lapáku a z koncentračného tábora z čias, keď sa rodila naša sloboda* (Prague: Naklatelství, 1947). The Czechoslovak National Council of America published several accounts of survivors of Ilava.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. SNA, fond PR, box 741, 443/26-2486, 154-13/12-34/43, February 14, 1944; *Slovenský zákonník*, March 24, 1939.

2. "Dodávanie Osôb do Zaisťovacieho Tábora v Ilave," Dr. Peter Starinský trial, USHMMA, RG-57.004 (Serphos collection), reel 6, pp. 80–82 (USHMMA, RG-57.004/6); SNA, fond Národný súd, A-872, TN ľud 49/45.

3. AM SNP Banská Bystrica, fond XII, box 15, pri. No. S 38/89.

4. Podd'umbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, p. 111; *Pravda*, October 5, 1944.

5. Podd'umbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, pp. 111–113.

6. Ibid.

7. Dr. Peter Starinský trial, USHMMA, RG-57.004/7, pp. 121–125; SNA, fond Národný súd, A-872, TN ľud 49/45.

8. Zaisťovací Tábor-Ilava, April 21, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 116, box 411, file 2.

9. As quoted in Kamenec, *Organizácia perzekučného systému fašistickeho Slovenského štátu*, p. 76.

10. Podd'umbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, p. 135.

11. Dr. Peter Starinský trial, USHMMA, RG-57.004/5, pp. 56–58, 64; SNA, fond Národný súd, A-872, TN ľud 49/45, Starinský, No. 295-os/44.

12. Podd'umbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, 136.

13. ŠAPB, fond OU Ilava, box 13, oz. spisu 2137/45.

14. Dr. Peter Starinský trial, USHMMA, RG-57.004/5, pp. 85–90.

15. Podd'umbiersky, *Z kalicha utrpenia*, Appendix A.

ILAVA/WORK CENTER FOR JEWS

This Work Center for Jews (*pracovné stredisko*) was located near the city of Ilava, 126 kilometers (78 miles) northeast of Bratislava, where the Slovak Construction Consortium (*Slovenská Konštruktíva*) built a hydroelectric plant on the Váh River.¹ The consortium consisted of the firms Konštruktíva, Engineer (*Inžinier*, Ing.) Freýer, Ing. Kruliš, and Ing. Dohnányi.

The first small group of Jews was sent to the building site of the Ilava hydroelectric plant on June 18, 1942, and the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was assigned to guard them.² Jews were held in a small, fenced labor camp that consisted of three buildings. The first building was a barrack for Jewish workers, the second building held a kitchen and a canteen, and the third building consisted of a warehouse, a woodshed, one guard room, and two rooms for the accommodation of the HG.³

In January 1943, Ľudovít Zurian, originally from Banská Štiavnica, commanded the camp. Four additional HG members served as guards. On January 28, 1943, there were a total of 56 people in the camp, of whom 51 worked at the building site and 5 in the kitchen. The work lasted from seven to nine hours daily, and Jews worked on the same building projects as Roma and other people deemed "asocials" from the labor camp—the so-called work unit—in Ilava.⁴

On January 25, 1943, the building consortium petitioned the MV to declare this camp an official labor camp for Jews. The MV officially created the Work Center (*pracovné stredisko*) for Jews in Ilava on March 2, 1943, and declared it to be a "separate, closed unit" for Jews that would follow the same regulations as Jewish labor camps in Nováky, Sered', and Vyhne.⁵ The local commander of the HG then became the commander of the work center in Ilava and served in that position throughout 1943.⁶ It is also evident that the card files for the workers were created only in late March 1943.⁷ On March 30, 1943, two of the four HG guards were reassigned, leaving the camp with "only two guardsmen."⁸

In March 1943, there were still 56 workers in the work center; they had originally lived in Bratislava, Trenčín, Nitra, Štubníanske Teplice, Humenné, Prešov, and other places. In July 1943, there were 69 workers, and by the end of the year the number rose to 71.⁹ During this time, the Ministry of Interior assigned a special role to the Work Center for Jews in Ilava: as a place for Jews from other labor camps who were married to non-Jews, as well as baptized inmates.¹⁰ Therefore, at the end of 1943, as many as 57 of the 71 workers living at the

center were registered as “baptized,” 4 were declared as having no religion, and 10 were registered as “Israelites.”¹¹

There is no information available about the living conditions or treatment of the workers in the work center. The center’s history beyond 1943 and the date of its closing are also unknown.

The project that the Jews from the Ilava work center helped to build was only completed on December 21, 1944.¹² The completed work did not stand for very long, however, as the retreating German Army blew up most of the bridges across the Váh River and the canal of the hydroelectric plant.

SOURCES Primary sources on the Ilava work center can be found in SNA, fond MV, boxes 394, 419. Additional information is available in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004).

Ján Hlavinka

NOTES

1. “Hydrocentrála v Ilave a Dubnici. Nedostatok robotníctva, Barakové tábory,” August 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 37, box 242, file 9000 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/37/242/9000).

2. Doc. 14-1105-3/43. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

3. Plan of the camp. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

4. Soznam dozorných orgánov v pracovnom stredisku Židov v Ilave. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

5. Zriadenie pracovného strediska Židov v Ilave. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

6. Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5.

7. Kartotéková evidencia Židov—robotníkov zaradených pracovného strediska v Ilave. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

8. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

9. Ibid.

10. Pracovné tábory a strediská Židov—správa o stave, organizačnej a pracovnej štruktúre. SNA, fond MV, box 419, 1818, 43.

11. SNA, fond MV, box 394, D-2-14-10636/42.

12. “Ilava, pracovný útvar,” n.d., ŠABY, f. VD Ilava, box 15/4/489-3525-1943, reprinted in Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008), p. 82.

ILAVA/WORK UNIT

The Ilava work unit was located just north of the city of Ilava, 126 kilometers (78 miles) northeast of Bratislava. The Ministry of Transportation and Public Works (*Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác*, MDVP) awarded the Slovak Construction Consortium (*Slovenská Konštruktíva*) a government contract to build a hydroelectric plant in Ilava on the Váh River.¹ The Slovenská Konštruktíva consisted of the firms Konštruktíva,

Engineer (*Inžinier*, Ing.) Freýer; Ing. Kruliš, and Ing. Dohnányi. The project suffered from labor shortages, so the companies asked the Slovak regime to establish a work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) at the end of 1942 for Roma (“Gypsies”) and other “asocials.” Because the firms were already able to provide housing for 240 workers, and it was not possible to work on this project in the winter, the government granted the consortium’s request in the spring of 1943. The work unit opened on March 22, 1943.²

The Ilava PÚ for Roma and other asocials was fenced in and located just above the waterway project.³ The inmates were males ages 18 to 45 who were capable of performing hard labor, particularly excavation. Their task was to finish the canals’ foundation, build canals on the river, and then erect a hydroelectric plant.

The gendarmerie (*Žandárstvo*) provided security. The commander, gendarmerie officer Štefan Ďurný, and nine subordinates guarded the work unit. Most were from the Orava region and were notorious for being brutal to the inmates. They did not allow the workers to go anywhere unescorted.

The two officials responsible for camp logistics were Pavol Makúch and Jozef Šimko. The latter spent two weeks in training at Dubnica in February 1943 before reporting to Ilava.⁴

The housing in Ilava was insufficient, and as numerous monitoring reports suggested, it was infested with vermin.⁵ Despite these shortcomings, the forced laborers had to pay 50 Slovak cents (1 US cent) per day for housing. Ten days after the camp opened, the firms reported to MV the need for more workers and six additional barracks were built to house them. The newly erected barracks contained planks with some hay, as well as pillows and blankets. The guards were housed in bigger barracks that also contained space for offices, storage, a shoemaker, and a tailor. The camp was fenced in, and a new administration building was built. Because the Bystré camp was closed around that time, its supplies and materials were moved to Ilava. One hundred and sixty inmates were moved from Bystré to Ilava on June 23, 1943. A new barrack was built for them, and it was finished the day they arrived in camp.⁶

Securing food for the forced laborers was problematic; the amount of the rations was not only inadequate but often the food arrived late. The first food shortage occurred shortly after the camp opened on March 24, 1943. The camp lacked potatoes, and both the camp commander and the Ilava district officer were unable to secure them. The MV sent 15 truckloads of goods to the area, but they were not labeled for the Ilava work unit and so were delivered elsewhere.⁷ The situation did not improve much in the following months, and the daily ration was lowered to 20 decagrams (7.05 ounces) per person. The camp inmates did not receive dairy products and other fats, so the employers had to provide them. The firms’ other workers resented this state of affairs, because the reallocation of foodstuffs came at the expense of their rations. The consortium asked MV to provide compensation for unanticipated expenses or at least to increase the rations, but the request was denied.⁸

Hunger and other difficult living conditions, including a lack of basic hygiene, worsened the prisoners' health.⁹ The state district physician, Dr. Križanová-Pivková, performed her camp physician duties solely as part of her wider responsibility, so she spent very little time on meeting the prisoners' health care needs. When Dr. Tomaschoff arrived on May 17, 1943, he built an infirmary within a month. The infirmary was so good that other PÚs sent their patients to him.

The Ilava work unit also experienced a financial scandal. The Ing. Petri and Ing. Danisovič firms awarded themselves unmerited bonuses and skimmed money. They were later investigated for these financial irregularities.¹⁰

The working hours were from 6:15 A.M. to 6:30 P.M. in summer and 7:15 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. in winter, including a 90-minute lunch break.¹¹ The forced laborers earned 3.75 Slovak crowns (Ks) per hour and a 1-Ks bonus per hour in the winter. In inclement weather, the forced laborers earned 10 Ks per day. Most of the inmates did not have sufficient supplies or clothing for the required labor. When the camp commander asked the MV for clothing and shoes, it sent 150 pairs of shoes and 500 pairs of undergarments on May 17, 1943. Despite the shipment, the inmates still lacked proper winter attire, which proved problematic during the fall of 1943. In addition, those who received the shoes lacked socks. The situation was further complicated by insufficient storage space for supplies.

Despite the obstacles, the PÚ was very productive, and the number of inmates regularly increased in 1943. Five hundred forced laborers were in Ilava at the end of June 1943. Approximately 1,000 persons went through the camp; the numbers peaked in the summer.

At Ilava, the release of inmates occurred infrequently: only 65 persons were released in the first four months, mostly for health reasons. The work groups operated along stretches 8 kilometers (4.7 miles) long, to which only one HG guard was assigned, which afforded many opportunities for escape. By July 31, 1943, 52 prisoners took advantage of inadequate fencing and security to escape, of whom 35 were later recaptured and returned to the camp. A new group of "asocial" forced laborers was formed from the recaptured escapees. They worked under the supervision of two HG guards, were housed separately from the other workers, and could go outside their barracks at night only in their nightshirts and under the room commander's supervision. These additional security measures drastically decreased the number of escapes.

The work was very difficult. Yet, despite not having sufficient tools or clothing, the Roma were classified as obedient and hard workers. Regardless of the harsh conditions, they continued with the work and, along with other inmates, achieved almost the impossible—both canals were built within a year, reinforced, and ready for finishing work. Although the MV wanted to close the camp before the winter of 1943, the project was only completed on December 21, 1944.¹² The completed work did not stand for very long, as the retreating German Army blew up most of the bridges built across the Váh River and the canal of the hydroelectric plant.

SOURCES Secondary sources about the Ilava work unit can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovensští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovních táborů a středisk na Slovensku v letech 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory č. 8: Společenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Július Tancoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, "Internáčne zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary" (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary sources on the Ilava work unit can be found at SNA, available at USHMMA as RG-57.001M. The records are scattered; however, most documents can be found in reels 37, 114, 116, 178, and 187. Additional documents can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA contains seven testimonies with references to Ilava.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. "Hydrocentrála v Ilave a Dubnici. Nedostatok robotníctva, Barakové tábory," August 31, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 37, box 242, file 9000 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/37/242/9000).
2. Ibid.
3. "Pracovný útvar Ilava," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M/178/551/2.
4. ŠABY, f. Trenčianska župa, box 65/37/1943.
5. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/37/242/9000.
6. Ibid.
7. "Pracovné stredisko Ilava," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M/187/575/11, SNA, fond MV, 2441/1106/1944.
8. "Ilava," n.d., SNA, fond MV, 2441/D-1043/1944, reprinted in Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory*, pp. 81–82.
9. AMV SR Levoča, f. E 5, sign 6, reprinted in *ibid.*, pp. 81–82.
10. ŠABY, f. VD Ilava, box 14, 5/2020/1943.
11. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/37/242/9000.
12. "Ilava, pracovný útvar," n.d., ŠABY, f. VD Ilava, box 15/4/489-3525-1943, reprinted in Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory*, p. 82.

IVÁNKA PRI DUNAJI

Ivanka pri Dunaji is located almost 13 kilometers (8 miles) northeast of Bratislava. The Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative (*Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo*, Moravod) in Malacky signed an agreement with the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) to create a labor camp, called a Work Center (*pracovné stredisko*) to address a labor shortage for one of the firm's projects. On December 12, 1941, 26 Jews were arrested and escorted to the labor camp, where they were forced to dig dikes and construct the canal in Ivanka pri Dunaji.¹ The laborers traveled by bus, which was paid for by the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ).²

Not much is known about the daily lives of the forced laborers. The Jews lived in military barracks and ate in the communal kitchen. The Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was responsible for camp security, along with the camp commander. The camp was under the same strict rules and regulations as the forced labor camps for Jews at Nováky, Sered', and Vyhne. On February 10, 1942, 10 Jews were released from the PÚ on a doctor's recommendation, who assessed them as being unable to perform physically intensive labor.³

At the end of 1943, 66 male laborers worked in Ivánka pri Dunaji. All but one were single. Forty-seven of the workers were classified as "Israelites," and 19 were baptized. In total, they worked 83,176 hours for 480,649.13 Slovak crowns (Ks).⁴

On January 4, 1944, the Šúrskej Basin State Building Office requested eight Jewish forced laborers, all men born between 1919 and 1921, for the damming of mountain streams near Ivánka pri Dunaji. The project suffered from a lack of technical experts, and the additional laborers were required for the completion of their project. Two days later, the MV denied the request, because the men were "fully utilized in the labor force."⁵

It is not clear when the camp was closed.

SOURCES Primary sources documenting the Ivánka pri Dunaji forced labor camp for Jews can be found in SNA, fond MV, boxes 178 and 392. This documentation is available at USHMM as RG-57.001M. Selected documents about the camp can also be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. "Židia, zaradení do pracovného strediska," February 10, 1942, USHMM, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 178, box 11, folder 342.
2. "Soznam robotníkov židov," December 12, 1941, SNA, fond MV, box 178, folder 104/42.
3. "Ivánka pri Dunaji, pracov. stredisko, zoznam eskortovaných Židov do práce," February 10, 1942, SNA, fond MV, box 178, folder 106/42.
4. "Výročná správa Ministerstva vnútra o židovských pracovných táboroch za rok 1943," n.d., reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 254–272 (Doc. 117).
5. "Ivánka pri Dunaji, o prepustenie Židov z prac. stred. a prikázanie do prac.," January 4, 1944, SNA, fond MV, box 392, folder 1013/44.

JABLONICA

Jablonica (Bratislava District) is located approximately 32 kilometers (20 miles) northeast of Bratislava. On August 19, 1944, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) ordered the commander of Kostolná to transfer its forced laborers to the newly created forced labor camp for Jews at Jablonica. The forced laborers were responsible for the second phase of rail construction between Jablonica and Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš

(located approximately 31 kilometers [19 miles] north of Bratislava), a segment of a rail line that was almost 23 kilometers (14 miles) in length.

After the Bratislava Construction Company (*Bratislavská stavebná spoločnosť*) signed an agreement with the MV, the camp was created on August 16, 1944, only days before the Slovak National Uprising (*Slovenské národné povstanie*, SNP). Of the 87 people assigned to Jablonica, 8 were sick, so only 79 were able to work. A member of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG), Valenta, liquidated the camp on September 5, 1944. The prisoners fled quickly, most of them leaving their belongings behind in the barracks. The property was listed with the local police station in Cirova. The command at the police took possession of these items, as well as the keys to the barracks and storage facilities.¹

SOURCE A primary source documenting the Jablonica camp can be found in SNA, fond MV.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTE

1. Prevedenie odsunu, August 19, 1944, SNA, fond MV, box 581, file 1441/44.

JARABÁ

A forced labor camp, called a work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ), for Roma (also referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*) and people deemed "asocials," was established in Jarabá, a central Slovak village located 207 kilometers (129 miles) northeast of Bratislava. In June 1942, the Ladislav Hits engineering company petitioned the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) to create a labor camp for "asocials" in Jarabá, the workers to be deployed in the construction of an 18.4-kilometer (11.4-mile) state road through the mountain pass from Čertovica to Mýto pod Dumbierom.

The housing in Jarabá consisted of three old wooden barracks built on cement foundations on the slope of the Čertovica Mountain, just north of Jarabá village. Each barrack housed up to 100 people, but the camp never reached full capacity. The barracks included wooden boards and some straw for bedding, and the company charged each forced laborer 0.50 Slovak crowns (Ks) for accommodations.

Although the forced laborers were paid a meager sum, they had to pay not only for their accommodations but also for their food and the tools used on the road project. The company purchased bowls and spoons and brought them to the PÚ, but the forced laborers paid fees for their use. The camp commander ensured that there was a washing machine near the PÚ, but the inmates had to pay to have their few clothes washed. Because some forced laborers did not earn enough money to cover their housing and food costs, the company expected the rest of the laborers to make up the difference.

Starting on July 3, 1942, six gendarmes guarded the camp.¹ Shortly thereafter, two transports of workers arrived in Jarabá: 25 forced laborers arrived on August 9, and 48 more on

August 18, 1942. Problems arose for the camp commander immediately after the arrival of the first group, because the forced laborers only had the clothes on their backs, which were insufficient for the mountainous terrain and climate. Many were shoeless, some had lice, and others were too sick to work. Moreover, the PÚ did not have food for the newly arrived forced laborers or for upcoming transports.

The camp commander immediately wrote to MV asking for more clothing and shoes, citing the weather conditions, and requested additional food rations. More than 73 workers were sick and still performed manual labor. The barracks were missing utensils, beds, furniture, and heaters.

The camp was also located far from the work site: the workers had to travel 6 to 9 kilometers (3.72 to 5.6 miles) to the site each day on taxing treks over rocky terrain. For the shoeless, this ordeal was very painful, and those who had shoes quickly wore them out.

Members of the second transport, just as those in the first one, lacked sufficient clothing, had lice, and some were even very sick. Six people were released because they were not able to work at all. Constant food shortages forced the camp commander to inform the MV and the Ladislav Hits engineering company once again that half the people were starving. Forced laborers in the third transport also arrived without adequate clothing, shoes, and blankets; they slept on hay in the extreme cold. Altogether, the living conditions in the Jarabá camp significantly hindered productivity and jeopardized the forced laborers' health.

Reveille was at 4 A.M. and curfew at 9 P.M. The camp commander repeatedly requested healthy laborers—not those with contagious diseases, such as scabies, or long-term illnesses, such as lupus—be sent to the camp. There was a medical doctor assigned to the PÚ from the village of Jarabá, but he did not make a single visit to the camp. The camp commander was worried that disease would spread among workers and, more importantly, the gendarmes.

Because of disease, inability to work, and escapes, the number of workers decreased to 38, leading the Ladislav Hits engineering company to request 50 more able-bodied workers from the MV on September 9, 1942. The MV agreed and sent more forced laborers from the Bánovce nad Bebravou, Prievidza, and Topoľčany districts.

The district offices continued to ask MV for more forced laborers, because many of Jarabá's inmates were sick and in need of hospitalization. The camp was liquidated on November 21, 1942. Most of the forced laborers were released to their residences, and it is unclear how much of the road-building project was ever completed.

SOURCES Very little is written about the Jarabá camp. Brief mentions can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovních táborů a středisk na Slovensku v letech 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory* č. 8. *Spoločenskovedný zborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univer-

zita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); and Július Táncoš and René Lužica *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002). It is also mentioned in www.multikulti.sk/dok/kapitola-3.pdf.

Primary documents can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), particularly in reels 176–180.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTE

1. "Zápisnica," July 25, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 176, box 547, file 18.

KOSTOLNÁ

Kostolná (also referred to in some sources as Kostolná pri Trenčíne) is located 104 kilometers (64 miles) northeast of Bratislava. On January 17, 1944, the Tatra construction company in Bratislava and the Tatranská construction company in Poprad requested that the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) establish a forced labor camp for Jews near Kostolná.¹ The agreement was finalized between the MV Department 14, which oversaw the "Jewish Question" in Slovakia, and the firms on February 3, 1944.

The labor camp, also referred to as a work center (*pracovné stredisko*), was located just outside the village, but its inmates had no contact with the town's residents.² The workers were responsible for constructing the canal and other waterway projects on the Váh River near Kostolná. Many of the forced laborers arrived from work centers at Svätý Jur, Láb, and Zohor. The number of laborers fluctuated between 100 and 200.³ On February 3, 1944, the camp commander wrote to the MV regarding the adverse effect that inclement weather was having on his forced laborers. With the worsening of the weather over the previous several months, at least 10 people were unable to work, and 12 more were in the hospital. He also noted that one forced laborer was in a prison in Bratislava.⁴

The construction companies were responsible for building the isolated barracks as well as washrooms, toilets, a kitchen, a communal dining room, a dispensary, storage space, offices for the commander and the Jewish Council, and housing for the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG). The laborers slept on hay pallets and were responsible for the work center's upkeep. The companies provided work supplies; if something was damaged, either the worker had to pay for the machinery or the center had to provide alternative supplies. The communal kitchen functioned at camp expense; fees for food were deducted from forced laborers' salaries every two weeks.⁵

Jewish laborers (*Židia-robotníci*) were paid 2.50 Slovak crowns (Ks) per day and received this payment every two weeks.⁶ Because they were not covered under national health insurance, each worker had to pay for his health care, or else the entire camp forced labor population had to cover that cost. In emergency situations, the forced laborers were transported to the Jewish hospital in Sered'.⁷

The camp followed all the rules set out by the MV for forced labor camps for Jews and was under military disci-

pline. The number of inmates fluctuated only with the MV's written consent. The forced laborers were guarded by three members of the HG and their commander Jozef Kotlárík. The single guards were paid 50 Ks per day and the married ones 70 Ks per day. The camp commander received 400 Ks more per month than the guards. According to the MV agreement, the company was required to reimburse the center for any security- and disciplinary-related expenses. The members of the HG attended anti-Jewish presentations that dealt with the treatment of Jews. A number of the guards drank heavily and disclosed privileged information to the camp laborers.⁷

The camp's Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR), consisting of three members, was created by the MV on March 24, 1943. Ján Engel was its head, Ladislav Müller dealt with labor and social matters, and Oskar Löwy oversaw medical and health concerns. These men were forced to serve on the ŽR, functioning as an advisory council for the camp commander, as well as the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps (*Ústredná kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov*) in Bratislava.⁸

In July 1944, the Ministry of Transportation and Public Works (*Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác*, MDVP) requested the transfer of 50 workers to the Dubnica nad Váhom labor camp. This group was transported by the HG at the new employer's expense and then isolated from the non-Jewish workers already working at Dubnica. The rest of the workers were transferred to the Jablonica forced labor camp on August 3, 1944.⁹ On August 19, 1944, the barracks were returned in good condition, as attested to in a document signed by the head of the ŽR, Ján Engel, and the two firms in Poprad and Bratislava.

SOURCES Primary sources are available at USHMMA, collection RG-57.001M (SNA), particularly in reels 187 to 190. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA contains three testimonies that include references to Kostolná.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. "Zmluva," February 3, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 188, file 575, box 22 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 188/575/22).
2. VHA #1743, Dov Golan testimony, March 29, 1995.
3. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 188/575/22.
4. "Veliteľstvo prac. strediska Židov—Kostolná pri Trenčíne," February 3, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/32.
5. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 188/575/22.
6. VHA #33686, Walter Polák testimony, July 4, 1997.
7. Ibid.
8. "Pracovné stredisko Židov v Kostolnej," May 17, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/25.
9. "Veliteľstvo prac. strediska v Jablonci," August 19, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 190/581/28.

KRAĽOVANY

Kraľovany is located 186 kilometers (116 miles) northeast of Bratislava, at the confluence of the Váh and Orava Rivers. On February 3, 1944, the engineering firm, *Tatranská stavebná účasť*, signed a labor agreement with the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) to open a forced labor camp for Jews at Kraľovany. The Jewish forced laborers were deployed to lay concrete for a second rail track near Kraľovany, to link to a two-track railroad tunnel being built in Poprad. The 100 workers lived in makeshift housing that, according to the camp commander, was sufficient for the short term.¹ The forced laborers were ineligible for national health insurance, so the company was responsible for paying their social insurance fees and providing medical care. In case of emergency, the Jewish forced laborers were to be sent to the Jewish hospital in Sered' at the Kraľovany camp's expense.

On January 4, 1944, the MV gave orders to relocate the Jewish forced laborers and the camp directorate from the Ivánka pri Dunaji labor camp. On January 5, 1944, the Jewish inmates left on a passenger train at 5:06 A.M. to Bratislava and then took a 6:05 A.M. train from Bratislava to Kraľovany. The camp commander enforced strict discipline during the transport; freight cars were reserved for the forced laborers. The inmates paid for their transportation and were told they would be reimbursed later; however, it is unclear whether they actually received any compensation.

Mikuláš Letko was the camp commander of Kraľovany. The warden and deputy commander was Viliam Bolgáč of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG). The MV also created a three-member Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR), consisting of Ladislav Kurtag, the head of the council; Erich Grünwald, the deputy and accountant; and Armin Bermann.² Their main assignment was to assist the camp directorate and the Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps in Bratislava (*Ústredná kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov v Bratislave*).

The workers were paid at the end of each month. In addition, the Central Jewish Office (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ) sent money to the camp to augment the laborers' food supply. In 1944, 2,915 Slovak crowns (Ks) were given to the camp from funds raised by the ÚŽ.³

The German Army transported heavy machinery on the railroad, and the train stopped at Kraľovany where weapons were unloaded. Slovak partisans who operated in the area seized some of the weapons, and empty trains continued eastward.⁴

It is unclear when the camp was liquidated; however, the forced laborers were moved to the Banská Belá labor center, 77 kilometers (48 miles) southwest under HG supervision. On February 18, 1945, German troops occupied the village and, in early April, destroyed almost all railway tracks, bridges, and tunnels.

SOURCES Primary documentation on the Kraľovany camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), in particular reels 187 and 188. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na*

Slovensku 1938–1944 (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA holds three testimonies that mention the camp.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. “Hlásenie o prevedení odsunu pracovného strediska Židov v Ivanke pri Dunaji do Kráľovan,” January 7, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 188, box 575, file 26 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 188/575/26).
2. “Návrh na vymenovanie židovskej rady v prac. strediskách,” April 19, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/25.
3. “Pre žid. prac. tábory—zpráva o použití,” August 29, 1944, SNA, fond ÚHU, box 344, III/A-1731 reprinted in Nižňanský et al., eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 290–292 (Doc. 126).
4. VHA #19687, Leo Elias testimony, September 10, 1996.

LÁB

Láb is located about 26 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Bratislava. In early June 1943, the Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative (*Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo*, Moravod) approached the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) about creating a camp in Láb to provide forced laborers for one of its projects. The two parties signed a contract to create a work center (*pracovné stredisko*) at Láb on June 19, 1943. The forced laborers were tasked with regulating the Malina Stream by building a canal.¹

From June 1, 1943, jurisdiction over the Sixth Labor Battalion (*Šiesty robotný prápor*, ŠP) was transferred from the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) to the MV. When the center was created, it was subject to the same organizational rules as Sered', Nováky, and Vyhne, the three main Slovak forced labor camps.

The forced laborers lived in barracks and ate in communal kitchens. Initially, 60 people of a total of 814 laborers were assigned to Láb, but the number grew to 139 and fluctuated throughout the camp's existence.² In 1943, 105 Jewish forced laborers worked in Láb, comprising 3 percent of such workers in Slovakia in 1943. A report for the year 1943 provided demographic information about the labor force. Only 1 of the 105 workers was married, 93 were considered “Israelites,” and 12 were baptized. In 1943, the Jewish laborers worked 98,691 hours. On December 31, the number of workers rose to 200.

The commander of the camp was Tomáš Vlček, and members of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) provided security. The MV paid the guards 50 Slovak crowns (Ks) if they were single and 70 Ks if they were married, per day. It also provided housing and social insurance for them. In addition to camp security, the Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR) participated in the camp's administration. Ladislav Muller was the head of the ŽR in Láb, Villiam Rosenberg was his deputy, and Oscar Lövy dealt with health concerns.³

On December 10, 1943, the MV ordered the transfer of more than 200 forced laborers from Láb and Svätý Jur to Kostolná, another work center in northwest Slovakia. The Hlinka

Guard transported all the internees to Kostolná on December 15, and the camp was closed.

SOURCES Primary documents about the Láb forced labor camp for Jews can be found in SNA, fond MV, which is available in microform at USHMMA as RG-57.001M, reels 185–191. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: *Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA holds three testimonies from survivors who had been interned at Láb.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. “Pracovné stredisko židov v Lábe—zrazenie,” July 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 185.
2. SNA, fond MV, box 395, file 19651/1943.
3. “Pracovné stredisko židov v Lábe—židovská rada—zriadenie,” July 15, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, reel 185.

LIPNÍKY

Lipníky is approximately 332 kilometers (206 miles) northeast of Bratislava. In connection with the construction of the Prešov-Vranov nad Topľou railway line, the Slovak authorities opened a forced labor camp in the village of Lipníky (Prešov district). Under police guard, the forced laborers reported to the Lanna construction firm (in one document, it is spelled Lamma). The camp had an average population of 180, 90 percent of whom were not Jewish. It opened in the beginning of July 1941 and temporarily closed on December 10, 1941, because of epidemics among the inmates. The Lanna firm then requested an additional 225 Jews from Prešov, but it is not clear where they were quartered.¹

The camp reopened in the spring of 1942 as a penal camp, amid the deportations of Jews from Slovakia. However, the forced laborers remained on the railway construction project until its completion in mid-1943. As many as 600 prisoners were held in Lipníky. After its closure, the inmates were moved to the forced labor camp at Petič near Chmel'ov (Giraltovce district), more than three kilometers (two miles) northeast of Lipníky. According to historian Marek Danko, the camp conditions improved during Lipníky's second year of operation.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the Lipníky camp are Marek Danko, “Internáčne zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary” (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas; *Encyklopédie válečného zajetí a internace* (Prague: EVZI Estranky.cz, 2010), available at www.evzi.estranky.cz; and Růžena Bubeníčková, Ludmila Kubátová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague: Svoboda, 1969).

Primary sources involving the Lipníky camp can be found in ŠAPO (USHMMA holds parts of this collection under RG-57.011). As cited by Danko, a report on the Lipníky camp can

be found in ŠAPO, pobočka Prešov, F ONV PO 1945–1948, inv. č. 62, k. 32, č.s. 17.702/1947.

Vanda Rajcan and Joseph Robert White

NOTE

1. Židovský pracovný tábor fy Lamma, October 3, 1941, USHMMA, RG-57.011 (ŠAPr), file 2721/1941.

MARIANKA

Marianka (German: Mariatal) is located about 12 kilometers (7 miles) north of Bratislava. In the autumn of 1944 it became a place of confinement for those citizens of the United States and other American countries who were of Jewish origin but were so far granted various exceptions from the local anti-Jewish legislation. On September 5, 1944, only a few days after the beginning of the German occupation of Slovakia, a group of 75 such foreigners sent a delegation to the Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministerstvo zahraničných vecí*, MZV), to ask for protection. An official of the Ministry informed the delegation, which Milton Haar led, that the protection would take the form of “confinement to a certain place.” They would receive additional information after the MZV had settled matters with various other competent ministries.

On September 19, 1944, the Head of Slovak State Security Headquarters (*Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti*, ÚŠB) informed the Regional Gendarmerie Headquarters in Bratislava that the above-mentioned Jews were to be confined in the old manor house in Marianka, and he asked that the regional headquarters send two gendarmes to this “camp for American state citizens” as soon as possible. According to the document, the confinement originally differed from internment by definition (the internees could provide for themselves) and the concentration of Jews in Marianka was already ongoing. The requested gendarmes were supposed to provide the camp with “necessary protection” and “order.”

Living conditions and the details on the management of the camp are unknown. From the documents of the German Einsatzgruppe H der Sipo und des SD, which organized the German security and persecution operations in Western and Central Slovakia, it is clear that the German security apparatus followed the activities of Slovak officials related to the Marianka camp closely. It is also clear that the number of Jews confined in Marianka rose. On October 11, 1944, German security forces raided the manor house in Marianka, and SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner arrested 187 Jews there.¹ On October 17, 1944, the Einsatzgruppe-H staff was informed that the Jews they had arrested had been deported to Auschwitz through the camp in Sered', except for three American citizens who were left behind, but remained under strict supervision.² There is no further information on the identity or fate of these people.

SOURCES Secondary sources on Marianka include Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: Archa, 1991) as well as Ján Hlavinka and Eduard Nižňanský, *Pracovní a koncentračný*

tábor v Seredi 1941–1945 (Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2009).

Primary sources on Marianka can be found in National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the Reich Leader of the SS and Chief of the German Police, Microcopy T 175, Roll R641.

Ján Hlavinka

NOTES

1. “Judenversteck in Mariatal bei Pressburg,” NARA, Microcopy No. T 175, Roll R641, 000447.

2. Vermerk, NARA, Microcopy No. T 175, Roll R641, 000429.

MILOSLAVOV

Miloslavov is located about 15 kilometers (9 miles) southeast of Bratislava and is sometimes referred to as Alžbetín dvor and in the military context as Kolónia Alžbeta (Mischdorf in German and Annamajor in Hungarian). Together with Veľký Kýr near Nitra, the camp established in Miloslavov was part of the Slovak government's first attempt to expel Jews from Slovak territory in early November 1938, less than one month after the promulgation of Slovak autonomy on October 6, 1938.

On November 1, 1938, a day before the announcement of the First Vienna Award in which Germany and Italy decided on new Czechoslovak-Hungarian borders, a pro-Hungarian demonstration took place in Bratislava. Local police arrested several Jews at this demonstration. When the decision of the convening powers, signed on November 2, became known, several radical Eudáks members decided to blame and punish the Jews. On the very next day, they met at the Carlton Hotel in Bratislava to discuss the “Jewish Question” with SS-Obersturmführer Adolf Eichmann, who had traveled from Vienna. HSES member and lawyer Jozef Faláth, as well as the Chief of the Academic Hlinka Guard (*Akademická Hlinkova garda*) Jozef Kirschbaum and the head of Deutsche Partei Franz Karmasin, were present at the meeting.¹ It resulted in a proposal to deport Jews living in Slovakia to the surrendered territory, which was to become Hungarian. Faláth and Eichmann discussed the matter with Prime Minister Jozef Tiso on November 4, 1938. After Tiso approved the proposal, he instructed Faláth on its implementation. Faláth went to the Police Directorate in Bratislava (*Policajné riaditeľstvo v Bratislave*) and established a telephone connection with district offices all around Slovakia. On behalf of the Center for the Solution of the Jewish Problem in Slovakia (*Centrála pre riešenie židovského problému na Slovensku*), which had just been created, Faláth ordered district offices to cooperate with the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) and to arrest all Jews “without material means” and “push them,” by midnight of the same day, over the new border.² Jews with property worth more than 500,000 Czechoslovak crowns (Kč) were to be arrested in order to prevent their emigration with their property.³

The deportation started immediately; thousands of Jews were rounded up on November 4, 1938, by the gendarmerie and HG and forcibly transported over the new borders. A few hours after the action began, the original order was changed, and Jews of foreign citizenship became the target of deportation. The deportation policy was stopped by Tiso's order of November 7, 1938, but by then, about 7,500 people had already been deported from Slovakia.⁴ The deported Jews were left in a temporary "no man's land" between Hungary and Czechoslovakia with almost no money (50 Kč per person) and in cold weather.

Miloslavov became one of the places where these deportees were concentrated. The camp in Miloslavov was situated some 250 meters (821 feet) from the Slovak-Hungarian border and was located on the dirt road near Štvrtok na Ostrove.⁵ Neither country claimed responsibility for the camp; both blamed each other for its existence.

The camp was set up in an open space and unguarded. The situation of people in the camp was terrible, and Jewish organizations in Slovakia started to take care of them.

The Central Office of the Autonomous Orthodox Jewish Religious Communities (*Ústredná kancelária autonómnych ortodoxných židovských náboženských obcí*) designated Heinrich Schwartz to negotiate with the state authorities in Bratislava about the fate of the Jews in Miloslavov. The Slovak Army allowed Schwartz to visit the camp on November 24, 1938.

On November 27, Marie Schmolka, the manager of HICEM Prague, visited the camp in Miloslavov (to which she referred as "Mischdorf"). In her report, she wrote the following on the situation in the camp:

More than 300 refugees found themselves in an open field for one week, in a temperature which went as low as 2 degrees below zero during the daytime and 5 degrees below zero at night. They built scanty huts and roofs from maize stalks and dug pits in which they



Jews who have been expelled from Slovakia await their fate in the Miloslavov tent camp [Mischdorf in German] in no man's land on the border between Slovakia and Hungary, December 1938.

USHMM WS# 81325, COURTESY OF THE WIENER LIBRARY FOR THE STUDY OF THE HOLOCAUST & GENOCIDE.

placed their children (some of these children are only a few months old). Only the self-sacrificing assistance of the Jews of Bratislava saved them from certain death by starvation and freezing. . . . During the last week (the refugees now find themselves 14 days near Mischdorf), the Jews were able to provide four furniture vans in which those who are very ill could be bedded on straw and, for the others, low tents were erected, each tent accommodating 20 people, while others are still in the shelters formed of maize stalks. Until now they had to fetch water from a distance of about one kilometer, and only now a pump has been erected.⁶

On November 29, 1938, the president of the Orthodox Jewish Religious Communities wrote to Prime Minister Tiso regarding the camps in Miloslavov and Vel'ký Kýr, describing in detail the horrid conditions that the detainees were experiencing. According to his letter, more than 300 persons were being held in the Miloslavov camp at the end of November; there were 120 men, 77 women, and 105 children of various ages, including many infants. Of these detainees, 17 were Slovak citizens, 30 from Subcarpathian Rus', 28 from local territory, 22 from Poland, 38 from Germany, and 197 were without state citizenship. Many of those without state citizenship had lived in Slovak territory for decades. A good number of the detainees were old and sick. Many were in poor physical condition due to malnutrition, substandard housing, and the lack of hygiene.⁷

The letter also suggested ways to improve conditions in the camp, with these modifications to be funded by the Jewish community, and not the local or national government. For example, all Jews unable to return to their homes could be taken to individual buildings owned by Jewish organizations under Slovak police control. The organization promised to take care of housing, food, and any necessary medical assistance for the detainees. For those holding Slovak citizenship, the president of the Orthodox Jewish Religious Communities asked for permission for them to return to the cities in which they had lived. For those without Slovak citizenship, he asked that they be given time to liquidate their property and tie up other matters before departing Slovakia; the organization would provide financial assistance for those returning to Subcarpathian Rus' or Poland.⁸ He assured the prime minister that every phase of this plan would be implemented and paid for by the Jewish organization and that the detainees would not cause any trouble. In addition, the Jewish community would serve as a liaison with foreign offices and foreign nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to facilitate emigration. The old Jewish hospital in Bratislava was to be used to hold Jews who could not return to their homes or could not stay with family members.

Jewish organizations in Bratislava provided help and supplies to the camp inmates, but living conditions worsened drastically after a period of heavy rains and cold temperatures. Local officials were afraid the camp would become a security risk and warned against the possibility of epidemics, which threatened the surrounding villages and guards in the camp.

Starting on November 30, 1938, all contact with the camp was forbidden, which also included the provision of organizational help from Bratislava. The Hungarian border police began to furnish supplies for building barracks. Local officials continued to plead with the national government to liquidate the camp for fear of potential epidemics, as well as the security threat. They argued that the number of Hungarian Jews was growing, and there was the possibility that the demarcation line could move, effectively placing the camp in Slovak territory and making it a Slovak problem.⁹

On December 8, 1938, the Slovak Country Office (*Krajin-ský úrad*, KÚ) allowed the Jews who lived in camps in Veľký Kýr and Miloslavov to return to the Slovak territory of Czechoslovakia. Jews who had a legal domicile on Slovak territory could return to their home towns and villages and were to be brought there by their “home” district authorities (district offices).¹⁰

However, Jews from the Czech lands, Subcarpathian Rus', and Poland were deported to those territories.

On December 19, 1938, 118 Jews, including 56 children, were allowed to leave Miloslavov and to return to Slovak territory. According to a document of January 1939, they obtained certificates and emigrated.¹¹ Those who remained were taken by security personnel in the middle of the night and transported to Hungary. The whole action was planned to take place in secret, so as not to cause a stir among the populace.¹²

SOURCES Brief mention of the Miloslavov camp can be found in Ivan Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy: The Holocaust in Slovakia* (Bratislava: H & H, 2007); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v slovenskom štáte, 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Printservis, 1992); Gila Fatranová, *Boj o Prežitie* (Bratislava: Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2007); and Tomáš Gerboc, “Štát proti Židom,” available at www.impulzrevue.sk/article.php?816.

Primary documents on the Miloslavov camp can be found in SNA, available in microform at USHMM as RG-57.001M, reels 26 and 178. Published primary sources on the camp can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie (6.10.1938–14.3.1939)* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2001).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. Eduard Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a slovenským štátom v stredoeurópskom kontexte* (Prešov: Universum, 1999), 39.

2. Ibid., 40.

3. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, pp. 228–229 (Doc. 110).

4. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi*, 54.

5. “Hlásenie styčného dôstojníka úseku Bratislava,” November 30, 1938, ŠOKA Pezinok, fond Styčný dôstojník Bratislava 1938–1938, box 1, 64, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, pp. 254–255 (Doc. 127).

6. Marie Schmolka, “Report by Marie Schmolka on her visit to the refugee camp in Mischdorf, on November 27, 1938, and other expulsions of Jews,” *EHRI Documents*, accessed April 6, 2017, <https://visualisations.ehri-project.eu/items/show/1>.

7. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 250–251. “Židia vykázaní z Maďarska—žiadost' o úpravu,” December 6, 1938, USHMM, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 26, box 206, file 638 (USHMM, RG-57.001M/26/206/638); SNA, fond KÚ-P, box 309, 70.414/38.

8. “Umiestnenie vyhostených židov, nachadzajúcich sa na hraniciach pri Mischdorfe a pri Nitre,” November 29, 1938, SNA, fond KÚ-Presidium, box 309, bez čísla, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 250–252 (Doc. 125).

9. Ibid., pp. 252–254.

10. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi*, 62.

11. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, p. 258, n71.

12. “Židovská otázka na Slovensku,” n.d., SNA, fond KÚ, box 309/77581/1938, reprinted in ibid., pp. 258–259 (Doc. 130).

MOST NA OSTROVE

Most na Ostrove (today: Most pri Bratislave) is located over 12 kilometers (7 miles) east of Bratislava. The first work units (*pracovné útvary*, PÚ) were created in Most na Ostrove and Očová for Aryan “asocials” in Slovakia as early as 1941 to address labor shortages in various state projects. Records show that Roma (referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*) were held in such camps as well.¹ The Most camp opened on June 10, 1941, under the auspices of Law 129/41 (forced labor). It held 40 forced laborers, who constructed the nearby state road. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) was responsible for handling the camp's personnel issues—including command of the gendarmes—whereas the rest of the camp's administration fell to agencies of the Bratislava župa.²

The Most camp was liquidated on December 10, 1941, and the forced laborers were sent home. On their arrival, they had to register with their hometown's office, which was charged with observing their behavior. Road construction was supposed to resume in 1942, but according to an MV communication, it did not.³

SOURCES Very little has been published about the early Slovak work camps. Some information can be found in Peter Sokolovič, ed., *Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945: Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov VII* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2008); and Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008).

Primary sources can be found in USHMM, RG-57.001M (SNA), particularly reel 116.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. Karol Janas, *Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945)* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa), 35.

2. “Výkaz hospodarenia,” March 22, 1943, USHMM, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 116, folder 411, box 2 (USHMM, RG-57.001M/116/411/2).

3. “Pracovné útvary,” March 19, 1943, USHMM, RG-57.001M/116/411/2.

NIŽNÝ HRABOVEC

The village of Nižný Hrabovec is located north of the Slovak-Hungarian border (as set by the First Vienna Award of 1938), approximately 352 kilometers (219 miles) east and slightly north of Bratislava. It is situated about 28 kilometers (17 miles) south-east of Hanušovce nad Topľou, which was the site of a forced labor camp between July 1, 1942, and November 8, 1943. Roma and others whom Department 16 of the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) deemed to be “asocial” were detained there.¹ Nižný Hrabovec was a subcamp of Hanušovce nad Topľou camp. The inmates were likely forced to participate in construction of the rail line between Prešov and Strážske. Like the workers housed at Hanušovce nad Topľou, the forced laborers stationed at Nižný Hrabovec also had to endure catastrophic conditions and abuse. The inmate population at Nižný Hrabovec likely mirrored that at Hanušovce nad Topľou.

SOURCES For secondary information on the Nižný Hrabovec camp, see Michael Zimmermann, *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische “Lösung der Zigeunerfrage”* (Hamburg: Christians, 1996); and Marek Danko, “Internačné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary,” *Čas* 1 (2010), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary documentation about the Nižný Hrabovec camp is scarce. The CNI of the ITS contains a few inquiries about individuals detained at Nižný Hrabovec. This documentation is available in digital form at USHMMA.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTE

1. For an example of a non-Roma “asocial” held in the camp, see ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Stefan Ferenc, Doc. No. 52961030.

NOVÁKY

The village of Nováky is located in the Upper Nitra Valley, 124 kilometers (77 miles) northeast of Bratislava. As in Sered', in the summer of 1941, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) decided to build a large labor camp for Jews in Nováky, at the premises of the former military storehouses. MV took over these storehouses from the Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) on October 2, 1941.¹ By the end of November 1941, 386 Jewish workers were already deployed at the site tearing down the old storehouses and constructing new buildings.

In early 1942, while the camp in Nováky was still under construction, the Slovak government started to organize the deportation of Jews from Slovakia. As in the case of Sered', MV decided to use the Nováky camp as a concentration and transit camp (*Koncentračné stredisko Židov*).

The section used as the concentration camp was built on the premises of the first complex, located closest to the road near the railroad station. The storehouses for ammunition were converted into housing for deported Jews. The first complex

also housed the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) and a canteen set up by the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ). Except for the state building office, the premises were nearly vacant until March 1942.

Mikuláš Polhora, a former employee of the Propaganda Office (*Úrad propagandy*), became the camp's commandant on March 3, 1942. On March 18, MV allocated 301,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) for the camp's operation.²

The guards for the camp were supplied by the HG. At the beginning of April, 1942, there were 68 guards at the camp; however, that number increased to 120 in August, 1942.³ Several of these guards committed atrocities against Jews.⁴ On March 28, 1942, in correspondence with the MV, Polhora inquired whether deportations should include children under age 18 and people over 45 and received an affirmative answer to both queries.⁵

In the beginning, Jews who arrived in Nováky to join one of the transports stayed there for only a short period of time, usually around 5 to 10 days, with a small amount of luggage (limited to 50 kilograms [110 pounds]). They lived in horrible physical conditions, but even that paled in comparison to the stress that their uncertain future produced.⁶

During the camp's existence, three transports left Nováky for the Lublin region in German-occupied Poland; the first one left at 7:15 P.M. on March 30, 1942.⁷ The HG Chief of Staff, Otomar Kubala, visited the concentration camp the day before the transport and was happy with the camp's operation, as well as with the anticipated deportation. At that time, 1,200 Jews were in Nováky, of whom 1,000 were dispatched on that first transport to Lublin. Another transport of 1,000 people left Nováky for the Lublin region on June 11, 1942.⁸ The transports were meticulously timed to ensure arrival in Čadca, a town on the Slovak-Polish border 190 kilometers (118 miles) from Bratislava, at 4:28 A.M. It was in Čadca that the Slovak HG transferred control of the transport to the German authorities; German guards then escorted the Jewish transports to a predetermined camp.⁹

Several smaller transports were sent from Nováky to a concentration camp in Žilina, where the prisoners were put into the transport departing for German-occupied Poland. Although the exact number of people deported remains unknown, the estimate is that the number is between 4,000 and 5,000.¹⁰

Furthermore, the Reich sent SS-Oberscharführer Ernst Brückler, referred to as “a German friend” and consultant in documents, to ensure the camp's efficient operation. Brückler quartered with Nováky's HG unit, and the camp covered his daily food expenses.¹¹

In addition to the people brought to Nováky for deportation, other Jews built the labor camp in Nováky. Beginning on April 22, 1942, the families of Jewish workers were brought to Nováky as the workers continued to expand the camp.¹² Once the deportations ended in October 1942, the camp was expanded to hold more Jews for forced labor. Slovak fascists then operated it as a self-sufficient labor camp.

Jewish workers were employed in 22 workshops.¹³ Production increased significantly once the deportations ceased. The

HG supervised the workers, who worked 10 hours a day in the summer months and 9 hours in the winter; no one was allowed to remain in the barracks during work hours; sick people were sent to the infirmary.¹⁴

Tailors dominated camp manufacturing, producing men's and women's clothing, undergarments, and backpacks for the Ružomberok textile company.¹⁵ In addition to manufacturing various goods, Nováky prisoners also worked in agriculture with the purpose of making the camp self-sufficient. Among other things, they raised cows and angora rabbits.¹⁶

The prisoners lived in three wooden barracks housing 80 to 100 people each: those with families lived together in barracks designated for families, and those who were single lived in barracks for individuals.¹⁷ Each barrack was assigned a team of Jewish guards comprised of one commander and three other men, responsible for camp security and sounding an alarm in case of an emergency.¹⁸ Each barrack also adhered to police regulations by storing ladders, four buckets of water, and four boxes filled with sand for emergencies.¹⁹ The prisoners slept on plank beds and straw; however, sewers, water pipes, and lavatories with cold and hot water were built to improve the poor hygienic standards.²⁰ One of the buildings housed an infirmary, including a

dentist's office, which handled less serious cases of illness; the more complicated cases were sent to the Jewish hospital at Sered'.²¹ The population was forbidden from leaving the camp without permission from the camp commandant; permission was also needed for any outsiders to enter the camp.

Under the leadership of Dr. Oskar Neumann, the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov, ÚŽ*) played a significant role in the camp's operation. Just as in the labor camp in Sered', with the ÚŽ providing funds and bribing the relevant officials, the Interior Ministry established schools in Nováky in January 1943, including a kindergarten and a nursery, so that mothers could work as well.²² Moreover, the students served as apprentices in the camp's workshops. Children's homes were later established in the camp.²³

A Jewish Council (*Židovská rada, ŽR*) headed by Dr. Otto Mandler helped run the labor camp in Nováky. It had five official members and four who assisted. It did everything possible to improve the living conditions in the camp.²⁴

Although Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, they tried to live as normal a life as possible, creating cultural, educational, and sports activities in the camp. In a very short time, theatrical and folk song performances took place. The educa-



Jewish prisoners at forced labor in the Nováky labor camp, circa 1942–1944.
USHMM WS #83089, COURTESY OF THE SLOVENSKÝ NÁRODNÝ ARCHÍV.

tion committee organized various courses, including courses in the Slovak language, history, and geography, in which many people participated. A library also existed, thanks to donations by Jews outside the camp.²⁵ Some Jews played sports, including volleyball, table tennis, and soccer. Religious services were held in the camp, mainly for baptized Jewish Christians.

Despite all of these improvements, the food did not contain sufficient calories, and because its nutritional value was very low, gastrointestinal illness became a common problem.²⁶ In addition, heart disease and traumas were widespread as a result of the suffering sustained by people living in such close proximity and under psychological stress. Diseases resulting from exhaustion were an everyday occurrence as well.²⁷

In July 1943, 1,530 Jewish forced laborers—849 men and 681 women—were in the Nováky camp, as well as 171 children under 14 years of age. In July 1944, just before the camp was dissolved, the number of forced laborers grew to 1,679 people.²⁸

In 1942, the Jews did not receive any wages, working only for room and board. From 1943 on, they received 4 Kč per person a day, which was increased after the introduction of the so-called bonus system.²⁹ This new approach immediately resulted in much greater productivity. In 1943, the volume of transactions reached 15 million Kč and grew over time due to an increase in the number of workers and their efficiency.³⁰

In February 1943, Mikuláš Polhora was accused of showing compassion for the Jews. He was recalled from his post and replaced by Jozef Švitler, a noncommissioned officer of the gendarmes, who arrived directly from Department 14 of the MV.³¹ The HG controlled the camp, but the number of guards declined after the deportations. In total, 19 members of the HG resided there at the beginning of 1943.³² Their number decreased gradually until they were replaced by gendarmes in the spring of 1944. The gendarmes were both better qualified and more responsible than the members of the HG.³³

The Jews in Nováky were well aware of the danger around them, so some decided to flee to Hungary, others organized underground movements and smuggled weapons into the camp, and still others decided to cooperate with the illegal communist party in Nováky.³⁴ The camp was dissolved on the second day of the Slovak National Uprising on August 29, 1944. A number of the Jews formed their own partisan unit and joined the uprising.³⁵

SOURCES Of the Slovak camps, Nováky, together with Sered' and Vyhne, is mentioned in the greatest number of secondary sources. These books offer extensive documentation: Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku 2004); Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6: Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005); Igor Baka, *Židovský tábor v Novákoch 1941–1944* (Bratislava: Zing Print, 2001); and Waclaw Długoborski et al., *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia: 1938–1945: Slovakia and the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum, 2002).

Primary sources dealing with the camp include the SNA MV collection microcopied to USHMMA as RG-57.001M and the Anton Vašek trial records, digitized in USHMMA as RG-57.004M, folders 10–12. Additionally, Nováky's organizational chart is available in USHMMA's "Slovakian Jewish Labor Camps collection" in Acc. No. 1998.A.0303. Juraj Špitzer's memoir, *Nechcel som byť žid* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 1994); his collected essays, *Svitá, až keď je celkom tma* (Bratislava: Kalligram, 1996), and *Koncentračný a pracovný tábor pre židov Nováky 1942–1944* (Nováky: N.P., 2000) trace his ordeal through numerous camps, including Nováky. VHA holds 77 testimonies of people who had a wartime experience in Nováky.

Eduard Nižňanský, Vanda Rajcan, and Ján Hlavinka

NOTES

1. ŠOKA-Pr so sídlom v Bojniciach, fond Okresný úrad Prievidza, box 69, 1668/41.
2. "Účtovanie v koncentračných strediskách Židov—smernice," March 18, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 267, 406–560–13, reprinted in *ibid.*, p. 6: 158 (Doc. 57).
3. SNA, fond MV, carton 230, 1468/42; box 262, 12 509/42.
4. Špitzer, *Nechcel som byť žid*, 73; ŠOA-B, Okresný ľudový súd Prievidza, V. Kimlička 9/46; M. Vacháľ, 26/46.
5. Telefonogram, March 28, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 216, 1082/1942, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 208 (Doc. 123).
6. SNA, fond MV, box 206, 638/42.
7. "Hlásenie o stavu transportu v Novákoch," March 30, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 210, bez čísla, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 216 (Doc. 132).
8. SNA, fond Národný súd, Dr. Anton Vašek, Tn I'ud 17/46; Baka, *Židovský tábor v Novákoch 1941–1944*, 44.
9. "Preprava zaradcov Židov do práce," March 11, 1942, SNA, fond Národný súd, Dr. Anton Vašek, Tn I'ud 17/46 (box 110), reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 128 (Doc. 29).
10. *Ibid.*
11. "Nemecký poradcovia v koncentračných miestach," March 23, 1942, SNA, fond MV, box 214, 783/42; Baka, *Židovský tábor v Novákoch 1941–1944*, 40.
12. "Nováky," December 7, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 343, box, 223, file 19 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/343/223/19, p. 19).
13. "Návrh ubikačného poriadku pracovného tábora pre Židov v Novákoch," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M/115/409/6, pp. 2–3.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–10.
16. "Správa veliteľ'a Židovského tábora v Novákoch," SNA, PR, 2231/b.č., reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 163 (Doc. 83); Nováky, December 7, 1942, p. 2.
17. "Nováky," December 7, 1942, pp. 5–7.
18. "Návrh ubikačného poriadku pracovného tábora pre Židov v Novákoch," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M/115/409/6.
19. *Ibid.*
20. SNA, fond MV, 580/1392/44; "Zápisnica," May 10, 1943, YVA, fond m-5/81, reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 229 (Doc. 109); SNA, fond MV, 207/700/42; SNA, fond Národný súd, Dr. Anton Vašek, Tn I'ud 17/46; Špitzer, *Nechcel som byť žid*, p. 73.

21. "Zápisnica," May 10, 1943, p. 229; SNA, fond MV, 419/1481/43, and 580/1392/44.
22. SNA, fond ÚHU, box 434, I II/A 1731/44.
23. SNA, fond MV, 420/1958/43; 411/1498/43.
24. Baka, *Židovský tábor v Novákoch 1941–1944*, p. 76.
25. SNA, fond MV, 574/1031/44; 421, b.č.
26. SNA, fond MV, 580/1392/44; "Zápisnica," May 10, 1943, p. 2; "Zápisnica," October 27, 1943, reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 248 (Doc. 116); "Referát MUDr. Jakuba Špíru zo Židovského pracovného tábora v Novákoch," January 20, 1944, reproduced in *ibid.*, 5: 272–275 (Doc. 118); SNA, fond MV 421, b.č.; 395, 1134/43.
27. "Zápisnica," October 27, 1943, reproduced in *ibid.*, 5: 248 (Doc. 116); "Referát MUDr. Jakuba Špíru zo Židovského pracovného tábora v Novákoch," January 20, 1944, pp. 272–275.
28. SNA, fond MV, 421, b.č.
29. Stavebné Oddelenie," n.d., SNA, fond MV, 263/13666-1/42, reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 164 (Doc. 85); SNA, fond MV, 411/1498/43; fond Povereníctvo vnútra—pracovné tábory, kartón 9, D-1196-1/44.
30. SNA, fond MV, 411/1498/43; kartón 419, 1838-1-6/43; carton 578, D 1260-1-8-1.
31. SNA, fond MV, 395/1140/43; kartón 409, 1443/43.
32. SNA, fond MV, 394/1051/43; kartón 579, D-1300-4/44.
33. "Pracovné tábory Židov—dozorná," April 11, 1944, SNA, fond MV, reproduced in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 282–284 (Doc. 121).
34. Špitzer, *Nechcel som byť žid*, pp. 247–289; Hela Volanská, *Hrdinky bez páťosu* (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo politickej literatúry, 1967), pp. 132–134.
35. Špitzer, *Nechcel som byť žid*, pp. 247–248.

NOVÉ MESTO NAD VÁHOM

Nové Mesto nad Váhom (German: Neustadt an der Waag) is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) northeast of Bratislava. Before the war, it was home to one of the largest Jewish communities in Slovakia. On June 9, 1939, in a ceremony in its decorated courtyard, the Baidersdorf Old Age Home was repurposed to aid any Jew suffering hardship. Rabbi Armin Frieder became the chairman of the Ohel David Home and Shelter. Moreover, a local committee of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee was established under his leadership and participated in the maintenance of the institution. In 1941, 230 Jewish seniors were cared for at the shelter.

The Slovak Interior Ministry's (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) Department 14, which dealt with the "Jewish Question," created a temporary camp for Jews in Nové Mesto nad Váhom on February 12, 1943.¹ This camp was supposed to be moved to the Nováky labor camp, but the temporary site became permanent. The camp was officially called the "Central Jewish Old People's Camp Home in Nováky with transitional headquarters in Nové Mesto nad Váhom" (*Ústredný židovský taborový starobinec v Novákoch v prechodnom sídle v Nové Mesto nad Váhom*). The MV ruled that the elderly were taking up resources in the labor camps at Vyhne, Nováky, and Sered' and needed to be moved elsewhere so that working Jews could take their place.

Nové Mesto nad Váhom maintained the Jewish community home, which was completely furnished and not a financial burden to the labor camps.

Shortly after the camp's establishment, a female prisoner cut through the barbed wire fence and escaped with her two children. To prevent further escapes, brick walls and additional rows of barbed wire were built to encircle the site.² Administratively, the prisoners in the Nové Mesto nad Váhom camp were counted as part of the labor camps' population, despite their being held in a separate place.³ The Nové Mesto nad Váhom district office supervised the camp.⁴ The number of prisoners varied, as did the demographics, though there were several hundred in the camp at any given time. The Slovak Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was responsible for camp security. The camp was administered by Jewish leaders, including Armin Frieder.

Anton Vašek's report to Slovak Interior Minister Alexander Mach on August 2, 1944, documented the conditions of the six barracks built in the large garden and courtyard of the home for the aged. The wooden barracks were built by the General Construction Cooperative (*Všeobecné stavebné družstvo*) in Bratislava and by workers in the Sered' labor camp. The first barrack was designed for married couples. The second barrack, termed the "patient pavilion," housed the doctor, nurses, medical rooms, and prisoner patients. One room was designed for male patients and another room for female patients. The third barrack contained 18 rooms, each housing four people. One large room was designated as the common dining room. The fourth and fifth barracks served, respectively, as collective housing and housing for individual families. The sixth barrack, which was designed similarly to the fourth one, contained 18 rooms. Because many people, sick and healthy alike, went through the camp, sanitation was very important, as was discipline.⁵

Resources, including pillows and blankets, were taken from the previously Jewish-owned Ples Hotel for camp use. Despite that, more blankets, food and supplies were needed to keep up with the constantly increasing number of inmates. Dr. Irena Baumová, a local doctor, served as camp physician and frequently requested additional medical supplies from the MV.⁶

After the German takeover of Nové Mesto nad Váhom on September 2, 1944, all remaining Jews were slated for deportation. Despite the efforts by Armin Frieder to organize hiding, on October 17, 1944, 920 Jews, including Rabbi Frieder's parents and Gizi Fleischmann, a prominent leader of the Slovak Working Group (*Pracovná skupina*), were deported to Auschwitz via Sered'. The Jews were marched to the Stúpava train station under heavy guard by the Nazi SS. It is unclear exactly when the camp was officially liquidated.

SOURCES A brief history of the camp can be found at Nové Mesto nad Váhom's history website, available at http://nmnv.sk/historia/zidia_stavby_ohel.html.

Primary sources can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA) collection, particularly in reels 186, 190, and 191. Published documents can be found in Eduard Nižňanský ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: *Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava:

Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005). VHA contains 11 testimonies that reference the camp. A published testimony was written by Emanuel Frieder, *Z Denníka mladého rabína* (Bratislava: Edícia Judaica Slovaca, 1993); see also Emanuel Frieder, *To Deliver Their Souls: The Struggle of a Young Rabbi during the Holocaust* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1991).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. "Správa o Ústrednom židovskom táborovom starobinci v Novom Meste nad Váhom," August 1, 1944, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 190, box 581, file 4 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 190/581/4).
2. VHA #676, Gloria Ungar testimony, January 18, 1995.
3. "Pracovné tábory židov—zriadenie ústredného táborového starobinca," February 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 186/573/3.
4. Ibid.
5. Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 289–290.
6. "Židovský taborový starobinec," March 23, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 186/573/4.

OČOVÁ

Očová is located 169 kilometers (105 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. The first work units (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) in Slovakia were created as early as 1941 to hold non-Jews deemed "asocials" and address the labor shortages in various state projects. Records show that Roma (Gypsies) were also imprisoned in such camps. Camps of this type existed in Očová (Lazy Trnavy; *Horárňa—Lazy Trnavy*) and Most na Ostrove. The very small PÚ in Očová was created on May 26, 1941. Twenty forced laborers worked for the Directorate of State Forests, Žarnovica (*Riadiťstvo štátnych lesov Žarnovica*) in Očová. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) was responsible for supplying and supervising the personnel administering the Očová camp, which was liquidated on November 20, 1941. The forced laborers were sent home, where they were required to register with the local office and their behavior was monitored.¹

SOURCES Very little has been published about the early Slovak camps. Some information can be found in Peter Sokolovič, ed., *Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945: Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov VII* (Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2008); and Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008).

Primary sources can be found in USHMMA RG-57.001M (SNA), particularly reel 116.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTE

1. "Výkaz hospodarenia," March 22, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 116, folder 411, box 2.

PETIČ

Petič is a mountain or mountain pass between Lipníky and Medzianky, located north of the Slovak-Hungarian border (as set by the First Vienna Award of 1938) and approximately 330 kilometers (250 miles) east and slightly north of Bratislava. It is situated about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) northwest of Hanušovce nad Topľou, which was the site of a forced labor camp that operated between July 1, 1942, and November 8, 1943. Roma and others deemed "asocials" according to the Interior Ministry's (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) Department 16 were detained there. MV opened this work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) for the construction company, Lanna, one of the companies building the strategic Prešov–Strážske railway. Roma and others were detained for the construction of the railway section from Petič to Kapušany.¹ A total of 320 inmates were in the PÚ in Petič in the middle of August 1942.²

The barracks of the Petič PÚ were situated between Petič and Megeš.³ There is also evidence that Jewish forced laborers were registered at the site. However, many of the Jewish inmates likely spent only a brief time at Petič before they were transferred to other labor camps.⁴

SOURCES For secondary information about Roma inmates at the Petič camp see Michael Zimmermann, *Rassenutopie und Genozid: Die nationalsozialistische "Lösung der Zigeunerfrage"* (Hamburg: Christians, 1996); Marek Danko, "Internáčne zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary," *Čas* 1 (2010), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/; and Ctibor Nečas, "Pracovní útvary tzv. asociálů a Cikánů na východním Slovensku v roce 1942," in *Rómovia a druhá svetová vojna*, eds. Ingrid Vagačová and Martin Fotta (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku), pp. 58–67.

Primary documentation is scarce. The CNI of the ITS contains several inquiries about individuals detained at Petič. Most of them were Jewish forced laborers.

Alexandra Lohse

NOTES

1. Nečas, "Pracovní útvary tzv," p. 58.
2. Ibid., p. 65, n34.
3. Ibid., p. 61.
4. ITS, 0.1, CNI card for Danilov Moschcovitch, Doc. No. 52818771; also CNI card for Rafila Fuchs, Doc. No. 53038225.

POPRAD

Poprad is located 256 kilometers (159 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. On March 19, 1942, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) established a transit and concentration camp (called *Koncentračné stredisko Židov*) in the military complex, Pod Gerlachom, located in an isolated area near Poprad. The camp initially housed Jewish women between the ages 16 and 45 from eastern and central Slovakia. Over time entire families, including children were transported to the

camp.¹ The camp commandant, Jozef Petrík, received 151,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) from the MV to pay for security, emergency supplies, and office supplies to ensure the camp's functioning.²

The head of MV's Department 14, Gejza Konka, who made an agreement with the Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) that it evacuate the premises, planned for the transit camp to be operational by the middle of March 1942. As part of the site's reconfiguration from military facility to transit camp, the beds were removed and replaced with hay, and the toilets were replaced by latrines; no showers were installed. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire and held separate water and electricity meters to measure usage. The camp was overcrowded, and the size of its population varied widely. The facility provided housing for approximately 1,500 civilians in wooden barracks and stables; the camp's architects estimated that the housing would be temporary to accommodate a widely fluctuating number of inmates.³

The camp was under the supervision of Jozef Petrík and his deputy Jozef Bohuška. Petrík was a young and energetic army officer (the only army officer to serve as a camp commandant), and therefore, discipline was strict.⁴ The Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) which guarded the camp interacted with the commandant with respect, and Petrík's authority in the camp was unquestioned. He also employed two Jewish orderlies who were responsible for maintaining cleanliness and order.⁵

After the camp was repurposed, Petrík requested beds for the guards in his correspondence with the MV on April 13, 1942. In subsequent correspondence, Petrík inquired about heating in the camp. Poprad is located at the base of the Tatra Mountains, and March and April are still considered winter-time; therefore, the lack of heating in the camp was problematic, particularly at night.⁶ In addition to Petrík, a German officer was also sent to Poprad to ensure that the camp would operate efficiently and that the preparations for deportation would run smoothly. MV ordered Petrík to provide "the German friend" with adequate housing (a room) and food in the city.⁷

Unlike in other concentration camps in Slovakia, the inmates in the Poprad camp did not work, but spent their entire days in the camp awaiting further instructions. Some witnesses say that the HG treated the women in the camp relatively well while others reported frequent beatings of men, particularly of doctors.⁸

In addition to holding Jews in the former military barracks, the camp also housed Jewish physicians from Šariš-Zemplín county (*Šarišsko-zemplínska župa*), located in eastern Slovakia, in two large rooms in the stables. Although there was some straw on the ground, the floors were bare. According to survivors, the doctors had to eat the food they brought with them because they were not fed for the first two to three days. The doctors were kept separately from the young women and were responsible for manual labor around the camp, particularly cleaning the latrines.⁹

The first Slovak transport of 1,000 young women left Poprad on March 25, 1942, shortly after the camp opened. On their arrival at Auschwitz, the girls received tattoo numbers

1,000 to 1,998. Only a few of them survived.¹⁰ When the number of deportees in the camp reached 1,000 in number, a transport would depart Poprad, either for Auschwitz or the Lublin district. The inmates were transported by rail cars for days. The HG accompanied them to Čadca, a town located on the Slovak-Polish border and 118 kilometers (just over 73 miles) from Poprad, where the Nazi SS took over. All transports were scheduled to leave the Poprad train station at 8:10 P.M. and arrive in Čadca at 4:28 A.M.¹¹ The number of persons who passed through the transit camp reached 7,000: three transports (March 25, April 2, April 22) went to Auschwitz and four (May 24, May 29, May 30, June 12) to the Lublin district.¹²

The camp was disbanded at the beginning of October 1942, and Department 14, the ministry responsible for Jewish affairs, returned the site to the MNO on October 8, 1942. After most of the Jews had been transported to killing centers in German-occupied Poland, a few construction specialists stayed behind to repair the buildings. These Jews worked from the beginning of October until the end of November 1942, and when their work was completed, they were transferred to the Slovak concentration camp in Nováky.¹³

In addition to the transit camp outside the city, the old Jewish school in Poprad was also used as a detention site for females. The women slept on the ground and used their possessions as blankets. They also relied on their own food supplies because they were not given food in the school.¹⁴

SOURCES The secondary literature for Poprad is sparse. Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: *Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005), provides some documentation about the camp as well as Petrík's correspondence with MV. In addition, Ivan Chalupecký and Ivan Bohuš, *Dejiny Popradu* (Košice: Oriens, 1998), mention the transit camp in two short paragraphs and lists the transports to German killing centers. On the 60th anniversary, a plaque was placed on the Poprad train station in 2002 to commemorate the first transport of young women who perished in Auschwitz; see www.slovak-jewish-heritage.org.

Primary documentation for the Poprad transit camp can be found in SNA and copied in microfilm to USHMM as RG-57.001M (Slovak Documents Related to the Holocaust). In RG-57.001M, Poprad files include reels 112, box 394, file 55; reel 17, box 207, file 14; and reel 7, box 205, file 564. Additional documents can be found throughout the collection. VHA contains 31 testimonies from survivors who were in various Poprad detention sites.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 17, box 207, folder 14 (USHMM, RG-57.001M/17/207/14).
2. USHMM, RG-57.001M/7/205/564.
3. USHMM, RG-57.001M/17/207/14.
4. "St'ahujeme Židov zo Slovenska," *Gardista*, May 31, 1942, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 376–378 (Doc. 294).

5. Ibid.
6. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/24/230/1885.
7. "Soznamy Židov," March 29, 1942, SNA, fond MV, kartón 207/4, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 214–215 (Doc. 130).
8. VHA #19588, Naphtali Bleich testimony, September 5, 1996; VHA #20034, Lea Ganik interview, September 25, 1996.
9. VHA #33798, Eugene Schnitzer testimony, September 5, 1997.
10. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/18/177/1.
11. "Preprava zaradencov Židov do práce," March 11, 1942, SNA, fond NS, Dr. A. Vašek, Tnlud 17/46-65 (kartón 110), reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 127–128 (Doc. 29).
12. D.1.5705. Moreshet Archives Givat Haviva.
13. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/112/394/55.
14. VHA #18638, Blanka Feder testimony, July 30, 1996; VHA #25341, Gizela Sokolov testimony, January 30, 1997.

REVÚCA

In early 1943, the Ladislav Hits construction company asked the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) to establish a work unit (*pracovný útvar*, PÚ) for 150 persons deemed "asocials" in Revúca, a town located 230 kilometers (143 miles) east and slightly north of Bratislava. The company had plans to construct railway lines from Slavošovce to Chyžnian Voda (today part of Lubeník), a distance of 30 kilometers (19 miles), and from Revúca to Tisovec, a distance of 20 kilometers (12 miles). The MV accepted the application and signed a contract with the company on March 1, 1943. The camp was officially established on March 8, and the MV promised to send 150 to 200 forced laborers to the camp between March 15 and April 15, 1943.¹ The camp population included Roma ("Gypsies"), as well as others deemed "asocial" by the Tiso regime.

The firm arranged housing for 100 to 120 forced laborers outside Revúca and for 80 to 100 people in Muránska Dlhá Lúka, a village located 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) from Revúca. The forced laborers arose at 4 A.M. and arrived by train at Revúca at 5:13 A.M. They worked from 6:00 A.M. until noon and from 1 P.M. to 6 P.M., returning to their quarters around 7:00 P.M.

The forced laborers lived in two wooden barracks, built from unsanded boards and only partly insulated. The quarters were infested with vermin. Often two forced laborers slept on each bed. The construction company was supposed to provide the workers with clothing and blankets, but failed to do so. The forced laborers arrived shoeless at the camp, and the shoe shortage remained a perennial problem: in June 1943, 10 people worked without shoes, in July that number doubled, and in August the number grew to 50.

The barracks housed between 80 and 100 workers, and toilets were behind the barracks. The camp commander's barrack was built first; it also had two rooms for forced laborers and the tailor and shoemaker workshops. The second was built in the spring of 1943 and housed more laborers. About 100 additional workers were housed in the former Klein house on Štefánikova Street about 1 kilometer (0.6 miles) from the camp.

It was an older house with many rooms and a sizable garden. However, even the Klein residence was infested with vermin. Eight gendarmes and one supervisor were housed in a complex called "Stará Máša," located 150 meters (492 feet) from the camp.² They were all housed in a small room, 6.3 meters long, 5.04 meters wide, and 3.2 meters high (20.7 feet by 16.5 feet by 10.5 feet).

Slovak government reports indicated that the housing was insufficient; the lack of space was problematic for both the gendarmes and workers. On June 30, 1943, the firm tried to disinfect the forced laborers' rooms by applying hot steam to the beds.³

The camp commander first divided the forced laborers into two groups—the Roma and the others—and then subdivided each into three groups: the first consisted of people deemed intelligent, obedient, and hardworking; the second were inmates with a checkered past, but who were not considered incorrigible; the third comprised "lifelong criminals" viewed as undisciplined, lazy, and dangerous. Group placement mattered because the first group had priority in clothing, received the highest wages, and had the privilege of leaving the camp for family visits. Members of the third group endured the strictest security, received the lowest wages, and had no privileges. They were also deployed on the worst, most difficult assignments; the guards often beat them and forced them to work to exhaustion. Their daily working hours were constantly prolonged. During what should have been their normal "breaks," their tasks included obtaining water and cleaning toilets.

On March 10, 1943, the Police General Command sent 10 gendarmes to the camp. The camp commander, also the commander of the gendarmes, was František Krasňanský; he oversaw organization, security, training, and discipline, and Ján Znamenák served as his deputy.⁴ The gendarmes were armed and authorized to use deadly force as necessary. When disciplinary problems arose, the forced laborers' detention was lengthened, or they were threatened with transport to the Ilava penal camp as enemies of the state.

The forced laborers worked in teams comprised of nine members and a leader. Three to five teams worked in a squad. They were paid a token wage of 10 Slovak crowns (Ks) per day (before deductions) that was so low that it did not even cover the costs of food and housing (11 Ks per day). In addition, the Ladislav Hits firm withheld money from the prisoners' wages to cover social insurance, equipment rental, and camp maintenance fees. After all these deductions, only 2 Ks remained per day. Ladislav Hits applied to the Ministry of Transportation and Public Works (*Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác*, MDVP) for reimbursement for the wages it paid to the prisoners, but this request was denied.⁵

At the Revúca camp, food and medical attention were substandard. Not much is known about the camp diet, other than that the rations were very small and drew frequent complaints. The inmates received coffee or soup in the morning and then only one course each for lunch and dinner. Dr. Ľudovít Herald, the district doctor, was the physician responsible for health care at the camp, but visited infrequently. Because he was very

busy in his clinic in the village, the gendarmes took the sick workers there.

The horrible working conditions and very low wages prompted a large number of escapes. The camp commander justified this high escape rate to the MV by explaining that he had only 10 gendarmes to guard the laborers working on the railway line, which was 7 kilometers (4.35 miles) in length and was surrounded by forests. In 1944, the inmates had to turn in their shoes and clothes at night to minimize escapes.⁶

Despite the harsh conditions, the inmates were able to engage in some supervised religious and cultural activities. Each Sunday, the Revúca priest celebrated Mass at 8 A.M. at the camp. There were movies shown in the camp as well. In addition, the workers formed a soccer team and played against the Revúca club.

A representative from the Interior Ministry, Ján Huban, visited the camp on December 14, 1943. He saw that the inmates were housed in one barrack, which was not insulated and had gaps in the walls and roof. On December 11, 1943, the inmates were moved to a wooden house across from the wooden barrack.⁷

On September 1, 1943, 130 "asocials" and 154 Roma were working at Revúca. At the beginning of the summer of 1944, 49 "asocials" and 51 Gypsies remained in the camp. The MV liquidated the camp on June 10, 1944. Some of the "asocials" were released, others were transported to the camp at Dubnica nad Váhom, and still others fled.

SOURCES Information about the Revúca camp can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, "Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovních táborů a středisk na Slovensku v letech 1942–1944," in *Nové obzory č. 8: Spoločenskovedný zborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté Tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, "Internáčne zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary" (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary sources on the Revúca camp can be found at SNA, available at USHMMA as RG-57.001M, mainly in reels 177, 187, and 188. PÚs are also briefly mentioned in postwar collaborator trials. Published documents on the MV can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA contains seven testimonies that mention the Revúca camp.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. "Revúca-zriadenie pracovného útvaru," March 4, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), reel 177, box 550, file 5 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/550/5).

2. "Zápisnica," December 14, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

3. "Pracovný útvar v Revúcej—vykonanie prehliadky," July 2, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

4. "Revúca—zriadenie pracovného tábora," November 7, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

5. Ibid.; "Pracovný útvar," November 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

6. "Revúca, pracovný útvar-neprístojnosť, šetrenie," October 7, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

7. "Pracovný útvar," November 5, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/177/549/3.

SERED'

Sered' (in some sources referred to as Sered' nad Váhom) is located 49 kilometers (30 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. On September 18, 1941, on the orders of the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV), the construction of the labor camp for Jews started in Sered'. Jewish workers reconstructed the former military storehouses and built new barracks in the town.¹ The camp, which was supposed to hold 3,000 people, never reached this capacity, but served as a transit camp, labor camp, and, finally, from September 1944 to March 1945, a Nazi SS-run detention and penal camp.

Several months after the start of construction, the Slovak government began to organize deportations of Jews from Slovakia to German-occupied Poland. As in the case of the camp in Nováky, MV had decided to use the camp in Sered' as the transit and concentration camp: the official name of the camp was Concentration Center for Jews in Sered' (*Koncentračné stredisko Židov in Sered'*). On March 2, 1942, Jozef Vozár, a 34-year old member of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) and former locksmith, became the camp's commander. Surrounded by barbed wire, it was guarded by 56 HG members who committed violent crimes against Jews prior to their deportation.² Three full transports and five smaller transports carrying 4,463 people departed Sered' by the end of September 1942. Full transports with the requested quota of 1,000 people departed on March 28, April 12, and April 21, 1942.³ Smaller, so-called supplementary transports headed to the Žilina concentration center where the prisoners were placed temporarily. The value of the confiscated Jewish property was estimated to be at least 200,000 Slovak crowns (Ks).⁴

During the period of these deportations, inmates of the camp were divided into two categories: inmates (*zaistenci*) and forced laborers (*zaradenci*). The first workshops started to operate at this time.

Imrich Vašina, the former commander of the Bratislava-Patrónka camp, replaced Vozár on September 1, 1942. Described as a cruel man, who once beat up a Jewish girl during a roll call until she fainted, Vašina took advantage of his authority, which eventually led to his dismissal.⁵

From the end of September 1942, Sered' became a labor camp, whose revenues were progressively generated by a wide range of profitable workshops, as well as gardening and farming. The difficult living conditions improved slightly during

the labor camp phase. Prisoners slept on two-tiered wooden bunks and worked in various workshops throughout the day. The most important and surprisingly well-equipped facility was the woodworking workshop. It produced various products, from furniture and wooden interiors to stairs and windows. Workers in Sered' produced very high-quality goods; even Slovak Interior Minister Alexander Mach had his furniture built in Sered'.⁶ Toys, clothes, hats, luggage, knitwear, and lace items were also produced in various workshops by Jewish men, women, and children. Angora rabbits were raised for their fur. Cardboard, concrete tubes, and various chemicals were also produced.⁷ Although the labor camp only began production in 1942, in 1943 its turnover was 17 million Ks and its profit about 2 million Ks, greater than that generated by the Nováky and Vyhne labor camps.⁸

An eight-member Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR), headed by Alexander Pressburger, helped run the labor camp.⁹ Many Jews participated in cultural and physical activities outside of work. The physical training department was created in September 1942, when the commander allowed the prisoners to play soccer in the camp yard. The theater department arranged its first performances on December 5 and 6, 1942, which generated such interest that performances became a regular occurrence. Indoor games, including table tennis, chess, and dominos, were popular. As at Nováky, Jews were allowed to participate in numerous educational courses outside of working hours, and a library was established in November 1942.¹⁰ Religious services took place, but the Jewish converts to Christianity were privileged in this respect.¹¹

A children's school opened officially in Sered' in January 1943, but it had existed unofficially since November 1942. Originally two and then, in October 1943, three teachers were appointed for the two classes.¹² Apprenticeships in camp workshops brought the students into the production process. Summer holidays for children were organized in the same way as at Nováky: they could leave the camp to stay with Jewish families, at their expense. A nursery and a children's home were available for the youngest children.¹³



Living quarters at the Sered' labor camp, early 1940s.
USHMM WS #83095, COURTESY OF THE SLOVENSKÝ NÁRODNÝ ARCHÍV.

The camp in Sered' was unique in one respect: the Jewish hospital in Bratislava (*Židovská nemocnica v Bratislave*) was moved from Bratislava to the Sered' camp on July 17, 1942. It consisted of 22 rooms—accommodating 120 to 150 patients—on one level of a former military warehouse.¹⁴ There were 6 physicians and 10 certified nurses working in the hospital. Originally it was not subordinated to the commander of the camp and struggled with financial problems, however, because its budget relied on patient fees.¹⁵ In May 1943, the hospital was converted into a hospital for Jews from all over Slovakia. Jews living outside the camps had to pay for any medical treatment received.¹⁶ It mainly served the Jewish inmates of labor camps and labor centers.

From the medical viewpoint, the situation in the camp was comparatively tolerable. Many people were overworked; mental disorders were common. Despite inoculations, there were cases of typhoid, diphtheria, and whooping cough. Most of the diseases were caused by unsanitary conditions. The Jewish hospital often nursed the victims of HG beatings.

The size of the HG force gradually decreased. By the end of March 1944, only six members of the HG remained, and eventually all were replaced by gendarmes.¹⁷ At that time the camp also received a new commander, Jozef Pilník; however, in May he was replaced by Jozef Juraj Matuščin, who held this post until the camp's dissolution.¹⁸ All these changes helped slightly improve the very harsh conditions for the Jews.

In 1944, the number of escapes from the camp increased. In expectation of an armed uprising, some prisoners organized an underground movement, but its scope and preparation were not as extensive as at Nováky. Communication between the Sered' group and the partisans was hindered by the camp's strategically unfavorable location. However, despite the great risk, three illegal organizations operated inside the camp: the Communist Party of Slovakia (*Komunistická strana Slovenska*, KSS), *Hashomer Hacair*, and *Makabi Hacair*, the latter two left-leaning Zionist youth organizations.

After the outbreak of the Slovak National Uprising on August 29, 1944, the camp fences were breached, and many inmates escaped. Some then participated in the revolt. However, the town of Sered' was soon occupied by German units, and the camp was robbed by German soldiers. On September 12, 1944, the Einsatzgruppe H der Sipo und des SD, which established its headquarters in Bratislava, sent 33 members of the SS into the Sered' camp, which then became a detention and penal camp.¹⁹ During the next two weeks, units subordinated to Einsatzgruppe H, including the Slovak HG units and other security bodies, brought hundreds of Jews, whom they had arrested during their advance, into the Sered' camp. The camp became overcrowded with Jewish prisoners very soon, reaching a population of about 3,000 inmates.²⁰ This was more than double the camp's maximum capacity. During these two weeks Jews were not deported from Sered', but numerous cases of harassment, rape, and murder occurred.²¹

In the last few days of September 1944 (the exact date is unknown), SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner, Adolf Eich-

mann's right-hand man, took over the camp and started to organize transports of Jews. Brunner organized 11 transports of approximately 11,500 people from Sered' to Auschwitz II-Birkenau, Sachsenhausen, Bergen-Belsen, and Terezín between September 30, 1944, and March 31, 1945.²² During Brunner's tenure at Sered', Emanuel Kolm, originally from Vienna, was the Judenälteste of the camp, and several workshops were in operation. For some period of time, hundreds of partisans and people suspected of supporting the uprising were held in Sered' in a separate block.²³ At least 44 Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners were shot during that period.

The Red Army liberated the camp on April 1, 1945.

SOURCES Sered' is mentioned in numerous secondary sources about wartime Slovakia. This essay builds on the introduction in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004), which also reproduces primary documents about the camp. The most comprehensive book about the camp is by Ján Hlavinka and Eduard Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračný tábor v Seredi 1941–1945* (Bratislava: Dokumentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2009). Scholarly articles that mention Sered' include Katarína Hradská, "Deportácie slovenských Židov v rokoch 1944–45 so zreteľom na transporty do Terezína," *Hč* 45: 3 (1997): 455–471; Gila Fatran, "Die Deportation der Juden aus der Slowakei 1944–1945," *Bohemia* 37:1 (1996): 99–119; and Vlasta Kladivová, "Osudy židovských transportů ze Slovenska do Osvětimi," in Dezider Tóth, ed., *Tragédia slovenských Židov: materiály z medzinárodného sympózia, Banská Bystrica 25–27 marca 1992* (Banská Bystrica: Datei, 1992), pp. 139–166. A memorial website about the camp's history is available at www.edah.sk/zidia/snm—mzk—muzeum-holokaustu-sered.

Primary sources on Sered' can be found at USHMMA, which holds microform copies of documentation from SNA under RG-57.001M, reels 21, 47, and 190; and SNA's Slovakian Jewish Labor Camps collection (Acc. No. 1998.A.0303). At USHMMA, personal collections include the Peter O. Vlcko papers (RG-20.015*01); Hana Kovanic photographs (Acc. No. 2003.416.1); Elizabeth Kardos Langelder Kux collection (Acc. No. 2007.224); Michael A. Diamond papers (RG-10.404); and the Avraham Abba Frieder collection, including *Z denníka mladého rabína* (Bratislava: Slovenské Národné múzeum, 1993). VHA holds 227 testimonies that include information on Sered'.

Eduard Nižňanský, Vanda Rajcan, and Ján Hlavinka
Trans. Marianna Kramarikova

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA fond MV, reel 21, box 227, file 6 (unpaginated) (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/21/227/6); SNA, 61/42, 1258/44.
2. SNA, fond MV, 1464/43.
3. Hlavinka and Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračný tábor v Seredi 1941–1945*, pp. 3–36.
4. "Priloha," n.d., SNA, fond MV, 21/227/6.
5. VHA #41802, Shari Shayo testimony, March 10, 1998.
6. "Hlásenie veliteľ'a žid. strediska, Sered', I. Vašinu," September 8, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/42/259/11643; SNA, fond MV, 1358/43.

7. "Hlásenie veliteľ'a žid. strediska, Sered', I. Vašinu"; SNA, fond MV, 01/42; 421/43; 1498/43; 1586/43; 1370/43; 1498/43.

8. SNA, fond MV, box 578, 1249/44.

9. "Pracovné tábory a strediská," July 20, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 478, 406-545-12, 1483/44, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 244–245 (Doc. 112).

10. USHMMA, RG-57.0010M, SNA, 119/419/8; SNA, fond MV, 421/43, 12 817/42; and fond ÚHÚ, II A-173/44.

11. SNA, fond MV, 1958/43; 1666/43; 13569/42, 1498/43; 1306/44.

12. SNA, fond MV, 1958/43, 1833/43; 1958/43; 1442/44; 13533/42; 421/43; 11655/42; 1409/44; 1267/43; Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 149; Hlavinka and Nižňanský, *Pracovný a koncentračný tábor v Seredi 1941–1945*, pp. 88–89.

13. "Zriadenie jasiel-praktické vyučovanie," October 14, 1942, SNA, fond MV, box 262, 11269/42, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 154 (Doc. 81).

14. "Správa o Židovskej Nemocnici v Seredi," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M/47/271/19.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. USHMMA, RG-57.001M/190/579/39.

18. Ibid.

19. Archiv bezpečnostních složek (ABS), Prague, fond 325, 325-165-1.

20. Testimony of Alexander Gregor, Archív Ústavu pamäti národa (AUPN), Bratislava, f. BA-S, S-98.

21. Testimony of Vojtech Kvetňanský, Yad Vashem Archives, YVA, M.48/940; ABS, fond 325, 325-90-7; ABS, fond 319, 319-13-4.

22. YVA, M.48/940; Gila Fatran, "Die Deportation der Juden aus der Slowakei 1944–1945," *Bohemia. Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der böhmischen Länder* 37 (1996): 118.

23. Testimonies of Juraj Roth, Alexander Gregor (Weiss), and Ján Lachký, YVA, M.48/940.

SVĚTÝ JUR

The village of Svätý Jur is located about 14 kilometers (9 miles) northeast of Bratislava. On June 19, 1943, the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) and the waterway company, *Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo* (Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative; Moravod), signed an agreement to create a forced labor camp for Jews—sometimes referred to as a work center (*pracovné stredisko*, PS)—to construct a canal on the Šúr River. The camp was created on July 3, 1943, just outside the village, and held 133 forced laborers.¹

The Svätý Jur camp prisoners were former military personnel from the Sixth Labor Battalion (*Šiesty robotný prápor*, ŠP) who were released by the Slovak National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) on June 1, 1943, and placed under MV jurisdiction. At the end of 1943, 99 men remained in the camp. All of them were single, and 87 were classified as Jewish.²

The forced laborers lived in barracks and animal sheds just outside of the village and were prohibited from entering Svätý Jur.

The Slovak Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was responsible for security in the camp and at the work site. The camp commander was Jozef Kotlárík. The camp was required to adhere to laws from the “Rules of the Jewish Labor Camps” (“*Poriadok židovských pracovných táborov*”).³

According to the agreed-on contract with Moravod, the employer was responsible for paying small monthly wages and providing housing to both forced laborers and HG personnel, as well as office space for the HG. The Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR) assisted with the camp’s administration. Ján Engel headed the ŽR, and Ľudovít Schulz was his deputy, Alazár Kosenfeld was charged with taking care of health issues, and Ladislav Kardoš was responsible for social services.⁴

On November 18, 1943, Moravod suggested that the camp be liquidated because there was not enough work to justify its continued existence. When the camp was closed on December 13, 1943, the forced laborers were moved to the Kostolná or Kral’ovany camps, and the barracks were returned to Moravod.⁵

SOURCES Limited secondary information on the Svätý Jur forced labor camp can be found in Marek Danko, *Internáčné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné úvarty* (Košice: Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, 2010); Ružena Bubeníčková, Ludmila Kubaltová, and Irena Malá, *Tábory utrpení a smrti* (Prague: Svoboda, 1969); and Vladimír Vavrinský, *Tábory nútennej práce na Slovensku v rokoch 1941–1953* (Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela, 2004).

Primary sources documenting the Svätý Jur forced labor camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), reels 158, 185, 187, and 190. Published primary sources can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA holds 15 testimonies that mention Svätý Jur.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. “Pracovné stredisko židov pri stavbe obvodného kanálu “Šúr” v Sv. Jure sriadenie,” July 3, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 185, box 571, file 14 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 185/571/14).

2. “Štatút pre židovské tábory a strediská,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 190/581/2.

3. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 185/571/14.

4. “Pracovné stredisko židov vo Svätom Jure—židovská rada zriadenie,” July 15, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 185/571/15.

5. “Odsunovací plan prac. Stredísk,” December 10, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/25.

ÚSTIE NAD ORAVOU

Ústie nad Oravou is located 227 kilometers (141 miles) east-northeast of Bratislava. Negotiations to create a labor camp there began in the summer of 1942, when the engineering firm of Bugar and Danišovič requested 400 laborers for the

construction of the Orava dam, for which it had a state contract. However, because the firm could not provide housing for these laborers, the negotiations were tabled until 1943. On August 20, 1943, Peter Starinský, director of the Slovak State Security Headquarters (*Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti*, ÚŠB), wrote a memo to the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) about the need to establish a camp for arrested Ukrainian civilians, to eliminate potential state security breaches.^{1,2} The MV agreed and created the Ústie nad Oravou forced labor camp on August 28, 1943.³

Before the camp was created, work on the Orava dam was progressing slowly because of the small workforce; in fact, only 70 people were working on the project at that time. When the MV approved the camp, the Bugar and Danišovič firm built two wooden barracks for the newly acquired workforce, with a capacity of up to 300 people. The barracks were built on concrete foundations and were in adequate shape. Inside the barracks were three-tiered bunks with pillows and blankets, and heating was provided by boilers. The firm provided food in consultation with the camp’s commander. It also supplied the required silverware, plates, and glasses.

In addition to the two barracks, another building housed a communal kitchen, three additional rooms, and storage space. The camp also included a potable water source as well as 10 toilets, showers, hot water, and sinks.⁴ The barracks were surrounded by a wooden fence, and the firm had plans to further secure the camp site. A Jewish doctor provided health care. Women also worked in the labor camp and were housed separately from the men.

The forced laborers, all born between 1917 and 1922, worked 8- to 11-hour shifts. They were awakened at 5 A.M. daily and worked from 6 A.M. until noon and then from 1:30 P.M. until 6:30 P.M. On September 29, 1943, 34 Ukrainians, both men and women, worked in the camp and earned 55 Slovak crowns (Ks) per day, but of this amount 16 Ks were paid for rations and housing.

The camp commander was Eduard Koseček, and his deputy was Štefan Kamenský. Six additional gendarmes were responsible for the camp’s security. The district gendarmes office provided food and accommodations for them.⁵ The MV had requested eight energetic and trustworthy gendarmes, at least two with previous camp experience and at least two who spoke Ukrainian.⁶

Koseček’s reports suggest that conditions were relatively good during the camp’s first several months: they did not list any complaints from the camp’s workers, which was remarkable for a forced labor camp.⁷ The camp commander encountered a few issues with the cooks, however. He fired Vincenc Tomášek because, according to the report, he mismanaged food rations.⁸ In addition, the commander continuously noted the lack of clothing and shoes of the workers and asked the MV to provide sufficient footwear. In fact, many workers did not have any shoes and wore only scraps of clothing while working on the site.⁹

The number of workers in the camp fluctuated. Conditions worsened for laborers when Slovak Roma (also referred to as Gypsies, *Cigáni*, in Slovak police reports) were brought to the

camp to augment the insufficient workforce. Between 100 and 300 additional workers, mostly Roma, arrived at the camp in September 1943; many were in poor health and lacked adequate clothing. The firm was obligated to provide shoes, clothing, and a sufficient number of gendarmes for the site. However, not only were the Roma's requests for clothing and proper shoes denied but also the camp commander told the gendarmes to beat them.¹⁰ Some of the workers who did receive clothing found that they were infested with lice. The food—both the size of the rations and their quality—worsened. The MV directed the camp leaders to house the Roma in separate barracks from the Ukrainians and to limit their interactions.¹¹

On October 5, 1943, the camp commander addressed the poor clothing conditions once again in a report to the MV. He argued that the laborers were not dressed properly, and because the Upper Moravia climate was particularly harsh, they could not work.¹² On November 2, 1943, the camp commander sent workers to the project in -7° C degrees Celsius (19° Fahrenheit). Four workers were shoeless. Some laborers attempted to flee the site, and others refused to work in the subzero temperatures of the following week.

On November 12, 1943, in a military order, the MV issued stricter guidelines for the administration of the camp. The orders prohibited card playing and all walks. It also created an emergency prison for laborers who misbehaved. The order restricted movement to and from the camp to staff and only to those who had special permission from the camp commander.¹³ Ten laborers fled, but were recaptured by local police forces and returned to the camp. The firm did not request additional laborers after November due to harsh weather.

The camp was liquidated on December 31, 1944, when the non-Roma laborers were freed and the Roma laborers were moved to the Dubnica nad Váhom camp. The dam was completed and still functions.

SOURCES Information about this camp can be found in Ctibor Nečas, *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938–1945* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 1994); Ivan Kamenec, “Vznik a vývoj židovských pracovních táborů a středisk na Slovensku v letech 1942–1944,” in *Nové obzory č. 8: Společenskovedný sborník východného Slovenska* (Košice: Múzeum Slovenskej republiky rád v Prešove, 1966), pp. 15–38; Karol Janas, *Zabudnuté tábory* (Trenčín: Trenčianska univerzita Alexandra Dubčeka v Trenčíne, 2008); Július Táncoš and René Lužica, *Zatratení a zabudnutí* (Bratislava: Iris, 2002); and Marek Danko, “Internáčné zariadenia v Slovenskej republike (1939–1945) so zreteľom na pracovné útvary” (Spoločenskovedný ústav SAV, Košice), available at www.saske.sk/cas/zoznam-rocnikov/2010/1/5813/.

Primary sources on the Ústie nad Oravou camp can be found at SNA, available at USHMM as RG-57.001M, mainly in reels 177, 187, and 188. Additional documents can be accessed in the SNA, fond MV, boxes 549, 551, 1894, and 2440. Published documents can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. Ukrajinskí robotníci—zaradenie do práce,” August, 20, 1943, SNA, fond MV, box 551, folder D1197, file 43 (SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43).
2. “Zápisnica,” August 20, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
3. “Pracovný útvar Ústie nad Oravou,” n.d., SNA, fond MV, 549/1087/43.
4. “Pracovný útvar v Ústí nad Or. zriadenie,” September 6, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
5. “Zriadenie pracovného útvaru v Ústí nad Oravou,” September 8, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
6. “Pracovný útvar v Ústí nad Or. zriadenie,” September 6, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
7. “Pracovný útvar Ústie nad Oravou,” n.d., SNA, fond MV, 549/1087/43.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. “Vodná nádrž na Orave,” November 4, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
11. “Pracovný útvar v Ústí nad Oravou—postupné dodávanie asociálnych osôb,” October 4, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
12. “Pracovný tábor ukrajinských utečencov v Ústí nad Oravou,” October 5, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1197/43.
13. “Zápisnica,” November 12, 1943, SNA, fond MV, 551/D1198/43.

VELKÝ KÝR

Located 78 kilometers (49 miles) east of Bratislava, Vel'ký Kýr, which is near the city of Nitra (Hungarian: Nagy-Kér and later Nyitránagykér), was the second camp created near the demarcation line established between Slovakia and Hungary after the First Vienna Award of November 2, 1938. Together with Miloslavov, the establishment of Vel'ký Kýr was part of the Slovak government's first attempt to expel Jews from Slovak territory in late 1938, less than one month after the promulgation of Slovak autonomy on October 6, 1938.

A day before the First Vienna Award was announced, a pro-Hungarian demonstration took place in Bratislava, at which local police arrested several Jews. Once the decision made by the high powers about the new borders with Hungary was known, Ľudáks blamed the Jews for it. At the Carlton Hotel in Bratislava, on November 3, 1938, a meeting of several Ľudáks members took place to discuss the “Jewish Question.” Among the conferees were SS-Obersturmführer Adolf Eichmann, who had arrived from Vienna; radical HSEs member and lawyer Jozef Faláth, Chief of the Academic Hlinka Guard (*Akademická Hlinkova garda*); and Jozef Kirschbaum, as well as the head of the *Deutsche Partei* Franz Karmasin.¹ The deportation of Jews to the Hungarian occupied territories was proposed at the meeting, and the proposal was submitted to Prime Minister Jozef Tiso on November 4.² After Tiso approved the proposal, he instructed Faláth to take charge of its implementation. On the very same day, Faláth established the Center for the Solution of the Jewish Problem in Slovakia (*Centrála pre*

riešenie židovského problému na Slovensku) at the Police Directorate in Bratislava and instructed the district offices all around Slovakia to arrest Jews “without material sources” and to “push them” to the surrendered territory by midnight of the same day. Jews owning property worth more than 500,000 Czechoslovak crowns (Kč) were to be arrested in order to prevent them from emigrating.³

Deportations began immediately: the HG and gendarmes rounded up Jews and drove them to southern Slovakia, to territory that would soon be Hungarian, and left them in open lands with just 50 Kč per person. A few hours later, the original order was changed, and instead of Jews without property, Jews of foreign citizenship became the target of deportation.⁴

As soon as Hungarian police rounded up these Jews, it returned them to the temporary “no man’s land” between Hungary and Slovakia, where the camps at Miloslavov and Veľký Kýr had been created in early November. Neither country claimed responsibility for these camps, and each blamed the other for their existence. The demarcation line included a 3-kilometer (1.86-mile) neutral zone and another 1.5-kilometer (0.9-mile) zone that the Slovak Army was not supposed to cross. The returned Jews were beaten, tortured, and denied food.

The deportation was stopped on November 7, 1938, based on Tiso’s order. However, about 7,500 Jews had already been deported from all over Slovakia to various places in that “no man’s land.”⁵

Conditions in the Veľký Kýr camp were inhumane; there was no shelter, and the interned Jews had brought very little food along with them. The elderly and the children, in particular, became sick in the cold and rainy November weather.

On November 26, 1938, Slovak and Hungarian authorities met in Veľký Kýr to discuss the “Jewish Question.” The agreement that they signed allowed those Jews who could prove their Czechoslovak citizenship to enter Slovak territory. The Slovak Country Office (*Krajinský úrad*, KÚ) affirmed this agreement on December 1, 1938, but added that for each Czechoslovak citizen, one Hungarian citizen would be sent to Hungary.⁶ Therefore, while the agreement remained in force, implementation was slow, and hundreds of people languished in the Veľký Kýr and Miloslavov camps in desolate conditions. The lack of food, shelter, and hygiene created serious health problems, which proved risky to the border police and villagers as well.

As the situation in the camp reached a critical state, Jewish organizations in Bratislava attempted to intervene. On November 29, 1938, the president of the Orthodox Religious Communities wrote to Slovak prime minister Jozef Tiso regarding the camps in Miloslavov and Veľký Kýr, outlining the horrid conditions experienced by the detainees. According to his letter of November 29, 1938, there were 344 people interned at Veľký Kýr: 132 men, 73 women, and 139 children of various ages.⁷ The Jewish organization suggested ways to improve their conditions at the Jewish community’s expense, and not that of the local or national government. For example, all Jews

unable to return to their homes or who could not be taken in by family members could be housed in buildings owned by Jewish organizations under Slovak police control, such as the old Jewish hospital in Bratislava. The organization promised to take care of the Jews’ housing, food, and medical care. For those holding Slovak citizenship, the president of the organization asked for permission for their return to specific cities. For those not allowed to return, he asked for a respite before deportation to allow them to liquidate their property and other matters before departing Slovakia. He assured the prime minister that every phase of this plan would be implemented and paid for by Jewish organizations and that the detainees would not be in anyone’s way. In addition, the Jewish community would serve as a liaison with foreign offices and foreign non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to facilitate immigration. The organization offered to provide financial assistance for those returning to Subcarpathian Rus’ or Poland.⁸

Even though the Jewish organizations in Bratislava provided help and supplies to those in the camp, their living conditions worsened drastically after heavy rains and cold temperatures. Local officials were afraid the camp would become a security risk and warned against the possibility of epidemics, which threatened the surrounding villages and guards in the camp.

On December 8, 1938, KÚ allowed the Jews who lived in Veľký Kýr and Miloslavov to return to the Slovak territory of Czechoslovakia. Jews who had legal domiciles in Slovak territory could return to their home towns and villages and were to be brought there by their “home” district authorities (district offices).⁹

On December 12, 1938, the KÚ informed the districts that they were able to transport home local Jews on Tuesdays and Fridays. They were required to bring police escort and a truck, and all expenses were to be paid by the Jewish religious community.¹⁰ Thus, for example, Móríc Silberberg, his wife Berta, and daughter Aranka were transported from the Veľký Kýr camp to Bánovce nad Bebravou on December 16, 1938. They were disinfected in the county hospital in Nitra and temporarily housed in the Jewish poorhouse at the Jewish community’s expense.¹¹

Those Jews whose official domicile before deportation from Slovakia was in Czech lands, Subcarpathian Rus, or Poland, were sent there. Some were interned again in camps in Patrónka (Bratislava), Nitra, and Zlaté Moravce under gendarme and HG control.

A group of 158 Jews who arrived in Veľký Kýr on November 4, 1938, was taken back to Slovakia on February 21, 1939. It is unclear, however, when the camp was liquidated and under what conditions.¹²

SOURCES Very little information exists about Veľký Kýr. Brief mention of the camp can be found in Ivan Kamenec, *Po stopách tragédie* (Bratislava: H & H, 2007); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v slovenskom štáte, 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Printservis, 1992); and Eduard Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a Slovenským štátom v stredoeurópskom kontexte* (Prešov: Universum, 1999),

Primary documents about the camp can be found in SNA, available in microform at USHMM as RG-57.001M, reels 26 and 178. Published primary sources on the camp can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie (6.10.1938–14.3.1939)* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2001).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku*, p. 39.
2. Ibid., 40.
3. Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, pp. 228–229 (Doc. 110).
4. “Úradný zoznam,” December 4, 1946, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, p. 241 (Doc. 118).
5. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku*, p. 54.
6. Ibid., 60–61.
7. “Umiestnenie vyhostených židov, nachadzajúcich sa na hraniciach pri Mischdorfe a pri Nitre,” November 29, 1938, SNA, fond KÚ-Presidium, box 309, bez čísla, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, pp. 250–252 (Doc. 125).
8. Ibid., p. 252.
9. Nižňanský, *Židovská komunita na Slovensku*, p. 62.
10. Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku: Obdobie autonómie*, pp. 234–237 (Doc. 116).
11. “Hlásenie,” December 17, 1938, ŠOKA Topolčany, fond Okresný Úrad v Bánovciach nad Bebravou, box 66, 522/41 prez., reprinted in *ibid.*, 6: 259–290 (Doc. 134).
12. “Židovská otázka na Slovensku,” February 21, 1939, SNA, fond KÚ-Presidium, box 309, 77581/1938 prez., reprinted in *ibid.*, 6: 258–259 (Doc. 131).

VYHNE

Located 140 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Bratislava, Vyhne was the smallest of the three labor camps set up by the Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV). During the camp's first phase, from February 1940 to February 1942, the barracks housed 326 Jewish refugees from German territories who had been imprisoned in Sosnowiec, Poland. Under the so-called Nisko operation, one of the first deportations of Jews from Nazi Germany, a transport left Ostrava for Nisko, but got stuck in Sosnowiec on November 1, 1939, after a wooden bridge near Zarzecze collapsed.¹ On December 14, 1939, the Jewish Central Bureau (*Židovská ústredná úradovňa*, ŽÚÚ) lobbied the MV to provide temporary housing for these Jews prior to their immigration to Palestine, and the MV agreed to establish a camp at Vyhne.

The small spa town seemed suitable for a camp because the baths were no longer in use. Their owner, a Jewish woman, Dr. Alžbeta Forgáčová (neé Ungárova), lived in Budapest at the time. Not only was the spa isolated from the town of Vyhne but also the nearest railway station was in Bzenica, 7 kilometers (4.35 miles) away.² The camp consisted of the Old Bath House with 42 rooms, the New Bath House with 35 rooms, Hell's

House with 42 rooms, and the Park House with 2 rooms. The Jews paid 2.50 Slovak crowns (Ks) for room and board and an additional 1.67 Ks per month for linen.³

The Vyhne camp was originally supervised by the District Office in Nová Baňa and the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) commander in Vyhne: Izidor Luptovský. Since the district office in Nová Baňa was located 27.8 kilometers (17.3 miles) southwest of Vyhne, Luptovský had broad powers, which included giving passes for Jews to leave the camp.⁴ The camp itself was established and financially supported by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJJDC), which helped Jews from Germany immigrate to the United States. The MV agreed to house these Jews for a few months while the AJJDC, with direct cooperation from the ŽÚÚ, helped the Jews to immigrate.⁵ Many MV documents concern the activities of the Jews outside of the camp or the monitoring of their behavior in the camp. Although the camp was not encircled by barbed wire, contact with the local population was prohibited. There was a sign at the camp's entrance warning Aryans not to enter.⁶ Many baptized Jews, those with papers protecting them from deportation, and those who bribed HG were among those living in Vyhne.⁷

Changes occurred in Vyhne in early 1942. On February 14, 1942, the MV converted it to a labor camp similar to Sered' and Nováky. The next day, the HG High Command appointed Ján Gindl as camp commander.⁸ At that time, the deportation of Slovak Jewry was in preparation. Some Jews were deported to German-occupied Poland from Vyhne in March, April, and September 1942. Arguments arose between Luptovský, who was by then a government commissar, and Gindl, regarding the kind of work that Jews had to do. Gindl thought that renovating the spa and constructing a swimming pool would allow Jews to pay their debts to the Vyhne spa for their lodging.⁹ Gindl lived in a nearby villa with his wife and son while two gendarmes lived in a separate barrack in the camp.¹⁰

The camp averaged about 300 workers, an average of under 12 percent of the entire Slovakian labor camp population, making it by far the smallest of the three camps. Jews worked in Vyhne from 6 A.M. to 12 P.M. with a 15-minute break and then from 2 P.M. to 8 P.M., again with a 15-minute break. Men worked 53 hours per week and women worked 48 hours, excluding Sunday.¹¹ In 1942, most of the laborers worked at various construction sites at the spa, including building the swimming pool. Other Jews worked in one of the nine workshops in the camp, producing women's and men's clothing, gloves, and toys. In addition, many processed leather waste for use in shopping bags, wallets, and belts.¹² The workers were not paid, but received room and board, work clothes, and a very small sum of pocket money.¹³

The spa was set up like a hotel and included a number of rooms. Each family was allotted one room, which included four beds, a table, some chairs, and a wardrobe. Each Saturday, the HG made rounds to inspect the rooms. Everyone was lined up, and the guards turned violent if standards were not met. The camp included a large park.



Jewish prisoners building a pool at the Vyhne camp, circa 1942.
USHMM WS #83092, COURTESY OF THE SLOVENSKÝ NARODNÝ ARCHÍV.

Security was not as tight as in other camps because conditions were relatively satisfactory in Vyhne.¹⁴ A four-member Jewish Council, under the direction of Jozef Safrany and Dr. Ulrich Einhorn, helped run the camp.¹⁵ The food was relatively good; Jewish cooks manned the communal kitchen and fed not only those in the camp but also the guards. Local farms supplied fruits and vegetables. On Saturday afternoons, children in the camp received milk. Jews possessed their own clothing; mail went in and out of the camp regularly, with goods arriving from families on the outside. Jews organized theater presentations, recited Hebrew readings, and played sports. The Vyhne soccer team played against the Nováky team and “beat them decisively.”¹⁶

Children could also leave the camp for summer vacations if they had family members who would take them in.¹⁷ As in other camps, the Jewish Center (*Ústredná Židov, ÚŽ*) created a school for the laborers’ children. One kindergarten teacher supervised 15 young children. A nine-hour compulsory school day was mandated for children under 10 years of age; those over 10 years old attended school for seven hours and worked an additional two hours in the camp.¹⁸

Two doctors served in the camp’s infirmary; one dentist was also on site. More serious cases were taken to Banská Št’iavnica’s hospital 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) away.

Slovak gendarmes replaced the HG in Vyhne on April 1, 1944.¹⁹ Vyhne was liberated after the Slovak National Uprising erupted in late August 1944. By the time the partisans liberated the camp on September 1, 1944, the gendarmes had abandoned their posts. Many young inmates joined the revolt, whereas most others found refuge in areas of Slovakia already liberated by Slovak partisans. Some people remained in the camp because they had nowhere else to go. The camp was officially dissolved on September 21, 1944. At the end of the war, locals plundered the compound and set it on fire.²⁰

SOURCES Secondary sources that briefly describe the camp at Vyhne are Ivan Kamenec, *On the Trail of Tragedy* (Bratislava: H & H, 2007); Ladislav Lipscher, “Jewish Participation in the

Slovak Resistance Movement,” *SJA* 7:2 (1997): 40–52; and Karen Spira, “Memories of Youth: Slovak Jewish Holocaust Survivors and the Nováky Labor Camp” (unpublished MA thesis, Brandeis University, 2011).

Primary sources on the Vyhne camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), reels 34, 112, and 290–300; for charts and maps, see RG-57.010, Slovakian Jewish Labor Camps collection; and for photos and personal collections, see USHMMPA (WS #83090–83092). Published primary documents gathered from ŠOKA and SNA can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Documentačné stredisko holokaustu, 2004). VHA has 12 testimonies that mention Vyhne.

Eduard Nižňanský and Vanda Rajcan
Trans. Marianna Kramarikova

NOTES

1. Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 23.
2. “Vyhne—koncentračný tábor Židov,” n.d. SNA, fond 209, ÚŠB, box 864/6, reprinted in *ibid.*, 5: 102 (Doc. 47).
3. “Zápisnica,” February 5, 1942, SNA, fond MV, box 192, 14-D4-314/42.
4. ŠOKA, Žiar nad Hronom, fond OÚ Nová Baňa, box 27, 542/42; SNA, fond MV, box 192, 14-D4-314/42.
5. “Židovskí utečenci zo Sosnovic v Polsku, povolenie k pricestovaniu na Slovensko,” January 29, 1940, ŠOKA, Žiar nad Hronom, fond OÚ Nová Baňa, box 27, 542/42.
6. VHA #33112, Marta Weiss testimony, September 16, 1997.
7. “Židovský pracovný tábor—Vyhne, Vznik,” June 17, 1942; VHA #19559, Juliana Filová testimony, September 3, 1996.
8. SNA, fond MV, box 192, 14-D4-314/42.
9. “Využitie pracovných síl židov,” June 7, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 112, box 394, file 53 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/112/394/53).
10. ŠOKA, Žiar nad Hronom, fond Notársky úrad vo Vyhniach, box 143, 1306/42; VHA #31071, Zuzana Skácelova testimony, March 15, 1997; VHA #19559, Juliana Filová testimony, September 3, 1996.
11. “Koncentračný tábor cudzozemských Židov vo Vyhniach,” May 15, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/34/237/6384.
12. *Ibid.*; “Využitie pracovných síl židov,” June 7, 1943.
13. “Výročná správa Židovských táborov 1943,” n.d., AM-SNP, fond IX, S 152/81, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 254–272 (Doc. 117).
14. VHA #19559, Juliana Filová testimony, September 3, 1996.
15. SNA, fond MV, box 278, 406-545-12, 1483/44.
16. *Ibid.*
17. VHA #33112, Marta Weiss testimony, September 16, 1997.
18. “Výročná správa Židovských táborov 1943.”
19. “Pracovné tábory Židov—dozorná a strážna služba,” April 11, 1944, SNA, fond MV, 581,1472/44, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 282–284 (Doc. 121).
20. VHA #31071, Zuzana Skácelova testimony, March 15, 1997; VHA #19559, Juliana Filová testimony, September 3, 1996.

ŽILINA

Žilina is located 169 kilometers (105 miles) northeast of Bratislava. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) created the Žilina concentration camp (*Koncentračné stredisko Židov*) on March 21, 1942, during the preparations for the deportation of Jewish people from Slovakia. The camp was created in the abandoned Štefaniková military barracks on Rajecká Road in Rudiny, in the north of Žilina. The Žilina city council, under the direction of Mayor Vojtech Tvrďý, vehemently opposed the camp's location, so the camp was moved into nearby military barracks, then under Defense Ministry control. Because of Žilina's location, every transport of Jews from Slovakia passed through the town on its way to camps in German-occupied Poland.

The camp initially consisted of six or seven wooden barracks from the abandoned military camp; most lacked flooring. To expand the camp's capacity to 2,900 people, there were plans to build emergency and temporary housing, with its construction expected to take one month. The number of those interned was expected to fluctuate based on the size and number of transports. The camp was surrounded by electrified barbed wire. Only one water source existed in the camp.¹

In addition to military barracks, at least 300 people were housed in the horse stables outside the military barracks. The stables reeked of chemicals and urine. There was some hay, but for the most part, prisoners just slept on the ground. As one survivor described it, "Sanitary conditions there were zero, there was nothing."²

Jews from the entire Slovak territory were concentrated in the camp; often, entire families—men, women, and children—were brought to the camp. The camp held 1,200 people at its peak and a minimum of 150.³ Jews were told they were going to Nazi Germany to work and were allowed to take 50 kilograms (110.2 pounds) of luggage with them. Prisoners slept on wooden boards or hay and used their own blankets. According to survivors, the camp was overcrowded; the people slept next to each other and often on their sides because there was no room to turn over. The men were taken out of the camp daily to work in the city (to clean the streets or perform other public works), while the women worked in and around the camp. The children were not forced to work; they spent their time waiting around or entertaining themselves in the camp.

On March 10, 1942, the MV appointed Rudolf Marček, a former teacher, as camp commander.⁴ Soon after, the MV gave Marček 151,000 Slovak crowns (Ks) for camp maintenance. Marček's deputies included Richter, Malý, and Mútňanský. Security was provided by the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG); the HG also managed the transports under the careful watch of a German advisor. Bullying, humiliation, and physical abuse were rampant. During postwar National Court hearings, Marček admitted that he had to fire 66 of the 75 members of HG because of their brutal treatment of the camp prisoners. Bribes were common in Žilina; Marček admitted that they ranged between 500 and 20,000 Ks. In the begin-

ning, the HG guards were bribed with liquor to "close their eyes" to escape. However, even if bribes were effective in postponing deportation or facilitating escapes, other Jews were taken, in order to reach the transport quotas.

In addition to the HG, privileged Jews were used to control the population. Juraj Klein, nicknamed the "Jewish Commander," was the liaison between the Jewish Center (*Ústredňa Židov*, ÚŽ) and the camp command. When bribed he would alter the deportation lists. Soon, his actions were reported to Interior Minister Alexander Mach, and he was sentenced to confinement in the Ilava penal camp. He was hanged for his crimes after the war.

The prisoners were subjected to personal searches on entering the camp, and the HG profited from their charges' misery, stealing most of their valuables and taking bribes. Žilina survivor Alex Hochhäuser noted the poor conditions of the camp in his memoir: "Poverty, filth, and desperate faces of starving people. Very bad hygienic conditions and supply. Fleas and lice, and atrocities from the side of the HG were preconditions of hell in Auschwitz."⁵ The camp commander was responsible for providing food, but because the rations were so minimal, Jewish organizations supplemented them. The rations were given out in the camp corridor, and all the inmates had a clay mug for food. The HG restricted the output of water to barely a drop, so that in the summer people stood in line for hours to get some water.⁶ There was one latrine, and everyone cleaned themselves outside near the stone well.

According to the MV, 19 transports left Žilina, most to Auschwitz. Seven transports went to the Lublin region. The HG beat prisoners on their way to the train, and before boarding, they cut their rucksacks off their backs.⁷ Trains left Žilina at 3:20 A.M. and arrived in Čadca, a town on the Slovak-Polish border, an hour later, where the Jews were turned over to the German authorities.

The last transport from Žilina, and the last from Slovakia in 1942, left on October 20. Several scholars have noted differing number of Jews transported from Žilina. According to published records, 26,384 Jews passed through the camp. The MV liquidated the camp on October 24, 1942. Jews who remained were transferred to Sered' or Nováky; those living in the Žilina district went to Sered'.⁸

SOURCES Secondary literature on the Žilina concentration camp includes Peter Frankl and Pavel Frankl, *Židia v Žiline* (Žilina: Edis, 2009); Ladislav Lipscher, *Židia v Slovenskom štáte 1939–1945* (Bratislava: Printservis, 1992); Waclaw Długoborski et al., eds., *The Tragedy of the Jews of Slovakia, 1938–1945: Slovakia and the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question"* (Oświęcim: Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum; Banská Bystrica: Museum of the Slovak National Uprising, 2002); Mauro M. Langfelder, *Žilina: Il vino e il sangue* (Milan: Terziaria, 2003); Vavro Ryžavý, *Žilina a Slovenské národné povstanie* (New York: Universum Sokol Publications, 1981); Haim Gordon, *The Rise and Decline of the Jewish Community of Žilina (Slovakia)* (Jerusalem: A. Klein Ltd., 2003); and Jana Stráška, "Koncentračné stredisko v Žiline," *AFHUMBW* 3:4 (2010): 88–95.

Primary documents about the Žilina concentration camp can be found at SNA, microcopied to USHMMA as RG-57.001M, including reels 22, 23, 111, and 112. Personal collections at USHMMA include the Arie Klein papers (Acc. No. 2005.323.1). Published documents on the Žilina concentration camp can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, ed., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 6: Deportácie v roku 1942* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2005). VHA holds 79 testimonies from Žilina survivors. Two published testimonies are by Alexander Hochhäuser, *Zufällig überlebt* (Berlin: Metropol, 1992); and Marie Magdalena Horňanová-Jodasová, *Neobyčejný život* (Prague: Nakl. Jaroslava Poberová, 2005).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. "Koncentračný tábor—Žilina," March 3, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 112, box 394, file 55 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M/112/394/55); USHMMA, RG-57.001M/111/392/18.
2. VHA #36997, Milan Drahoš testimony, October 1, 1997.
3. VHA #06806, Adolf Burger testimony, December 18, 1995.
4. "Sústredenie a preprava Židov," March 12, 1942, SNA, fond MV, box 205/269/1942, reprinted in Nižňanský, *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 6: 139–143 (Doc. 37).
5. Hochhäuser, *Zufällig überlebt*, p. 87.
6. VHA #33804, Stella Raab testimony, September 14, 1997.
7. "Žilina," n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 22/ 230/1484.
8. "Žilina," October 25, 1942, USHMMA, RG-57.001M/22/205/596.

ŽILINA/WORK CENTER

Žilina is located 169 kilometers (105 miles) northeast of Bratislava. The Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) officially created the Žilina forced labor camp on December 28, 1942, under Decree 1453/42; however, the camp's dates of existence are disputed by numerous sources. Some sources claim that the camp was active from September 1, 1941, until August 29, 1944, whereas others focus exclusively on 1943.¹ The labor camp, also commonly referred to as a work center (*pracovné stredisko*), was located on Štefániková Street, Number 7, just outside of the city near the Váh River. More than 250 Jewish forced laborers living in the camp built the soccer stadium for the Municipal Sports Club Žilina (*Mestský športový klub Žilina*).

The soccer stadium's construction began in late 1940; by the spring of 1941, the lawn, athletic track, and a substantial part of the stands were completed. The first friendly match between Žilina and Banská Bystrica occurred on August 10, 1941. The Žilina district commander (*Okresný veliteľ*, OV) of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG) was responsible for all matters related to the camp, including supplies, housing, clothing, medical issues, and camp security, which the HG provided. The camp commander, Vojtech Zavodský, also happened to be the patron of the local soccer club.² Not only was

Zavodský involved in the construction of the soccer stadium but he also "Aryanized" the plant for the transport of building stone from the quarries. Arpád Stark, the Jewish owner of this plant, his wife, and their two children were sent to a concentration camp and never returned.

The HG was the official employer and had full jurisdiction over the camp. The laborers worked eight-hour shifts; however, their hours were extended if necessary. As the employer, the HG paid Jewish workers based on their marital status. Married Jews received 3.80 Slovak crowns per hour (Ks); single Jews received 3.50 Ks per hour. In addition, the HG provided each laborer three meals a day, clothes, shoes, and housing. The fee for these services was 14.45 Ks per day. Therefore, for married men, their daily earnings decreased from 30.40 Ks to 15.95 Ks; for singles, their pay decreased from 28 Ks to 13.55 Ks per day.³

The construction of the soccer stadium was supposed to take a year, and it continued even in the winter months. On July 20, 1943, Anton Vašek, the head of MV Department 14, which oversaw the "Jewish Question" in Slovakia, reported to Slovak prime minister Alexander Mach that there were 54 people in the camp. This number accounted for 1.4 percent of the total number of people in camps in Slovakia during that time. Of the 54 laborers, 46 were men and 8 were women; 23 were single, 29 married, 1 divorced, and 1 widowed. Thirty-six were "Israelites," and 18 were baptized. Together in 1943, the laborers worked 74,211 hours, and the expenses totaled 318,526.90 Ks.⁴

The laborers continued to live in the camp until the Slovak National Uprising broke out on August 29, 1944. When the antifascist revolt started in Slovakia, the forced laborers were liberated, and many joined the partisans. The stadium, recently renovated, is still in use by the Žilina soccer club.

SOURCES Very little has been written about the work center in Žilina; most publications focus on the nearby transit camp. Some information on the work center can be found in Haim Gordon, *The Rise and Decline of the Jewish Community in Žilina* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2003). Some historical information is also provided on the MŠK Žilina's official webpage at www.mskzilina.sk/index.php?url=static&stranka=8.

Primary sources are located at USHMMA in the SNA collection, RG-57.001M, reel 112. Documents on the Žilina work center can also be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004).

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 112, box, 392, file 18.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. "Výročná správa židovských pracovných táborov a stredísk 1943," n.d., ANSMP, fond IX, 152/81, reprinted in Nižňanský et al., *Holokaust na Slovensku*, 5: 254 (Doc. 117).

ZOHOR

Zohor is a village located 21 kilometers (13 miles) northwest of Bratislava and approximately 6 kilometers (almost 4 miles) east of the Slovak-Austrian border. On May 31, 1943, the waterway company, Moravod; Ing. Gustáv Hamburger in Skalica, and the Slovak Interior Ministry (*Ministerstvo vnútra*, MV) signed an agreement to create a forced labor camp—at the time referred to as a work center (*pracovné stredisko*)—just outside of Zohor. The camp, called the “Jewish work center in the construction of levees—Morava River, Zohor” (*Pracovné stredisko Židov pri stavbe ochrannej hrádze rieky Moravy v Zohore*), held Jewish forced laborers (*prislušníci*) who erected levees and dug canals on the Morava River.¹

The workers were former forced laborers of the Sixth Labor Battalion (*Šiesty robotný prápor*, ŠP) who were discharged from the National Defense Ministry (*Ministerstvo národnej obrany*, MNO) on June 1, 1943, and thereafter came under MV control. The Jewish Council (*Židovská rada*, ŽR), created on July 15, 1943, consisted of the chair, Armin Beerman, and Armin Kaudl, who dealt with health and social issues.

The camp commander was Tomáš Vlček, and several members of the Hlinka Guard (*Hlinkova garda*, HG), including Viliam Bolgáč, served as guards. Discipline was strict. Moravod was responsible for paying the MV-supervised HG camp guards and for furnishing their provisions and accommodations. The camp operated under the rules and regulations governing forced labor camps for Jews.

Moravod also provided housing for the forced laborers, which included barracks, a communal kitchen, and an office. These barracks were located about 50 meters (164 feet) from

the train station and accommodated approximately 150 laborers. Survivors recalled fleas and other pests in the wooden barracks. The forced laborers slept on wooden boards and had military-issued blankets that were also infested with parasites. They wore blue uniforms at work.

On November 24, 1943, Moravod requested that MV dissolve the Zohor camp. When it ceased to exist, the laborers were moved to Kral'ovany, a forced labor camp located 180 kilometers (110 miles) northeast of Zohor. Forty-three young people were also transported to Kral'ovany. The MV ordered them to be ready to leave on December 2, 1943, on the 6:05 A.M. train. Ján Eugen Šallay, the central warehouse manager of Moravod, inspected the barracks on December 15, 1943. The barracks were subsequently returned to the company.²

SOURCES Primary sources on the Zohor camp can be found in USHMMA, RG-57.001M (SNA), reels 158, 187, and 190. Published primary sources on this camp can be found in Eduard Nižňanský, Igor Baka, and Ivan Kamenec, eds., *Holokaust na Slovensku, 5: Židovské pracovné tábory a strediská na Slovensku 1938–1944* (Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku, 2004). VHA holds three testimonies that mention the camp at Zohor.

Vanda Rajcan

NOTES

1. “Pracovné stredisko židov pri stavbe ochrannej hrádze rieky Moravy v Zohore,” July 6, 1943, USHMMA, RG-57.001M, SNA, reel 185, box 571, file 15 (USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 185/517/15).

2. “Pracovné stredisko v Zohore,” n.d., USHMMA, RG-57.001M, 187/574/28.

TUNISIA



Jews who have been rounded up for forced labor march through the streets of Tunis carrying shovels, December 1942.
USHMM WS #07044, COURTESY OF BUNDESARCHIV.

TUNISIA (FRENCH AND ITALIAN CAMPS)

[Editor's note: Because little specific information is available on most of the French and Italian camps in Tunisia, we have chosen to provide a lengthy introduction, including source information, followed by the (necessarily) brief camp entries.]

With regard to the persecution of Jews in North Africa, Tunisia occupies a special place. Unlike Libya, it was not a colony of an Axis power during World War II, but a protectorate of France and thus of an occupied country largely under Nazi Germany's control. Unlike Morocco and Algeria, Tunisia experienced the landing of German troops in November 1942, so that large parts of this country came under direct military occupation by the Wehrmacht. As an ally of the Wehrmacht, Italy also sent army units to Tunisia, although they were de facto under German leadership. Tunisia was also exceptional in that Italy, in the context of its Mediterranean policy, laid claim to the country, and the German authorities took that into account in their occupation policies. At the same time, Nazi Germany was not prepared either to terminate French control over the country or to grant Tunisia independence. Consequently, during the German-Italian occupation of Tunisia there were altercations not only between the independence movement and the French and Italian authorities but also between the German and the Italian authorities. In addition, the French resident-general (*résident-général*) in Tunis, Amiral Jean-Pierre Esteva, introduced the antisemitic Jewish Law (*Statut des juifs*) in March 1942.¹ Although this anti-Jewish policy was less onerous than that in Vichy France, it still included "Aryanization" measures. Thus, Tunisian Jews were caught in the middle: between the French Vichy administration; the German persecution apparatus; the independence movement, which in large part was anti-Jewish in orientation; and the Italian authorities, which sought to gain sovereignty over Tunisia in the long term.

Before World War II, there were around 85,000 Jews living in Tunisia, more than half of whom were residents of Tunis, the capital. Most held Tunisian citizenship, and several thousand—primarily foreign soldiers and administrative employees—also had French citizenship. In addition, about 5,000 Jews were Italian citizens. Along with prosperous and well-educated Jews, in the individual Jewish communities there were numerous poor and poorly educated members. Of the Italians living in Tunisia, the Jews were among the most affluent, whereas the Italian non-Jews in many cases were fishermen and simple workers. In 1942, the Italian government protested against the endeavors of the Vichy administration to "Aryanize" Jewish property. It viewed those efforts as an attempt to take possession of the substantial property of these individuals and simultaneously to weaken Italy's position in Tunisia. The Italian government later took the same

stance with regard to the Germans' persecution of Jews, because protection of the wealthy Jews was seen at the same time as protection of the Italian "national spirit" (*italianità*) in Tunisia.

On November 9, 1942, following the invasion of Algeria and Morocco by British and U.S. troops the previous day, the Wehrmacht began landing forces in northern Tunisia—all around the capital and the important port in Bizerte. At the end of November, the German and the less numerous Italian troops were under considerable military pressure to prevent a possible strangulation of the Tunisian bridgehead by the Allies. Finally, in December 1942, the Axis powers succeeded in strengthening their position and expanding the bridgehead by gaining ground.

It was in this phase that the deployment of Jewish forced laborers began. In an order dated December 6, 1942, General der Panzertruppen Walther Nehring, commander of the XC Army Corps, called for the army position held thus far to be improved. Named as auxiliary workers for this improvement were the local population and the Jews. The order requiring the furnishing of workers included the following arrangements for the deployment of Jews:

1. The male Jewish civilian population is to be made available by the SD (Security Service, *Sicherheitsdienst*) for the performance of earthwork operations, in such a way that initially, as a first installment, 1,000 men are available as a workforce for each of the Bizerte, Tunis-North, and Tunis-South sector commanders.
2. The Jewish work squads are to be formed by the Jewish communities, and an administrative team is to be attached to them. The administrative teams are to be used for cooperative work with the headquarters of division-sized and larger units. They are responsible for the execution of the orders by the work gangs. Otherwise they are to be treated by the field elements as hostages.
3. Supplies and equipment are guaranteed by the Jewish communities. The field elements provide accommodations and appropriate guard forces at the worksites.
4. The work gangs, each 1,000 strong, are to be brought (on foot or rail transport only, where possible) by the SD, after consultation with the sector commanders, to the following locations:
 - Mateur for Bizerte Sector
 - St. Cyprien for Tunis-North Sector
 - Ben Arous for Tunis-South SectorThe sector commanders arrange the other details with the SD through corps headquarters.
5. Payment of the workforce must be made by the Jewish community.²

The order was preceded by a conversation between Nehring; SS-Obersturmbannführer Walter Rauff, who headed the Einsatzkommando Tunis of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*, Sipo) and SD following his service in occupied Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union; and Rudolf Rahn, the plenipotentiary who, as the political representative to the commander of the German troops in Tunis between November 1942 and May 1943, represented the German Foreign Office in Tunisia. Thus all the significant German authorities—but none of the Italians—were represented in the essential decision making on the deployment of Jewish forced laborers. Rudolf Rahn claimed that Generaloberst Hans-Jürgen von Arnim—who had taken control of Axis forces on December 8, 1942, as commander of the Fifth Panzer Army in Tunisia—in his capacity as commander-in-chief assigned the Jewish labor companies to individual troop units and issued the order “that the people are to be treated exactly like voluntary workers.”³ This is a euphemistic assertion, because the order dated February 18, 1943, with reference to the improvement of the coastal defense positions, placed the Jewish work detachments on an equal footing with the teams of prisoners; that is, not exactly treated like free Arab workers.

For more information on the organization of forced labor by the German authorities in the country and the Jewish Council in Tunis, set up by German decree on December 6, 1942, and headed by Grand Rabbi Haïm Bellaïche, as well as on the conditions in the labor camps, see the introductory section on Tunisia in Volume 4. It is important to note here that one of the intermediaries between the SD and the Recruitment Committee of Jewish Labor (*Comité de Recrutement de la Main-d'Oeuvre Juive*), which bore the brunt of the organizational work, was SS-Hauptsturmführer Theodor Sävecke, deputy commander of the SD-Einsatzkommando Tunis, previously the SD's contact man for the Police of Italian Africa (*Polizia dell'Africa Italiana*) in Libya and later head of the Sipo in Milan. This key position therefore was occupied by a man who had experience in working together with the Italian authorities in North Africa.

According to historian Jacques Sabille, there was a total of about 6,400 Jewish forced laborers in Tunisia. That is, more than one-third of the 17- to 50-year-old age group, which included around 15,000 persons, was rounded up for work. Yet many Jews escaped from the labor camps. While 3,659 Jews were doing work for the Wehrmacht or the Italian Army as long-term detainees or as “home-sleepers” (*Heimschläfer*; privately housed and confined to camp during working hours only) on December 20, 1942, only 2,430 remained on February 13, 1943, and by April 25, the number had dropped still further, to only 1,556. Finally, in May 1943, the Allies liberated the remaining Jewish forced laborers, around 1,500 in total.

Ultimately, all the labor camps for Jews were under Wehrmacht and SD control, which by mutual agreement regulated and kept tabs on labor deployment. Wehrmacht members served on guard details in the camps, but Italian and French soldiers, as well as Arabs, also worked as guards. Although there were some camps where all the guards were Italians, Germans had supremacy and control. Evidence of that is Rahn's

clear message to Esteva, as early as November 1942, that the handling of the Jewish question in Tunisia was exclusively a German matter. The sole exceptions to this policy were Jews with Italian citizenship. They alone—and not, for example, Jews in the Italian zone—were to be excluded from German provisions, providing that was compatible with military needs.

French and Italian camps in Tunisia can be arranged according to the following typology: forced labor camps for Jews, which were Italian-run, and internment camps for Jews deported from Libya to Tunisia. A third category of “camp,” which deserves mention, consists of “day camps,” in which Jewish forced laborers were confined for a portion of each day. Such forced laborers were categorized as home-sleepers. The day-camp sites, such as the one at La Goulette, do not fit this encyclopedia's definition of a camp, but bear a striking resemblance to forced labor practices found in the same period in Romania and Slovakia.

The Italian-run forced labor camps for Jews included labor camps that were set up for a certain length of time, in which Jews were deployed as forced laborers over the long term. Therefore, numerous aspects of camp administration and structure in these camps were identical to those in other forced labor camps in occupied Europe or in European countries aligned with Nazi Germany. For example, as a rule the large camps had non-Jewish camp leaders, above the positions in the camp administration held by Jews, such as a group leader (approximately equivalent to the position of Kapo) and camp police. Armed guards watched the prisoners at all times.

The French-run internment camps for Jews served a different function from the forced labor camps. In the internment camps, Jews of all ages and of both sexes were held at a small number of sites under guard. These camps were not used for the purpose of labor deployment in segregated groups, but rather to house Jews deported from Libya. Therefore they resembled internment camps of the type found all over occupied Europe. Such camps were first established by the French administration in Tunisia, which was loyal to Vichy France. However, after the German landing in November 1942, the Germans assumed supervisory control over all camps in which Jews were interned, including those housing deportees from Libya.

The Italian sector in Tunisia was located southeast of Tunis in the area of Zaghouan and Enfidaville. The Germans transferred to the Italians a scant 1,000 Jewish forced laborers. The remoteness of this mountainous region and the difficult lines of communication to Tunis worsened the situation of the Jews deployed by the Italians. Of course, the treatment of the detainees by Italian guards was fundamentally better than by German guards, and the Jews were less heavily exposed to Allied bombing raids. Nevertheless, the camp inmates suffered from deplorable hygienic conditions in their wretched accommodations, as well as from a shortage of water. Basic hygienic facilities were lacking, and medical care in the Italian camps was inadequate. Historian Daniel Carpi points out that Italian guards also misappropriated for their own use the

rations intended for the Jewish forced laborers. Such behavior increased the hunger of the camp inmates, whose diet generally was not adequate for the demands of hard physical labor. Thus the living conditions in the Italian labor camps, too, were anything but humane. The precise number of Jews who died while doing forced labor or who were killed by the guards is unknown. Overall, it is estimated that around 100 Jews lost their lives in the course of forced labor or were murdered. Given a total of around 6,400 Jewish forced laborers, the general mortality rate therefore was almost 1.6 percent.

In 1941 and 1942 there was heavy fighting in Libya, and during that period the control of fairly large parts of the Italian colony changed hands repeatedly, shifting between the Wehrmacht and the Italian Army, on the one hand, and the British Eighth Army, on the other. Starting in late 1941, the German Afrika Korps pushed forward in an eastward direction and forced the British back toward Egypt. On February 7, 1942, Mussolini, as Italy's interior minister, issued an order to the Italian governor of Libya, Ettore Bastico, requiring that the Jews be interned. He issued this order in the belief that the Jews of Benghazi had welcomed the British as liberators. Meanwhile, as of January 1942, Jews with British citizenship were gradually brought by ship to Italy and interned there in various locations. In July 1942, Jews with French citizenship were deported to Algeria, and Jews with Tunisian citizenship to Tunisia.

For the Jews brought to Tunisia, Esteva's administration set up three camps in the summer of 1942 pursuant to Vichy anti-Jewish policy: in Gabès, Marcia Beach (Marcia Plage) near Tunis, and Tniet-Agarev near Sfax. In these internment camps, the conditions of detention were similar in principle to those in the enclosed labor camps. After German and Italian troops had conquered a relatively large area in Tunisia, the German authorities established the principle that they alone would make decisions concerning the handling of the "Jewish question." Thus the SD also assumed supervisory control over the internment camps for the Jews deported from Libya.

From this point on, the detainees' living conditions deteriorated. Leaving the camp was permitted only by exception and only under heavy guard. In addition, at least for Gabès, it has been verified that this camp was fenced-in and that leaving camp without permission was punishable by death.⁴ The assistance provided to the inmates by the Jewish communities decreased. All the Jews were very poorly housed from the beginning, but now they also suffered from hunger and thirst and were forced to live in poor hygienic conditions. As a result of these circumstances and the largely nonexistent medical care, many inmates fell ill.

As in France's other North African colonies, following liberation a military tribunal investigated the crimes not only of the Germans but also those of the Vichy authorities. In Tunisia, this tribunal was convened in Tunis. It gathered statements from survivors and documents relating to persecution. Esteva, evacuated to France by the Germans, was tried in absentia and sentenced to death as early as May 15, 1943, by a military court headed by Général d'armée Henri Giraud. His arrest in Paris

on September 22, 1944, was followed by a new proceeding, which ended on March 15, 1945, with his sentencing to life imprisonment. For reasons of ill health, however, Esteva was released in August 1950. He died the following year in Reims.

SOURCES Secondary sources on French and Italian camps for Jews in Tunisia start with the landmark treatment by Jacques Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie sous Vichy et l'occupation*, preface by Daniel Mayer (Paris: Éditions du Centre, 1954). In numerous later works on Tunisia during the Vichy era, there are only short sections dealing with forced labor. In German, there is a short survey, Eberhard Jäckel, Peter Longerich, and Julius H. Schoeps, eds., "Tunesien," in *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* (Munich, Zürich: Piper, 1995); in Hebrew, there is information on individual locations and the camps established there in 'Irit Avramski-Blai, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Luv; Tunisiyah: Entsiklopediyah shel ha-yishuvim ha-Yehudiyim le-min b'vasdam ve-'ad le-a'har Sho'at; Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Sheniyah* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1997). A good overview in English and French is Michel Abitbol, *The Jews of North Africa during the Second World War* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989). The French edition appears under the title *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord sous Vichy* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1983). In addition, there is Daniel Carpi, *Between Mussolini and Hitler: The Jews and the Italian Authorities in France and Tunisia* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England, 1994). Carpi has closely examined Italian policy with regard to the Jews in Tunisia.

Primary sources on the French and Italian camps in Tunisia can be found in CDJC; for example, CXXIII-68, CXXIV-17, and CCCLXXXVII-4 (some of this documentation is available at USHMM as RG-43.024M). Additional sources are located in BAMA (Bestand RH 21-5). In addition, there are documents concerning the situation of the Jews in Tunisia and the attitude of the Italian occupation authorities in the collection of documents compiled by URO, *Judenverfolgung in Italien, den italienisch besetzten Gebieten und in Nordafrika* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1962). On the three internment camps for Jews deported to Tunisia from Libya, information is available from legal proceedings concerning restitution in OLG Köln. Excerpts from the decision appear in "24. BEG-SchlussG Art. V Nr. 1 I," *RsWgr* 26 (1975): 28–31. The self-exculpatory remarks of Rudolf Rahn can be found in *Rubeloses Leben; Aufzeichnungen und Erinnerungen* (Stuttgart: Europäischer Buchklub, 1952). Early published memoirs of Jewish forced laborers in occupied Tunisia start with Paul Ghez, *Six mois sous la botte: Les Juifs de Tunis aux prises avec le SS* (Paris, Tunis: S.A.P.I., 1943); Robert Borgel, *Étoile jaune et croix gammée: Récit d'une servitude* (Tunis: Ed. Artypo, 1944); and Gaston Guez, ed., *Nos martyrs sous la botte Allemande: Où, les ex-travailleurs Juifs de Tunisie racontent leurs souffrances* (Tunis: Les presses Typo-Litho du journal "La Presse," 1946). In addition, Albert Memmi dealt with his experiences on the staff of the Comité de Recrutement and as a former forced laborer in the form of an autobiographical novel in *Die Salzsäule* (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1963). The original French edition appeared under the title *La Statue de Sel* (Paris: Ed. Corrêa, 1953).

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Statut des juifs, USHMMMA, RG-43.024M (CDJC), LXXXIII, reel 38.

2. Nehring order, December 6, 1942, NG-2571, extracted in Sabille, *Les Juifs de Tunisie sous Vichy et l'occupation*, pp. 42–43 (plate).

3. Quotation from Rahn, *Rubeloses Leben*, p. 302.

4. “24. BEG-SchlussG Art. V Nr. 1 I,” *RsWgr* 26 (1975): 29.

Camps in Tunisia



DJEBEL CHAMBI

The Italian Army in Tunisia established a forced labor camp for Jews at Djebel Chambi, located roughly 8 kilometers (5 miles) northwest of Kasserine (Al-Qasrayn). Kasserine is 219 kilometers (or 136 miles) southwest of Tunis. The camp was located at or near the largest mountain peak in Tunisia, Jebel ech Chambi, which is 1,544 meters or almost one mile high. Italian soldiers served as the guards. Little is known about this camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

DJEBIBINIA

In December 1942, the Italian Army established a forced labor camp for Jews at Djebibinia (today: Al Jubaybinah), approximately 25 kilometers (almost 16 miles) west of Enfidaville and 71 kilometers (44 miles) southwest of Tunis. Forced laborers for this site were brought from the Zaghouan camp. One forced laborer, André Assuied, died of blood poisoning while in Djebibinia. His death led to rumors of an epidemic, but, according to historian Jacques Sabelle, two Jewish physicians, Drs. Moatti and Maurice Uzan, ascertained during an inspection that there was not an epidemic in the camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

DJELLOULA

The Italian authorities in Tunisia established a forced labor camp for Jews at Djelloula (today: 'Ayn Jalulah) on January 1, 1943. The neighboring village of 'Ayn Jioula is located 117 kilometers (nearly 73 miles) south-southwest of Tunis. The Djelloula camp was used for the detention of Jewish forced laborers deployed primarily for airfield maintenance. Shortly after its opening, an additional group of Jews arrived from the Zaghouan work camp. In mid-February 1943, Henry Sfez, as the authorized regional representative of the Labor Recruitment Committee (*Comité de Recrutement*), managed to persuade the Italian camp administration to allow 47 men from the camp to go to Tunis. Italian soldiers served as the guards. Djelloula prisoner Elie Mettoudi died of injuries suffered during an Allied air attack. The camp was closed on March 30, 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

DJOUGAR

Located 64 kilometers (approximately 40 miles) southwest of Tunis, Djougar (today: Jougar) was a forced labor camp for Jews established on December 9, 1942. The prisoners assisted with airfield maintenance and repair. The exact number of camp inmates is not known. On January 12, 1943, however, all

the Jews from the Saouaf labor camp were transferred to the Djougar camp, and as late as April 1943, a few forced laborers arrived from Sbikha.

The Italian soldiers guarding this camp were subordinate to Colonnello Impellizzeri of the 1st Mountain "Superga" Division. Impellizzeri gave permission to replace 50 Jews unfit for work with 25 new forced laborers from Bizerte. On April 21, 1943, 65 men were still held in Djougar, but it was closed only nine days later, on April 30, 1943. The camp capo, Raymond Raccah, managed to persuade the Italian camp leadership to let all the inmates return to Tunis, in view of the Allied advance toward that city. Thirty Jews rode by truck to Tunis, and the others made their way to Tunis on their own. Two forced laborers remained unaccounted for, however. They may have lost their lives during the last of the fighting in Tunisia or may have been murdered by soldiers of the Axis powers. The only prisoner killed during an Allied air raid at Djougar was Joseph Chemouny.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

ENFIDAVILLE

In December 1942, a camp for Jews was set up in Enfidaville (today: Enfidha), 76 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Tunis and 41 kilometers (almost 25 miles) northwest of Sousse. Detained at Enfidaville were 256 Jews brought by train from the Djebel Dejeloud railway station to Enfidaville on December 20. They were not called up for forced labor for quite some time, but had to line up for roll call three times a day and remain in confinement. The Italian camp chief treated the inmates humanely. Fourteen Italian soldiers guarded the inmates. In 1943, all of the inmates were moved to Kondas.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

GABÈS

The Gabès internment camp in southern Tunisia was established in July 1942 by order of the Vichy French protectorate. Gabès (Arabic: Qābis) is located approximately 325 kilometers (around 202 miles) south of Tunis. It was used to intern Jews with Tunisian citizenship expelled from Libya by the Italian Fascist regime. French gendarmes guarded the camp until November 1942. The internees successfully persuaded the camp leadership to allow individual Jews to leave the camp on occasion, accompanied by an armed guard, and to shop in town, using the scanty financial means they had brought with them. These purchases, in turn, ensured their survival. The British Eighth Army liberated the Gabès internment camp at the end of March 1943, but the Jews were still housed there as late as the fall of that year, waiting to be able to return to Libya.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

KONDAS

In 1943, the Italian Army set up a tent camp in Kondas (today: Kondar) after all the Jewish forced laborers were transferred from Enfidaville, which lies 24 kilometers (approximately 15 miles) to the northeast. (Enfidaville is 76 kilometers or 47.5 miles southeast of Tunis.) The Kondas labor camp was presumably shut down in April 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

LE KEF

Le Kef (Kef, El Kef, today: Al Kaf) is a city almost 700 meters (2,297 feet) above sea level in northwest Tunisia and the capital of the Kef governorate, located 149 kilometers (nearly 93 miles) southwest of Tunis and nearly 551 kilometers (more than 343 miles) northwest of Tripoli, Libya. Le Kef was the temporary capital of Tunisia during World War II. The Le Kef camp was a confinement center (*centre de séjour surveillé*, CSS) established by the Vichy French military authorities initially to detain Austrian and German refugees who served in the French Foreign Legion (*Légion étrangère*, LE).

The first 28 Austrian refugees left Tunis for Le Kef on April 24, 1940. Le Kef also received French political suspects such as communists and syndicalists. They were later joined by members of the Tunisian nationalist party, the Neo-Destourians. The camp had a capacity to accommodate 300 internees and had a separate disciplinary section. In November 1940 the political detainees were separated by nationality, and the Tunisians were sent to El-Guettar nearly 206 kilometers (128 miles) southeast of Le Kef. There were 115 British officers and sailors from the sunken cargo ships *Empire Defender*, *Empire Pelican*, and *Parracombe* at Le Kef, while the remaining crew members were placed in Djelfa and Laghouat. There were also some British airmen and 15 Spanish Republicans.

The morale among the political internees at Le Kef was not good.¹ A notable internee at Le Kef was the syndicalist leader, Georges Poropane. After demobilization on July 22, 1940, he was interned at Le Kef on August 5, 1940. A few weeks after Poropane's arrival in the camp, the internees went on hunger strike in protest of the harsh conditions. In response there was some improvement in household and sleeping conditions; they were given a stove and firewood (with winter approaching) and were exempted from excessive work. Poropane and his fellow internees then renewed their strike to protest bullying by the authorities. Poropane was released at the end of August 1942 and placed under house arrest in Algeria.

Following the Tunisia campaign and Allied victory on May 13, 1943, the detainees in Tunisian camps, including Le Kef, were progressively returned to civilian life.

SOURCES Secondary sources describing the camp at Le Kef include Jacob Oliel, *Camps du Vichy: Maghreb-Sabara 1939–1944* (Montreal: Éditions du Lys, 2005); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jews and the French Foreign Legion* (New York: KTAV Publishing House,

Inc., 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* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1972).

Primary source material for Le Kef can be found in the AN Police Générale collection, available on microfilm in USHMM as RG-43.016M.

Cristina Bejan

NOTE

1. "Les internés britanniques," n.d., USHMM RG-43.016M (AN, Police Générale), reel 17, carton 15111, p. 17.

MARCIA BEACH

The Marcia Beach (*Plage*) internment camp, located about 20 kilometers (more than 12 miles) west-northwest of Tunis, was set up in July 1942 by order of the French protectorate administration. In November 1942, the Nazi Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) assumed supervisory control over camps previously organized by the French authorities. The Marcia Beach camp only contained Jews deported from Libya to Tunisia by the Italian colonial administration, quartered in disused horse stables. Because only Jews from Libya with Tunisian citizenship were interned here, there were no internal Jewish, national tensions.

Male internees fit for labor performed excavation work for the Wehrmacht from time to time. It is not known whether other employers who might have used Jews for forced labor did so.

A German-appointed Jewish camp leader, Rafael Romani, born in Benghazi in 1904, was responsible for camp discipline. The guards, initially French gendarmes, were replaced by armed Arabs under German command. At first the Jewish community of the small coastal town La Marsa (Arabic: Al Marsa) tried to support the inmates, because the food supplied by the French authorities was insufficient. Later the Jewish community of Tunis arranged for deliveries of foodstuffs, which were distributed fairly, but they too were inadequate for the number of internees. All the inmates suffered from hunger, however, there is no information available about any inmate deaths or killings.

Around May 7, 1943, this camp was liberated, but the inmates remained in the camp for another six months because they were still unable to return to Libya. Nothing is known about any post-liberation proceedings against the guards.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

MOHAMEDIA

The Italian-run forced labor camp for Jews at Mohamedia, located approximately 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) south of Tunis, was established on December 11, 1942. The Jewish male prisoners were deployed in various types of forced labor. In all,

there were only 26 prisoners at Mohamedia. The exact date of the camp's dissolution is unknown, but the Allies liberated the area in early May 1943.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

SAINTE MARIE DU ZIT

The Italian-run forced labor camp for Jews at Sainte Marie du Zit, located approximately 50 kilometers (more than 31 miles) south-southeast of Tunis, was established on December 11, 1942. The prisoners maintained and repaired roads, as well as the German-built Sainte Marie du Zit Airfield. In total, 250 forced laborers were detained at the camp. The Italian Army shut down the camp on December 31, 1942.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

SAOUAF

In December 1942, the Italian Army established a forced labor camp for Jews at Saouaf (today: Aṣ Ṣawwāf), located just over 63 kilometers (more than 35 miles) south of Tunis. Its inmates performed forced labor for the army. The Italian soldiers serving as guards in this camp, like those in the camps at Djougar, Sbikha, and Zaghuan, were subordinated to Colonnello Impellizzeri, who belonged to the 1st Mountain "Superga" Division. On January 12, 1943, this camp was closed by order of the Italian Army, and the forced laborers were moved to the work camp at Djougar.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

SBIKHA

The Italian Army established a forced labor camp for Jews at Sbikha (today: Aṣ Subaykhah) in December 1942. The camp was located 39 kilometers (24 miles) southwest of Enfidaville. In January 1943, a group of forced laborers arrived at Sbikha from the Zaghuan camp. In mid-February, the Italian camp leadership allowed 30 Jews to go to Tunis at the request of Henry Sfez of the Recruitment Committee of Jewish Labor (*Comité de Recrutement de la Main-d'Oeuvre Juive*). The Jews, who were taken to Tunis by a noncommissioned officer (NCO) named Galese, were supposed to be replaced by an equal number of forced laborers, but Galese returned alone. Afterward, an Italian military court sentenced him to go to the frontlines, with a reduction in service grade. The Italian soldiers who guarded the Sbikha camp were under the command of Colonnello Impellizzeri, who belonged to the 1st Mountain "Superga" Division. In April 1943, the Italians liquidated the Sbikha forced labor camp and took the remaining Jews to the camp at Djougar.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

TNIET-AGAREV

Located 21 kilometers (13 miles) west of Sfax, the internment camp at Tniet-Agarev (Arabic: El Agareb) was set up in July 1942 by a decision of the French protectorate, which controlled it until November 1942. After that date, the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*, SD) of the Nazi SS assumed overall supervision, without completely overriding the decisions of the French civil administration. Interned in Tniet-Agarev were exclusively Jews with Tunisian citizenship who had been deported from Libya to Tunisia by the Italian Fascist regime. After November 1942, male inmates of this internment camp were occasionally called on to perform forced labor for the Wehrmacht.

Deported families as well as individuals were interned in the camp, so that the age structure of the inmates roughly conformed to that of the overall Jewish population in Libya. No information is available about the number of deaths in this camp. The guarding of the camp was the responsibility of French gendarmes, several of whom stole various items from the modest possessions of the internees. After November 1942, the guards were placed under the oversight of the Germans, who conducted weekly inspections.

After the establishment of the internment camp in the summer of 1942, the prisoners successfully sought permission for the Jewish community of Sfax to send food and doctors for the medical care of the inmates. This support, however, ended when the Germans occupied the region. In addition, the inmates organized the cleaning of the camp and arranged to exchange various items—clothing, bed linens, and other things they had brought with them from Libya—for food. Until November 1942, it was possible for Jewish inmates to barter on a small scale with Arabs from the surrounding villages. As a result, the local Arab population, at least, had some rudimentary knowledge of the Jews' situation.

The camp was liberated on April 10, 1943, by the British Eighth Army, but the inmates' situation did not improve as a result, because the French protectorate continued to run the camp. For the time being, the inmates were unable to return to Libya and had to keep living in the barracks camp, some until the summer of 1944. As far as is known, none of the camp staff was brought to trial after the liberation of the camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

ZAGHOUAN

In Zaghuan (or Zaghwan), almost 45 kilometers (nearly 28 miles) south of Tunis, a forced labor camp for Jews was set up in December 1942 in buildings that lacked roofs. The Jewish prisoners were used to maintain and repair roads and perform other types of forced labor for the Italian Army. In all, the camp held 345 Jews who were guarded by Italian soldiers. Like those in the Djougar and Sbikha camps, the Italian

soldiers guarding this camp were answerable to Colonnello Impellizzeri, who belonged to the 1st Mountain "Superga" Division. The regional representative of the Labor Recruitment Committee (*Comité de Recrutement*) in Zaghuan, a teacher named Robert Bellaïche, successfully persuaded the Italian camp administration to make some improvements in

the living conditions of the Jews. On December 30, 1942, numerous camp inmates were taken from Zaghuan to Djebibinia. On March 31, 1943, the Italians closed down the camp.

Jens Hoppe
Trans. Kathleen Luft

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

2ème Bureau	Deuxième Bureau de l'État-major général (Second Bureau of the French General Staff, Intelligence)
A-HL	Archives des Hôpitaux de Lannemezan (Lannemezan, France)
A-ICRC	Archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (Geneva, Switzerland)
A-IICG	Arhiv Istorijskog instituta Crne Gore (Archives of the Historical Institute, Crne Gore, Montenegro)
A-ISSAEC	Archivio dell'Istituto Sondriese per la storia della Resistenza e dell'età contemporanea (Archives of the Sondrian Institute for the History of the Resistance and Contemporary Age, Sondrio, Italy)
AAIU	Archives de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle (Archives of the Universal Jewish Alliance, Paris)
ABPO	<i>Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest</i>
AC	Archivio Comunale (Italian municipal archive)
AC-BSD	Archivio Comunale Borgo San Dalmazzo (Municipal Archive of Borgo San Dalmazzo, Italy)
AC-Se	Archivio Comunale Senigallia (Municipal Archive of Senigallia, Italy)
ACBdL	Archivio Comunale di Bagni di Lucca (Municipal Archive of Bagni di Lucca, Italy)
ACBP	Archivio Comunale Bagnolo in Piano (Municipal Archive of Bagnolo in Piano, Italy)
Acc. No.	Accession Number
ACCAP	Archivio Comunale di Capannori (Municipal Archive of Capannori, Italy)
ACDEC	Archivio della Fondazione Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (Archives of the Central Foundation of Contemporary Jewish Documentation, Milano, Italy)
ACMEOR	Asociația Culturală Mondială a Evreilor Originari din România (World Cultural Association of Jews Originally from Romania)
ACP	Archivio Comunale di Piano (Municipal Archives of Piano, Italy)
ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato (Italian Central State Archives, Rome)
ACS-CRI	Archivio Centrale dello Stato-Croce Rossa Italiana (Central State Archives of the Italian Red Cross, Rome)
ACT	Archivio Comunale di Tonezza (Municipal Archives of Tonezza del Cimone, Italy)
ACV-G	Archivio della Curia Vescovile, Grosseto (Archives of the Grosseto Episcopal Court, Grosseto, Italy)
AD	Archives Départementales (Departmental Archives)
AD-A-M	Archives Départementales des Alpes-Maritimes (Departmental Archives of Alpes-Maritimes, Nice, France)
AD-Ab	Archives Départementales de l'Aube (Departmental Archives of the Aube, Troyes, France)
AD-Ain	Archives Départementales de l'Ain (Departmental Archives of the Ain, Bourg-en-Bresse, France)
AD-Ard	Archives Départementales de l'Ardèche (Departmental Archives of the Ardèche, Privas, France)
AD-C	Archives Départementales de la Creuse (Departmental Archives of the Creuse, Guéret, France)

904 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AD-Can	Archives Départementales du Cantal (Departmental Archives of the Cantal, Aurillac, France)
AD-Cor	Archives Départementales de Corrèze (Departmental Archives of Corrèze, Tulle, France)
AD-Do	Archives Départementales de la Dordogne (Departmental Archives of the Dordogne, Périgueux, France)
AD-E-L	Archives Départementales d'Eure-et-Loir (Departmental Archives of the Eure-et-Loir, Chartres, France)
AD-L	Archives Départementales du Lot (Departmental Archives of the Lot, Cahors, France)
AD-Lo	Archives Départementales de Lozère (Departmental Archives of Lozère, Mende, France)
AD-M	Archives Départementales de la Mayenne (Departmental Archives of the Mayenne, Laval, France)
AD-Me	Archives Départementales de la Marne (Departmental Archives of the Marne, Châlons-en-Champagne, France)
AD-Mor	Archives Départementales du Morbihan (Departmental Archives of the Morbihan, Vannes, France)
AD-P-A	Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Atlantiques (Departmental Archives of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques, Pau, France)
AD-P-D	Archives Départementales du Puy-de-Dôme (Departmental Archives of the Puy-de-Dôme, Clermont-Ferrand, France)
AD-P-O	Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales (Departmental Archives of the Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan, France)
AD-R	Archives Départementales du Rhône (Departmental Archives of the Rhône, Lyon, France)
AD-S	Archives Départementales de la Savoie (Departmental Archives of the Savoie, Chambéry, France)
AD-S-S-D	Archives Départementales de la Seine-Saint-Denis (Departmental Archives of the Seine-Saint-Denis, Paris)
AD-Ve	Archives Départementales de la Vendée (Departmental Archives of the Vendée, La-Roche-sur-Yon, France)
AD-Y	Archives Départementales de l'Yonne (Departmental Archives of the Yonne, Auxerre, France)
ADA	Archives Départementales de l'Ariège (Departmental Archives of the Ariège, Foix, France)
ADA-HP	Archives Départementales des Alpes de Haute Provence (Departmental Archives of the Alpes de Haute Provence, Digne-les-Bains, France)
AD Au	Archives Départementales d'Aude (Departmental Archives of Aude, Carcassonne, France)
ADB-R	Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône (Departmental Archives of the Bouches-du-Rhône, Marseille, France)
ADC	Archives Départementales de la Charente (Departmental Archives of the Charente, Angoulême, France)
ADC-O	Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or (Departmental Archives of the Côte-d'Or, Dijon, France)
ADD	Archives Départementales du Doubs (Departmental Archives of the Doubs, Besançon, France)
ADDr	Archives Départementales de la Drôme (Departmental Archives of the Drôme, Valence, France)

ADFin	Archives Départementales du Finistère (Departmental Archives of the Finistère, Quimper, France)
ADG	Archives Départementales de la Gironde (Departmental Archives of the Gironde, Bordeaux, France)
ADGe	Archives Départementales du Gers (Departmental Archives of the Gers, Auch, France)
ADH	Archives Départementales de l'Hérault (Departmental Archives of the Hérault, Montpellier, France)
ADH-A	Archives Départementales des Hautes-Alpes (Departmental Archives of the Hautes-Alpes, Gap, France)
ADH-G	Archives Départementales de Haute-Garonne (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Garonne, Toulouse, France)
ADH-L	Archives Départementales de la Haute-Loire (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Loire, Le Puy-en-Velay, France)
ADH-M	Archives Départementales de la Haute-Marne (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Marne, Chaumont, France)
ADH-P	Archives Départementales des Hautes-Pyrénées (Departmental Archives of the Hautes-Pyrénées, Tarbes, France)
ADH-S	Archives Départementales de la Haute-Savoie (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Savoie, Annecy, France)
ADH-V	Archives Départementales de la Haute-Vienne (Departmental Archives of the Haute-Vienne, Limoges, France)
ADI	Archives Départementales de l'Isère (Departmental Archives of the Isère, Grenoble, France)
ADI-L	Archives Départementales d'Indre-et-Loire (Departmental Archives of Indre-et-Loire, Châteauroux, France)
ADL	Archives Départementales du Loiret (Departmental Archives of the Loiret, Orléans, France)
ADL-A	Archives Départementales de Loire-Atlantique (Departmental Archives of the Loire-Atlantique, Nantes, France)
ADL-C	Archives Départementales de Loir-et-Cher (Departmental Archives of the Loir-et-Cher, Blois, France)
ADL-G	Archives Départementales du Lot-et-Garonne (Departmental Archives of the Lot-et-Garonne, Agen, France)
ADM	Admiralty (The National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom, archival signature)
ADM-L	Archives Départementales du Maine-et-Loire (Departmental Archives of the Maine-et-Loire, Angers, France)
ADM-M	Archives Départementales de Meurthe-et-Moselle (Departmental Archives of the Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy, France)
ADS	Archives Départementales de la Sarthe (Departmental Archives of the Sarthe, Le Mans, France)
ADS-L	Archives Départementales de Saône-et-Loire (Departmental Archives of the Saône-et-Loire, Mâcon, France)
ADT	Archives Départementales du Tarn (Departmental Archives of the Tarn, Albi, France)
ADT-G	Archives Départementales de Tarn-et-Garonne (Departmental Archives of Tarn-et-Garonne, Montauban, France)
ADV	Archives Départementales du Var (Departmental Archives of the Var, Draguignan, France)
ADY	Archives Départementales des Yvelines (Departmental Archives of the Yvelines, Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, France)

a.e.	arkhivna edinitsa (Bulgarian archival unit)
AFHUMBN	<i>Acta Facultatis Humanisticae Universitatis Matthiae Belii Neosoliensis</i>
AFMD	Amis de la Fondation pour la Mémoire de la Déportation (Friends of the Foundation for the Memory of the Deportation)
<i>Afr. J.</i>	<i>Africana Journal</i>
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
<i>Ag</i>	<i>Annales de géographie</i>
Ag-La	Agenzia LAORE Sardegna (Sardinian Agency for Agricultural and Rural Development)
AH-PCE	Archivo histórico-Partido Comunista de España (Historical Archives, Communist Party of Spain, Madrid)
AISR	Archivio dell'Istituto per la storia della Resistenza e della società contemporanea (Archives of the Institute of the History of Resistance and Contemporary Society)
AISRA	Archivio dell'Istituto per la storia della Resistenza e della società contemporanea di Asti (Archives of the Institute of the History of Resistance and Contemporary Society of Asti, Italy)
AISRBVV	Archivio dell'Istituto per la storia della Resistenza e della società contemporanea nel Biellese, nel Vercellese e in Valsesia (Archives of the Institute of the History of Resistance and Contemporary Society in Biellese, Vercellese, and Valsesia, Varallo, Italy)
AISRVA	Archivio dell'Istituto storico della Resistenza e della società contemporanea in Valle d'Aosta (Archives of the Historical Institute of Resistance and Contemporary Society in Valle d'Aosta, Aosta, Italy)
AIU	Alliance israélite universelle (Universal Alliance of Jews)
AJ	Arhiv Jugoslovenske (Yugoslav Archive, Belgrade; succeeded by AS)
AJJDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (aka "the Joint")
Ajk	Arhiv Jugoslovenske kinoteke (Yugoslav Cinematic Archives, Belgrade, Serbia)
<i>Aju</i>	<i>Archives Juives</i>
<i>L'Almanacco</i>	<i>L'Almanacco: Rassegna di studi storici e di ricerche sulla società contemporanea</i>
Am	Archives municipales (French Municipal Archives)
Am-Br	Archives municipales Brest (Municipal Archives of Brest, France)
AMANR	Arhivele Ministerului Apărării Naționale a României (Archives of the Romanian Ministry of National Defense Archives, Bucharest)
AME	Arhiva Ministerului de Externe (Archives of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bucharest)
AMI	Arhiva Ministerului de Interne (Archives of the Romanian Ministry of the Interior, Bucharest)
AML	Archives de la Mairie de Lacauene (Archives of the City Hall of Lacauene-les-Bains, France)
AMP-J	Archive Mairie de Plénée-Jugon (City Hall Archives of Plénée-Jugon, France)
AMR	Arhivele Militare Romane (Romanian Military Archives, Bucharest)
AMSGF	Archivio Museo Storico della Guardia di Finanza (Archives of the Historical Museum of the Customs Office, Rome)
AMSNP	Archív Múzea Slovenského Národného Povstania (Archives of the Museum of the Slovak National Uprising, Banská Bystrica, Slovakia)
AMV SR	Archív Ministerstva Vnútra (Archives of the Ministry of Interior, Slovak Republic)
AN	Archives Nationales (French National Archives, Paris)
ANED	Associazione Nazionale Ex Deportati (National Association of Former Deportees)
Anj	Arhiva neprijateljskih jedinica (Archives of Enemy Units, Archives of the Military History Institute, Belgrade, Serbia)

ANPPIA	Associazione Nazionale Perseguitati politici Italiani Antifascisti (National Association for Politically Persecuted Antifascist Italians)
ANR	Arhivele Naționale ale României (National Archives of Romania, Bucharest)
ANR-Bi	Arhivele Naționale ale României-Bihor (National Archives of Romania-Bihor Branch)
ANR-Că	Arhivele Naționale ale României-Călărași (National Archives of Romania-Călărași Branch)
ANR-Cos	Arhivele Naționale ale României-Constanța (National Archives of Romania-Constanța Branch)
ANR-G	Arhivele Naționale ale României-Galați (National Archives of Romania-Galați Branch)
ANR-H	Arhivele Naționale ale României-Hunedoara (National Archives of Romania-Hunedoara Branch)
ANR-Ialo	Arhivele Naționale ale României-Ialomița (National Archives of Romania-Ialomița Branch)
ANR-Is	Arhivele Naționale ale României-Iași (National Archives of Romania-Iași Branch)
ANR-Mu	Arhivele Naționale ale României-Mureș (National Archives of Romania-Mures Branch)
ANR-Vs	Arhivele Naționale ale României-Vaslui (National Archives of Romania-Vaslui Branch)
ANRM	Arhiva Națională a Republicii Moldova (National Archives of the Republic of Moldova, Chișinău)
ANS	Archives Nationales du Sénégal (National Archives of Senegal, Dakar)
ANSC	Asociația Națională a Studenților Creștini (Romanian Christian National Student Association)
ANSP	Associazione Nazionale “Sandro Pertini”—Firenze (“Sandro Pertini” National Association—Florence)
ANV	Arhio Nomarchias Voiōtias (Archive of the Prefecture of Viotia, Greece)
AOF	Afrique occidentale française (French West Africa)
<i>AP&J</i>	<i>Aberdeen Press & Journal</i>
<i>APH</i>	<i>Air Power History</i>
APN	Archives de la Police Nationale (Archives of the National Police, Paris)
APO	Army Post Office
AQSH	Arkivi Qëndror Shtetëror (Albanian State Archives, Tiranë)
APPP	Archives de la Préfecture de Police de Paris (Archives of the Prefecture of Police of Paris)
A-RS	Archiv Republika Slovenija (Archives of the Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana)
<i>ArchMol</i>	<i>Archiva Moldaviae</i>
ARDIEP	Associations des résistants, déportés emprisonnés et internés en Afrique du Nord (Association of Resisters, Imprisoned Deportees, and Internees in North Africa)
<i>Arkeia</i>	<i>Arkeia: Revue d'histoire; Histoire, mémoire du Vingtième siècle en Sud-Ouest</i>
AS	Arhiv Srbije (Archives of Serbia, Belgrade)
ASA	Archivio di Stato di Asti (Asti State Archives, Italy)
ASC-C	Archivio Storico del Comune di Carpi (Historical Archives of the Commune of Carpi, Italy)
ASC-S	Archivio Storico del Comune di Sondrio (Historical Archives of the Commune of Sondrio, Italy)
ASF	Archivio di Stato di Forlì (Forlì State Archives, Italy)
ASFI	Archivio di Stato di Firenze (Florence State Archives, Italy)
ASG	Archivio di Stato de Genova (Genoa State Archives, Italy)

ASHM	Archives de la Société d'Histoire de la Montagne (Archives of the Society of the History of the Montagne, Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, France)
ASL	Azienda Sanitaria Locale (Italian: local health center)
ASLU	Archivio di Stato di Lucca (Lucca State Archives, Italy)
ASM	Archivio di Stato di Macerata (Macerata State Archives, Italy)
ASMAE	Archivio Storico-diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Archives of Diplomatic History of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rome)
ASMo	Archivio di Stato di Modena (Modena State Archives, Italy)
ASP	Archivio di Stato di Parma (Parma State Archives, Italy)
ASV	Archivio di Stato di Vercelli (Vercelli State Archives, Italy)
ASVen	Archivio di Stato Venezia (Venice State Archives, Italy)
ASVR	Archivio di Stato di Verona (Verona State Archives, Italy)
AUCEI	Archivio dell'Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane (Archives of the Union of the Italian Jewish Community, Rome)
AUO	<i>Analele Universității Ovidius</i>
AUSSME	Archivio dell'Ufficio storico dello Stato maggiore dell'Esercito (Archives of the General Staff of the Army, Historical Office, Rome)
AVI	Arhiv Vojnoistorijskog Instituta (Archives of the Military History Institute, Belgrade, Serbia)
AŽOO	Arhiv Židovske općine Osijek (Archives of the Jewish Community of Osijek, Croatia)
B	busta (Italian: envelope)
BA-B	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives, Berlin)
BA-L	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg (German Federal Archives, External Branch Ludwigsburg)
BA-SAPMO	Bundesarchiv–Stiftung Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (German Federal Archives, Foundation of Party and Mass Organizations of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin)
b.č.	bez čísla (Slovak: without number)
BdO	Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei (Commander of the Order Police)
BdS	Befehlshaber der Sipo und des SD (Commander of the Security Police and Security Service)
BEG	Bundesentschädigungsgesetz (German Federal Compensation Law)
BFL	Budapest Főváros Levéltár (Budapest Municipal Archives)
BGHI	<i>Bulletin of the German Historical Institute</i>
BGRAHS	<i>Bulletin du Groupe de Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques de Sologne</i>
BH	Beit Hatfutsot (Museum of the Jewish People, Tel Aviv)
BK	Bereichkommando (Area Detachment)
BK	<i>Budapesti Közlöny</i>
BL	Batalion de Lucru (Romanian Labor Battalion)
BLH	Beth Lohamei Hagettaot (Archives of the Ghetto Fighters' House, Israel)
BML	Békés Megyei Levéltár (Békés County Archives, Gyula, Hungary)
BN	<i>Basler Nachrichten</i>
BNR	Banca Națională a României (National Bank of Romania)
BRCS	British Red Cross Society
BSÉSA	<i>Bulletin de la société d'études scientifiques de l'Aude</i>
BSHT-I	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Tille-Ignon</i>

<i>BuKö</i>	<i>Budapesti Közlöny</i>
CAC	Centre des Archives Contemporaines (Center of Contemporary Archives, Fontainebleau, France)
CAHJP	Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CamCom	Camera di Commercio di Roma (Chamber of Commerce, Rome)
<i>CAMR</i>	<i>Cercle d'archéologie de Monthuçon et de la région</i>
CAOM	Centre des Archives d'Outre-Mer (Center of Overseas Archives, Aix-en-Provence, France)
CAR	Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés (Committee of Assistance to Refugees)
CAS	Comité américain de Secours (American Committee of Assistance)
<i>Čas</i>	<i>Človek a spoločnosť: Internetový časopis pre pôvodné teoretické a výskumné štúdie z oblasti spoločenských vied</i>
CCI	Camps et Centres d'Internement (Camps and Internment Centers)
CdA	Corpo d'Armata (Italian Army Corps)
CDDP, C-M	Centre départemental de documentation pédagogique, Champagne-sur-Marne (Departmental Center of Pedagogical Documentation, Champagne-sur-Marne, France)
CDEC	Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea (Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation, Milano, Italy)
CDJ	Comité général de défense des Juifs (French Committee for the Protection of Jews)
CDJC	Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine (Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation, Paris)
<i>CDLM</i>	<i>Cabiers de la Méditerranée</i>
CEM	Consiliul Evreiesc Moghilev (Jewish Council of Moghilev, Transnistria)
CER	Centrala Evreilor din România (Central Bureau of Romanian Jews)
CERCIL	Centre d'étude et la recherche sur les camps d'internement et la déportation juive dans le Loiret (Center for Study and Research on the Internment Camps and the Jewish Deportation in the Loiret, Orléans, France)
CFL	Corps Francs de la Libération (Frankish Corps of Liberation)
CFR	Căile Ferate Române (Romanian Railways Company)
CFRT	Căile Ferate Române Transnistria (Romanian Railways in Transnistria)
CGE	Comandamentul General at Etapelor (Romanian Rear Area General Command)
CGQJ	Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives (General Commissariat on the Jewish Question)
CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail (General Confederation of Labor)
CGTU	Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire (General Confederation of United Labor)
ChGK	Chrezvychnaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissii (Soviet Extraordinary State Commission)
<i>ChrAll</i>	<i>Chronique Allemandes</i>
CHSGM	Comité d'histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale (Committee of the History of the Second World War; defunct organization—now Institute of Contemporary History, Paris)
CIAF	Commission italienne d'armistice avec la France (Italian Commission of the Armistice with France)
CIC	Counterintelligence Corps (United States Army)
CICR	Comité Internationale de la Croix Rouge (International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva, Switzerland)
CIMADE	Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprès des Évacués (Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced)

910 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CJF	Chantiers de la jeunesse française (Builders of French Youth; Vichy paramilitary organization)
<i>Clio</i>	<i>Clio: Rivista trimestrale di studi storici</i>
CM/1	Care and Maintenance 1 or Welfare and Support Form ("CM/1 Form"), International Tracing Service records
CMA	Christian Missionary Alliance
CML	Csongrád Megyei Levéltár (Csongrád County Archives, Hungary)
CMO	Chemin de Fer du Maroc Oriental (Railroads of Eastern Morocco)
CNI	Central Name Index of the International Tracing Service
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique (National Center of Scientific Research, Paris)
CNSAS	Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives, Romania)
<i>CNSE</i>	<i>Combat de Nice et du sud-est</i>
COJASOR	Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction (Jewish Committee for Community Care and Reconstruction)
conf. Ord. Nr.	confirmare Ordin Număr (Romanian: confirmation order number)
Cont.	Contrôle (Inspection; French archival abbreviation)
Cor	Corrèze Département, France
Cornești Tg.	Cornești Târg, Bessarabia (today: Cornești, Moldova)
CPLÉ	Compagnie de Passage de la Légion étrangère (Transit Company of the French Foreign Legion)
CRDE	Comitato ricerche deportati ebrei (Research Committee on Jewish Deportees, CDEC)
CRF	Croix-Rouge Française (French Red Cross)
CRI	Croce Rossa Italiana (Italian Red Cross)
<i>CRm</i>	<i>Cabiers de Rieumontagné</i>
CROWCASS	Central Register of War Criminals and Security Suspects
CRR	Crucea Roșie din România (Romanian Red Cross)
CRRL	Centre Régionale "Résistance et Liberté" (Regional Center, "Resistance and Liberty," Thouars, France)
CS	Comando Supremo (Italian Supreme Command)
C.S.	Controspionaggio (Italian: Counterespionage)
(č.s.)	číslo spisu (Slovak archival abbreviation: file number)
CSE	Contrôle Social des Étrangers (French Social Supervision of Foreigners)
<i>Čsp</i>	<i>Časopis za suvremenu povijest</i>
CSS	centre de séjour surveillé (French confinement center)
CTE	Compagnie de Travailleurs Étrangers (Company of Foreign Workers)
CTM	Compagnie de Transports au Maroc (Moroccan Transportation Company)
<i>CuIs</i>	<i>Curierul Israelit</i>
<i>Cumidava</i>	<i>Cumidava: Anuarul Muzeului Județean de Istorie Brașov</i>
CZA	Central Zionist Archives (Jerusalem)
D	Dosje (Albanian archival abbreviation: folder)
DACgO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernighivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Chernighiv Oblast', Ukraine)
DACkO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernivets'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Czernowitz Oblast', Ukraine)

Dagr	Divisione affari generali e riservati (Italian Division of General and Confidential Affairs; occasionally rendered in Italian holdings: AAGGRR)
DAMO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Mikolaivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Mykolaiv Oblast', Ukraine)
DAOO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Odeskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Odessa Oblast', Ukraine)
DAOO/YV	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Odeskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Odessa Oblast', Ukraine), collected by Yad Vashem
DASBU	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukraïny (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Kyiv)
DAVINO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnyts'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Vinnytsia Oblast', Ukraine)
DBK	Deutscher Bevollmächtigter in Kroatien (German Commissioner in Croatia)
DCA	Défense contre avion (French Air Defense)
<i>DdC</i>	<i>La Dépêche du Centre</i>
DE	Detășamentul de Evrei (Romanian: Brigade of Jews)
DEGOB	Magyarországi Zsidók Deportáltakat Gondozó Országos Bizottság (National Committee of Hungarian Jews Supporting Returning Deportees)
<i>DE(L)</i>	<i>Daily Express</i> (London)
DELASEM	Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei (Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants)
<i>DEP</i>	<i>Deportati, esuli, profughi</i>
<i>DeS</i>	<i>"Documenti e Studi": Rivista semestrale dell'Istituto storico della Resistenza e dell'Età contemporanea in Provincia di Lucca</i>
DG-IV	Durchgangsstrasse-IV (Highway IV)
Dgap	Divisione Generale Affari Politici (Italian General Division of Political Affairs)
DGPN	Direction générale de la Police Nationale (French General Directorate of the National Police)
Dgps	Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza (Italian General Directorate of Public Security)
Dgsg	Direzione generale servizi di guerra (Italian General Directorate of War Services)
DGSN	Direction Générale de la Sûreté Nationale (French General Directorate of National Security)
<i>DH</i>	<i>Dachauer Hefte</i>
DIKI	Dimotiko Kentro Istorias ke Tekmiriossis Volou (Municipal Center for Historical Research and Documentation of Volos, Greece)
DK	Državne komisije za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača (Yugoslav State Commission to Investigate Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators)
dkg	decagram
<i>DM</i>	<i>La Dépêche du Midi</i>
<i>DO</i>	<i>Les Dossiers de l'Obstétrique</i>
DOB	date of birth
Doc. No.	document number
<i>Docs Pb</i>	<i>Documents philatéliques</i>
dott. Cav.	Dottore Cavaliere (Italian honorific, loosely translated as university degree holder and commander)
DP	displaced person
DPODS	Direksia na politsiata, otdel dŭrzhavna sigurnost (Bulgarian Security Police Directorate)

912 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DQP	Drejtoria Qëndrore e Policise (Albanian Central Directorate of the Police)
DR	Dunai Repülőgépgyár (Danube Aircraft Factory, Csepel Island, Hungary)
DRED	Documenti raccolti per la ricerca sugli Ebrei deportati dall'Italia (documents collected for research on the Jews deported from Italy)
Ds	diario storico-militario (Italian: war diary)
DTA	Dimosia Tileorasi Archeio (Public Television Archive of Greece)
DTOSGPN	<i>Délégué des les Territoires Occupés du Secrétariat Général pour la Police Nationale</i>
E&F	Eaux-et-Forêts (Water and Forests Department)
E&L	Eure-et-Loir Département
EA	Ethnikē Allēleggyē (National Solidarity; Greek aid organization and partisan front)
EA	<i>Ethnikē Antistasē</i>
EAM	Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo (Greek National Liberation Front)
Échos	<i>Échos Saléviens: Revue d'histoire locale</i>
ECOSMEG	European Cosmopolitanism and Sites of Memory
ÉCPAD	Établissement de Communication et de Production Audiovisuelle de la Défense (Communications and Audiovisual Establishment of the French Defense Ministry, Paris)
ÉD	<i>Études Drômoises</i>
EES	Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós (Hellenic Red Cross)
ÉEUF	Éclaireuses et Éclaireurs unionistes de France (Unionist Girl and Boy Scouts of France)
EG-J	Einsatzgruppe (der Sipo und des SD) für Jugoslawien (Einsatzgruppe of the Security Police and the Security Service for Yugoslavia)
EI	<i>Écarts d'identité</i>
EIF	Eclaireurs Israélites de France (French Jewish Scouts)
EK	Etsivä keskuspoliisi (Finnish Security Police)
EK-Valpo	Etsivä keskuspoliisi-Valtiollinen poliisi (Finnish archival designation: Finnish Security Police collections)
ELAS	Ellinikós Laikós Apeleftherotikós Stratós (Greek People's Liberation Army)
Ell	<i>Ellenzék</i>
Er.P	Erillinen Pataljoona (Finnish: detached battalion)
ESC	Ente Sardo di Colonizzazione (Sardinian Colonization Authority)
EsM	Espaces Marx (Paris)
EsUj	<i>Esti Ujság</i>
ÉT	<i>Études Tsiganes</i>
EVDG	Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre (French Foreign Legion Volunteers for the duration of the war)
F	fond (archival abbreviation)
F-18	"Registration of Liberated Former Persecutees at Various Locations" at the International Tracing Service
FAA	Fleet Air Arm (UK Royal Navy)
FAA	<i>Fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezőkön: Dokumentumok a mundaszolgá lat történetéhez Magyarországon</i>
FAF-UC	Fondazione Alfred Lewin-Una Città (Alfred Lewin Foundation, One City, Forlì, Italy)
fasc.	fascicolo (Italian: file)
FCER	Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România (Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania)

FF.AA.	Forze Armate (Italian Armed forces)
FFI	Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur (French Forces of the Interior; resistance organization)
<i>FHS</i>	<i>French Historical Studies</i>
FJCY	Federation of Jewish Communities in Yugoslavia
FK	Feldkommandantur (German Army Field Command Office, designated by unit with an Arabic numeral and headquarters, e.g., FK 748, Saint-Brieuc)
FL	fletë/fleta (Albanian archival abbreviation: sheet)
FMD–BaPAR	Fondazione Memoria della Deportazione–Biblioteca archivio Pina e Aldo Ravelli (Deportation Records Foundation–Pina and Aldo Ravelli Library Archives, Milano, Italy)
FNDIRP	Fédération nationale des déportés, résistants, et patriotes (French Federation of Deportees, Resisters, and Patriots)
FO	Foreign Office (London)
FSB	Federal'naya sluzhba bezopasnosti Rossiyskoy Federatsii (Russian Federal Security Services)
FSJF	Fédération des Sociétés Juives de France (Federation of the Jewish Societies of France)
FTPF	Franc-Tireurs et Partisans Français (Irregulars and French Partisans)
FUCER	Federația Uniunii Comunităților Evreiești din România (Federated Union of Jewish Communities of Romania)
Gab.	cabinetto (Italian archival abbreviation: cabinet)
GABAP	Gabinetto armistizio-pace, Ministero degli Esteri (Armistice–Peace Cabinet, Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
GAFTA	Groupe Autonome des Forces Terrestres Antiaériennes (Autonomous Group of Ground Anti-Aircraft Forces)
GAK	Geniko arhio kratus (General State Archives, Athens, Greece)
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii (State Archives of the Russian Federation, Moscow)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GFP	Geheime Feldpolizei (Secret Field Police)
<i>GMCC</i>	<i>Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains</i>
GMR	Groupe (-ments) Mobile(s) de Réserve (Mobile Reserve Group or Groups)
GN	Gendarmerie Nationale (French National Gendarmerie)
GNR	Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana (Spanish Republican National Guard)
Gnr	Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana (Italian National Republican Guard)
GPO	United States Government Printing Office (Washington, DC)
GPTE	Groupe Palestinien des Travailleurs Étrangers (Palestinian Foreign Workers Group)
<i>GR:Sr</i>	<i>Geschichte und Region: Storia e regione</i>
<i>GSC</i>	<i>Giornale di storia contemporanea</i>
Gt. Gnl.	Gouvernement Générale (General Government)
GTA	Groupement de Travailleurs Algériens (Algerian Workers Group)
GTC	Groupe de Travailleurs Civils (Civilian Workers Group)
GTCE	Groupe de Travailleurs Civils Etrangers (Civilian Foreign Workers Group)
GTD	Groupe de Travailleurs Démobilisés (Demobilized Workers Group)
GTE	Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers (Foreign Workers Group)
GTEA	Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Autonome (Autonomous Group of Foreign Workers)

GTED	Groupe des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés (Demobilized Foreign Workers Group)
GTI	Groupes de Travailleurs Israélites (Jewish Workers Group)
<i>GuG</i>	<i>Geschichte und Gesellschaft</i>
GVA	Glavno upravlenie na arkhivite (Archives of the Bulgarian Interior Ministry, Sofia)
<i>H-K</i>	<i>Ha-kol: Glasilo Židovske zajednice u Hrvatskoj</i>
H. Res.	United States House of Representatives Resolution
HAHE	Historiko Archeio tou Hypourgeiou Exōterikōn (Historical Archive of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens)
<i>Hč</i>	<i>Historický časopis</i>
HC VII	Sofia People's Court Panel VII
HCK	Hrvatski Crveni križ (Croatian Red Cross)
HDA	Hrvatski državni arhiv (Croatian State Archives, Zagreb)
HDCM	Holocaust Documentation Center and Memorial (Budapest)
<i>HelsSan</i>	<i>Helsing Sanomat</i>
HG	Hlinková Garda (Slovak Hlinka Guard)
<i>HGS</i>	<i>Holocaust and Genocide Studies</i>
HI	Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California
HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
HICEM	Hebrew Immigration Committee (alternatively: Hebrew Immigration/Jewish Colonization Association/Emig-Direkt)
<i>HistPén</i>	<i>Histoire Pénitentiaire</i>
HJM	Hungarian Jewish Museum (Safed, Israel)
<i>HM</i>	<i>Holocaust and Modernity</i>
HMS	His (Her) Majesty's Ship
HPL	Hôpital Psychiatrique de Lannemezan (Lannemezan, France)
HQABS	Headquarters, Atlantic Base Section
<i>HrNa</i>	<i>Hrvatski narod</i>
<i>HSC</i>	<i>Holocaust: Studii și Cercetări</i>
<i>HSJCH</i>	<i>Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History</i>
HSL'S	Hlinková Slovenská Ľudová Strana (Hlinka Slovak People's Party)
HSS	Hrvatska seljačka stranka (Croatian Peasant Party)
HSSPF	Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer (Higher SS- and Police Leader)
<i>Ht</i>	<i>Hespéris tamuda: Université Mohammed 5., Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, Rabat</i>
HVHG	Hlavně Velitelstvo Hlinkovej Gardy (Headquarters of the Slovak Hlinka Guard)
"I"	Informazione (Italian: Intelligence)
I-Kke	Itä-Karjalan keskitysleirien esikunta (Archives of the Staff of the Eastern Karelian Concentration Camps, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
I-Ks	Itä-Karjalan sotilashallinto (Archive of the Eastern Karelian Military Administration, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
I-L	Indre-Loire Département, France
IaB	Istorijski arhiv Beograda (Historical Archives of Belgrade, Serbia)
ICM	Inspectoratul Clerului Militar (Romanian Military Clergy Inspectorate)
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross (Geneva, Switzerland)
IEQJ	Institut d'Étude des Questions Juives (Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question)

IGC	Inspection Générale des Camps (French Inspector General of Camps)
IGJ	Inspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei (Romanian Inspector General of the Gendarmerie)
IHTP	Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent (Institute of Contemporary History, Paris)
<i>IJ</i>	<i>Information Juive</i>
IKL	Inspektion der Konzentrationslager (Nazi SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps)
<i>II Ter</i>	<i>Il Territorio: Semestrale di storia, memoria, cultura, fotografia, ambiente</i>
IMI	Italienische Militärinternierte (Italian Military Internee)
IMT	International Military Tribunal
Ing.	Ingenieur (German honorific for engineer)
ins.	inserto (Italian archival abbreviation: insert)
Interbrigade	International Brigade (Spanish Civil War)
inv. č.	inventárne číslo (Slovak archival abbreviation: inventory number)
ISI	Institut za savremenu istoriju (Institute of Contemporary History, Belgrade, Serbia)
ISRECIM	Archivio dell'Istituto Storico della Resistenza e dell'età contemporanea di Imperia (Archives of the Historical Institute of the Resistance and the Contemporary Age of Imperia, Imperia, Italy)
ISRSCPC	Istituto storico della resistenza e della società contemporanea in Cuneo e provincia (Historical Institute of the Resistance and Contemporary Society in Cuneo and Province)
ISSREC	Istituto sondriese per la storia della resistenza e dell'età contemporanea (Sondrio Institute for the History of the Resistance and the Contemporary Era, Sondrio, Italy)
ISTRECO	Istituto per la storia della resistenza e della società contemporanea della Marca trevigiana (Institute for the History of the Resistance and Contemporary Society in the March of Treviso)
IT	Italien (Italian; German file designation used in captured Italian military records)
ITS	International Tracing Service (Bad Arolsen, Germany)
IWM	Imperial War Museum (London)
<i>Izv</i>	<i>Izvestiia</i>
JAF	Jednotný archivní fond (single archival collection: Czech archival signature)
<i>Jav</i>	<i>Jalkväen vuosisikirja</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Contemporary History</i>
<i>JGKS</i>	<i>Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropa</i>
<i>JGLS</i>	<i>Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society</i>
JIM-bg	Jevrejski istorijski muzej, Beograd (Jewish Historical Museum, Belgrade)
<i>JMGS</i>	<i>Journal of Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>JMIS</i>	<i>Journal of Modern Italian Studies</i>
JNOF	Jedinstveni narodnooslobodilački front (Unitary National Liberation Front, Yugoslavia)
<i>JO</i>	<i>Journal Officiel de la République française</i>
“Joint”	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
Joint-ul	Romanian: “The Joint,” American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
JSU	Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas (Unified Socialist Youth; Spanish Republican organization)
Jud.	județ (Romanian: district)
<i>JuNS-V</i>	<i>Justiz und NS-Verbrechen</i>
K	kutija (Serbian archival abbreviation: box)

K 149 PTI	MOL archival signature for Provincial Police Reports of the Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs
KA	Kansallisarkisto (National Archives of Finland, Helsinki)
KaKy	Katochiki Kyvernisi (Greek: Occupying Government)
KanArk	Kansan Arkisto (The Peoples' Archive, Helsinki)
Kč	Czechoslovak crown
KdS	Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes (Command Office of the Security Police and Security Service)
Ke	Kotijoukkojen esikunta (Staff of the Home Army of Finland)
KEOKH	Külföldiek Ellenőrző Országos Központi Hatóság (Hungarian National Central Alien Control Office)
KEV	Komisarstvo za evreiskite vüprosi (Bulgarian Commissariat for Jewish Affairs)
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security in the USSR)
KISOK	Középiskolai Sportkörök Országos Központja (National Center for Secondary Sports Clubs)
KKE	Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas (Communist Party of Greece)
KKSH	Kryqi i Kuq Shqiptar (Albanian Red Cross)
KL	Konzentrationslager (German: concentration camp)
Klim	milk spelled backward (brand of canned milk used during World War II)
KMOF	Közérdekű Munkaszolgálat Országos Felügyelője (Hungarian Public Labor Service)
ko	kokoelma (Finnish archival term: collection)
KPK	Komanda Përgjithshme Karabinierisë (Albanian: General Command of the Carabinieri)
Ks	Slovak crown
KSS	Komunistická Strana Slovenska (Communist Party of Slovakia)
KuKau	Kuopion kaupunginkirjasto (City Library of Kuopio, Finland)
KUZOP	Komisija za utvrdivanje zlocina okupatro i njihovih pomagaca (Slovenian Commission for the Investigation of Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators)
KZ	Konzentrationslager (German slang abbreviation for concentration camp)
LAORE	Agenzia regionale per l'attuazione dei programmi regionali in campo agricolo per lo sviluppo rurale (Regional Agency for the Implementation of Regional Programs in the field of Agriculture for Rural Development)
LAT	<i>Los Angeles Times</i>
LCSDIU	<i>Lettera del Centro Studi e Documentazione Isola di Ustica</i>
LD	<i>Lacio Drom: Rivista bimestrale di studi zingari</i>
LDH	Ligue des droits de l'Homme (League of Human Rights, Paris)
LE	Légion étrangère (French Foreign Legion)
LFC	Légion française des combattants (French Legion of Veterans)
LFC-VRN	Légion française des combattants et des Volontaires de la Révolution Nationale (French Legion of Veterans and Volunteers of the National Revolution; Vichy veterans organization)
LG	Landgericht (German regional or district court)
LICA	Ligue internationale contre l'antisemitisme (International League against Antisemitism)
L'impegno	<i>L'impegno: Rivista di storia contemporanea del Vercellese, del Biellese e della Valsesia</i>
Lin.RP	Linnoitusrakennuspataljoona (Fortification Construction Battalion)
LP	Lagărul de Prizonieri (prisoner of war camp)
LPRA	Lagărul de prizonieri de război americani (camp of American prisoners of war)
LPRS	Lagărul de Prizonieri Sovietici (Romanian camp of Soviet prisoners of war)

LPN	<i>Le Petit Niçois</i>
ES	Eudový Súd (Slovak People's Court)
LSA	Landssvikarkivet (Norwegian Treason Archive, Norwegian National Archives, Oslo)
<i>LuNo</i>	<i>Lumea Noastră</i>
M-L	Maine-et-Loire Département (France)
MA	Moreshet Archive (Menashe, Israel)
MACE	Maison d'Accueil Chrétienne pour Enfants (Christian Reception Home for Children)
MACVG	Ministère des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre (Ministry of Veterans and Victims of War, Brussels)
MAE	Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
MAE-ASD	Ministero degli Affari Esteri-Archivio Storico-diplomatico (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs–Diplomatic History Archives, Roma)
MAE-R	Ministerul Afacerilor Externe (Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
<i>MagIs</i>	<i>Magazin Istoric</i>
MAI	Ministerio dell' Africa Italiana (Ministry of Italian Africa)
MAN-MI	Mission des Archives nationales auprès du ministère de l'Intérieur de l'Outre-mer et des Collectivités territoriales (Mission of the French National Archives of the Ministry of the Interior of the Overseas and Territorial Communities, Paris)
<i>MaP</i>	<i>Music and Politics</i>
<i>MATP</i>	<i>Mémoire d'Ardèche et Temps présent</i>
MBF	Militärbefehlshaber in Frankreich (German Military Commander-in-Chief in France)
MCG	Marele Cartier General (Romanian Army General Headquarters)
MDVP	Ministerstvo Dopravy a Verejných Prác (Slovak Ministry of Transportation and Public Works)
<i>MÉ</i>	<i>Magyar Élet</i>
Mer-Niger	Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger (Mediterranean-Niger Railway, or Mediterranean Niger Company)
MF	Ministerstvo Financii (Slovak Ministry of Finance)
<i>Mg</i>	<i>Monde gitan</i>
MH	Ministerstvo Hospodárstva (Slovak Ministry of Economic Affairs)
Mi	Ministero Dell'Interno (Italian Ministry of the Interior)
MI 9	Military Intelligence 9 (Escape and Evasion)
MIOK	Magyar Izraeliták Országos Képvisellete (National Representation of Hungarian Jews)
MIPI	Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája (Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews)
<i>Mj</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire de la Shoah: Le Monde juif</i>
MmJa	Memorijalni muzej Jasenovac (Jasenovac Memorial Museum, Croatia)
<i>MMVNV</i>	<i>Montech, ma ville, notre ville: Journal municipal</i>
MN	Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger (Mediterranean-Niger Railway, or Mediterranean Niger Company)
MNCR	Mouvement National contre le Racisme (National Movement against Racism)
MNO	Ministerstvo Národnej Obrany (Slovak National Defense Ministry)
MNZ-TF	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Torteneti Fénykeptár (Hungarian National Museum, Photographic Collection, Budapest)
MNZS	Múzej novejse zgodovine (National Museum of Contemporary History, Ljubljana, Slovenia)
MOL	Magyar Országos Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary, Budapest)

918 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>MonOf</i>	<i>Monitorul Oficial</i>
Moravod	Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo (Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative)
MRDG	Ministère de la Réconstruction, Direction Générale (Belgian Ministry of Reconstruction, General Directorate, Belgium)
MRN	Musée de la Résistance Nationale (Museum of the National Resistance, Paris)
MRNJ	Muzej Revolucije Narodnosti Jugoslavije (People's Revolutionary Museum of Yugoslavia, Belgrade)
Msg.	Monsignor
MSP-L	Ministerstvo sociální péče, Londýn (Czechoslovak Ministry of Social Welfare, London)
MStM	Marele Stat Major (Romanian Army General Staff)
<i>MT</i>	<i>Le Magazine de la Touraine</i>
MTK	Magyar Testgyakorlók Köre (Circle of Hungarian Fitness Activists)
MUDr.	<i>Medicinae Universae Doctor</i> (Latin abbreviation for physician, commonly used in Slovakia)
MUP	Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova (Croatian Ministry of the Interior)
MV	Ministerstvo vnútra (Slovak Ministry of the Interior)
MV	Motor Vessel (Royal Navy designation, plus ship's name)
MVAC	Milizia volontaria anticomunista (Italian Anticomunist Voluntary Militia; Fascist organization)
MVR	Ministerstvo na vaeutreshnite raboti (Bulgarian Ministry of the Interior)
MVSN	Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale (Voluntary Militia for National Security, e.g., "Black Shirts")
MZ	Ministarstvo zdravstva (Croatian Ministry of Health)
MZSML	Magyar Zsidó Múzeum és Levéltár (Archives of the Jewish Museum of Hungary, Budapest)
MZV	Ministerstvo Zahraničných Vecí (Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
NaP	Národní archiv v Praze (Czech National Archives, Prague)
NARA	United States National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD
<i>NarNov</i>	<i>Narodne novine</i>
<i>NatPprs</i>	<i>Nationalities Papers</i>
NbS	Narodna biblioteka Srbije (National Library of Serbia, Belgrade)
NBUV	Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (Kyiv)
n.d.	no date
Nda	Nedićeva arhiva (Nedić Archives, VaB, Belgrade)
NDH	Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (Independent State of Croatia)
<i>NeS</i>	<i>Nord e Sud</i> (Naples)
NG	Nuremberg Government (Nuremberg war crimes trials document prefix)
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NMT	Nuremberg Military Tribunal
<i>NO</i>	<i>Nouvel Observateur</i>
NOB	Narodnoosvobodilna borba (Slovenian War of National Liberation)
<i>Nom</i>	<i>Novi omanut</i>
NOP	Narodnooslobođilački pokret (Yugoslav National Liberation Movement)
NOR	Narodnooslobodilački rat (Yugoslav War of National Liberation)
NOT	Népbíróóságok Országos Tanácsa (Hungarian National Council of People's Courts)

N.P.	no publisher
n.p.	not paginated
NS	Nasjonal Samling (National Assembly; Norwegian Nazi Party)
<i>Ob</i>	<i>L'Oribus</i>
OBE	Order of the British Empire
OF	Otechestven Front (Bulgarian Fatherland Front)
OFM	Ordo Fratrum Minorum (Order of Friars Minor)
Ogg.:	Oggetto (Italian: regarding)
OGYK	Országgyűlési Könyvtár (Library of the Hungarian Parliament, Budapest)
OJB	Organization of Jews in Bulgaria
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Supreme Command of the German Army)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Supreme Command of the German Armed Forces)
OLG	Oberlandesgericht (German Higher Regional Court)
OM	Oikeusministeriö (Archive of the Ministry of Justice, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
OMGUS	Office of the Military Government for Germany, United States
ONACVG	Office National des Anciens Combattants et Victimes de Guerre (National Office of Veterans and Victims of War, Ministry of Defense, Paris)
ONV	Okresný národný výbor (Slovak: District National Committee)
OOYV	Odessa Oblast' Archives records from the collections of Yad Vashem, Jerusalem
ORT	Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda (Society for Handicraft and Agricultural Work, a Jewish aid organization)
OSE	Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants (French Children's Aid Society)
OSP	Odeljenje specijalne policije (Serbian Special Police)
OSPB	Ministerstvo na obshtestvenite sgradi, pütishtata i blagoustroistvoto (Bulgarian Ministry of Public Works)
OSPEA	Omada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Anaphēs (Commune of Political Exiles of Anafi, Greece)
OSPEPh	Omada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Pholegandrou (Commune of Political Exiles of Pholegandros, Greece)
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
OT	Organisation Todt (Nazi construction organization)
OÚ	Okresný úrad (Slovak district office)
OV	Okresný Veliteľ (Slovak district commander)
OVRA	Organizzazione vigilanza repressione antifascismo (Italian Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Antifascism)
OVTP	Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost (Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor)
P/	préfet (French prefect with departmental abbreviation)
PäA	Päämajan Arkisto (Archive of the Finnish General Headquarters, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archives of the German Foreign Office, Berlin)
PAI	Polizia dell'Africa Italiana (Police of Italian Africa)
PCd'I	Partito Comunista d'Italia (Communist Party of Italy, 1921–1926)
PCE	Partido Comunista de España (Communist Party of Spain)
PCF	Parti communiste français (French Communist Party)

920 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PCI	Partito Comunista Italiano (Italian Communist Party after 1926)
PCIRO	Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization (International Tracing Service predecessor organization)
PCMCM	Președenția Consiliului de Miniștri-Cabinetul Militar, România (Romanian Presidency of Council of Ministers-Military Cabinet)
PCR	Partidul Comunist Român (Romanian Communist Party)
<i>PdS</i>	<i>La Provincia di Sondrio</i>
<i>PetC</i>	<i>Petit Courier</i>
PFSH	Partia Fashiste Shqiptarë (Albanian Fascist Party)
PG	prigioniere (-ri) di guerra (Italian: prisoner or prisoners of war, POW)
<i>Philobiblon</i>	<i>Philobiblon: Transylvanian Journal of Multidisciplinary Research in Humanities</i>
PI	Photographic Interpretation (report)
<i>PI</i>	<i>Provincia di Imperia: Rivista bimestrale dell'Amministrazione provinciale di Imperia</i>
p.i.	par intérim (French: acting post)
PIA	Párttörténeti Intézet Archivuma (Archives of the Institute of Party History, Budapest)
PK	Point Kilométrique (Kilometric Post)
PKSh	Partia Komuniste e Shqipërisë (Communist Party of Albania)
PM	Polizia Militare (Italian Military Police)
Pm	Pedagoški muzej (Pedagogical Museum, Belgrade)
PNF	Partito Nazionale Fascista (Italian National Fascist Party)
Poliivan	Poliitiset vangitsemiset (Finnish: political detention)
POPF	Parti Ouvrier et Paysan Français (French Workers' and Peasants' Party)
<i>Popr</i>	<i>Povijesni prilozi</i>
PPA	Parti Populaire Algérien (Algerian People's Party)
Ppa	Puolustusvoimien pääesikunnan arkisto (Archive of the General Staff of the Defense Forces, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
PPF	Parti Populaire Français (French Popular Party)
PPSh	Partia e Punës e Shqipërisë (Party of Labor of Albania–Albanian Communist Party)
PR	Policajně Riaditel'stvo (Slovak Police Directorate)
Pr	préfet régional (French regional prefect)
<i>PrMa</i>	<i>La Province du Maine</i>
PS	Paris-Storey (Nuremberg war crimes trials document suffix)
PSUC	Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña (Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia)
PÚ	pracovny útvar (Slovak work center; euphemism for a forced labor camp)
PvPE	Puolustusvoimain pääesikunta (General Staff of the Finnish Defense Forces)
Pvttkk	Poliittisten vankien ja turvasäilöläisten korvauskomitea (Finnish: Political Prisoners and Political Detainees Compensation Committee)
PX	photographic collection designation for the Scott Macfie Gypsy Collections, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom
<i>Q</i>	<i>La Quinzaine: Revue de la juive en France et à l'étranger</i>
<i>QSCV</i>	<i>Quaderni di Storia e Cultura Viareggina</i>
RA	Riksarkivet (Norwegian National Archives, Oslo)
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
racc.	raccomandata (Italian archival term: registered)
RAD	Reichsarbeitsdienst (Reich Labor Service)
RAF	Royal Air Force

<i>RAS</i>	<i>Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato</i>
<i>RASSFR</i>	<i>Rivista Abruzzese di Studi Storici dal Fascismo alla Resistenza</i>
<i>RAVSIGUR</i>	Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost (Croatian Directorate for Public Order and Safety)
<i>RB</i>	<i>La Resistenza Bresciana: Rassegna di studi e documenti dell'Istituto Storico della Resistenza di Brescia</i>
<i>RC</i>	<i>Revue de Comminges</i>
<i>RCAF</i>	Royal Canadian Air Force
<i>RCH</i>	<i>Review of Croatian History</i>
<i>Rd</i>	<i>Rivista dalmatica</i>
reg. br.	registarski broj (Serbian archival abbreviation: number of registration)
<i>RevTo</i>	<i>Revista Tomis</i>
<i>RFSS</i>	Reichsführer-SS (Reich Leader of the SS)
<i>RG</i>	record group
<i>RGASPI</i>	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (former Special [osobyi] Archive, see RGVA), Moscow
<i>RGBI</i>	<i>Reichsgesetzblatt</i>
<i>RGVA</i>	Rossiiskij Gosudarstvennyj Voennyj Arkhiv (Russian State Military Archive)
<i>RH</i>	Republike Hrvatske (Republic of Croatia)
<i>RICR</i>	<i>Revue internationale de la Croix-rouge</i>
<i>Riflessioni</i>	<i>Riflessioni: Umanesimo della Pietra</i>
<i>RJRS</i>	Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost (Croatian Directorate of Public Order and Security)
<i>RKKS</i>	Reichskreditkassenschein (German-issued scrip)
<i>RKU</i>	Reichskommissariat Ukraine (Reich Commissariat Ukraine)
<i>RLG</i>	Regia Luogotenenza Generale (Royal General Lieutenancy; the Italian governing authority in Albania)
<i>RMAI</i>	Ministerul Afacerilor Interne (Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs)
<i>RMH</i>	<i>Review of Military History</i>
<i>RMI</i>	<i>La Rassegna Mensile di Israel</i>
<i>RNR</i>	Royal Naval Reserves
<i>RomS</i>	<i>Romani Studies</i>
<i>RPSR</i>	<i>Romanian Political Science Review</i>
<i>RS</i>	Republika Slovenija (Republic of Slovenia)
<i>RS</i>	<i>Ricerche Storia</i>
<i>RSD</i>	<i>Rivista Storia e Documenti</i>
<i>RSI</i>	Repubblica sociale italiana (Italian Social Republic; sometimes rendered Rsi)
<i>RsWgr</i>	<i>Rechtsprechung zum Wiedergutmachungsrecht</i>
<i>Rt.</i>	részvénytársaság (Hungarian: company)
<i>RTim</i>	<i>Rivista Timocul</i>
<i>RUR ŽO</i>	Ravnateljstvo Ustaškog Redarstva–Židovski odsjek (Ustaša Police Directorate–Jewish Section)
<i>s/c</i>	sous couvert (de) (French bureaucratic abbreviation: under the cover of)
<i>S-P</i>	Sous-Préfet (French subprefect)
<i>SA</i>	Sturmabteilungen (Storm Detachment, aka Nazi Storm Troopers)
<i>ŠAB</i>	Štátny archív v Bratislave (State Archive in Bratislava)
<i>ŠABY</i>	Štátny Archív v Bytči (State Archive in Bytca, Slovakia)

ŠAN	Štátny archív v Nitre (State Archive in Nitra, Slovakia)
SANU	Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti (Serbian Academy of the Sciences and Arts, Belgrade)
SAO	Senior Allied Officer or Senior American Officer (prisoner of war officer spokesman)
SAP	Squadre di azione patriottica (Italian Squad of Patriotic Action)
ŠAPB	Štátny Archív v Považskej Bystrici (State Archive in Považska Bystrica, Slovakia)
ŠAPO	Štátny archív v Prešov (State Archive in Prešov, Slovakia)
SBO	Senior British Officer
SBU	Siemens-Bauunion (Siemens Construction Union)
SchlussG	Schlussgesetz (Federal German Terminal Law)
SCI	Serviciul Central de Informații (Romanian Central Intelligence Service)
SCM	Sottocapomanipolo (Italian National Republican Guard rank equivalent to a sottotenente)
<i>ScSl</i>	<i>Scrinia Slavonica</i>
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (Security Service of the Nazi SS)
SDK	Srpski dobrovoljački korpus (Serbian Volunteer Corps of Zbor)
SDP	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (Finnish Social Democratic Party)
SDS	Srpska državna straža (Serbian State Guard)
S.E.	Son Excellence (French: His Excellency)
Sect. Jand.	Sectorului Jandarmi (Romanian: Gendarmerie Sector)
<i>SeM</i>	<i>Storia e Memoria</i>
s.f.	sottofasciolo (Italian archival abbreviation: subfile)
s. fasc.	sottofascicolo (Italian archival abbreviation: dossier)
<i>SfePo</i>	<i>Sfera Politicii</i>
Sft.	Sfântu (Romanian: Saint)
SGPN	Sécrétariat Général pour la Police Nationale (General Secretariat of the French National Police)
SHD	Service Historique de la Défense (Historical Service of the Ministry of Defense, Paris)
SHD-DGN	Service Historique de la Défense, Direction de la Gendarmerie Nationale (Historical Service of the Ministry of Defense, National Gendarmerie Directorate, Paris)
SHGN	Service Historique de la Gendarmerie Nationale (Historical Service of the National Gendarmerie, Paris)
<i>SHí</i>	<i>Soproni Hírlap</i>
<i>SHN</i>	<i>Studia Historica Nitriensia</i>
SIA	Solidarité internationale antifasciste (International Solidarity of Antifascists)
SICELP	Società Italiana Costruzioni e Lavori Pubblici (Italian Society for Construction and Public Works)
Siguranța	Serviciul Secret de Informații (Romanian Secret Intelligence Service)
SIM	Servizio Informazioni Militare (Italian Military Intelligence Service)
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei (German Security Police)
SISRM	Serviciul de Informații și Securitate al Republicii Moldova (Archives of the State Security and Intelligence Service of the Republic of Moldova, Chișinău)
<i>SJA</i>	<i>Soviet Jewish Affairs</i>
SkR	Sonderkommando Russland (Special Kommando Russia)
<i>SINo</i>	<i>Službene novine</i>
<i>SISt</i>	<i>Slovene Studies</i>

SM	Sosiaaliministeriön (Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs)
<i>SMat</i>	<i>La Sarthe du Matin</i>
SME	Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (General Staff of the Royal Italian Army)
SMGC	Scott Macfie Gypsy Collections (University of Liverpool, United Kingdom)
SML	Somogy Megyei Levéltár (Somogy County Archives, Kaposvár, Hungary)
SMRE	Stato maggiore del Regio Esercito (General Staff of the Royal Italian Army)
SNA	Slovenský Národný Archív (Slovak National Archive, Bratislava)
SNCF	Société Nationale des Chemins de fer français (French National Railway Service)
SNCRR	Societatea Națională de Cruce Roșie din România (National Society of the Red Cross of Romania)
SNP	Slovenské Národné Povstanie (Slovak National Uprising)
SNS 1	Suomen-Neuvostoliiton rauhan ja ystävyyden seuran (Finnish-Soviet Peace and Friendship Society)
ŠOA	Štátny oblastný archív (Slovak State Regional Archive, with district)
ŠOA-B	Štátny oblastný archive-Bratislava (Slovak State Regional Archive-Bratislava)
ŠOBA	Štátny oblastný Úrad (Slovak State Regional Office)
ŠOKA	Štátny okresný archív (Slovak State District Archive, with district)
ŠOKA-Pr	Štátny okresný archív-Prievidza (Slovak State District Archive-Prievidza)
SOL	Service d'ordre Légionnaire (Service of the Legionary Order)
SOŠ	Stráž Obrany Štátu (Slovak National Defense Guard)
SoTu	Sotavankileirien tutkimuskeskus (Archive of the Prisoner of War Camp Research Center, Finnish National Archives, Helsinki)
<i>SoUpj</i>	<i>Sotilasaikakauslehti: Upseeriliiton julkaisu</i>
ŠP	Šiesti Rabotný Prápor (Slovak Sixth Labor Battalion)
SP IV	Specijalna policija IV (Serbian Special Police, 4th Section)
SPD	Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue (Finnish Social Democratic Party)
SPRSo	Suomen Punaisen Ristin sotavankitoimisto (Prisoner of War Office of the Finnish Red Cross)
ŠR	Štátna Rada (Slovak State Council)
SRI	Serviciul Român de Informații (Romanian Intelligence Service)
SS	Schutzstaffel (Nazi Protective Corps)
<i>Ss</i>	<i>Studi storici</i>
SS-HHB	SS-Hauptamt Haushalt und Bauten (SS-Main Office of Budget and Buildings)
SS-RSHA	SS-Reichssicherheitshauptamt (SS-Reich Security Main Office)
SSAA	Sottosegretariato di Stato per gli Affari Albanesi (Sub-Secretary of State for Albanian Affairs)
SSCE	Service du Contrôle des Étrangers (French Service of the Supervision of Foreigners)
SSE	Service Social des Étrangers (French Social Service to Foreigners)
SSI	Serviciul Special de Informații (Romanian Special Intelligence Service)
SSO	SS-Offiziersakte (SS officer file)
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
Sss	Šinagan sak'met'a saministro (Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Georgia)
StA-Münc	Staatsarchiv München (State Archive of Munich)
Stalag	Stammlager or Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlager (German prisoner of war camp)
Stapo	Statpolitiet (Norwegian State Police)

STO	Service du Travail Obligatoire (Obligatory Labor Service)
ŠÚA SR	Štátny Ústredný Archív Slovenskej Republiky (State Central Archive of the Slovak Republic)
SÚj	<i>Somogyi Újság</i>
Supersloda	Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia" (Superior Command of the Italian Armed Forces, "Slovenia and Dalmatia")
SZSZBML	Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg Megyei Levéltár (Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County Archives, Hungary)
T	tulo (Finnish archival abbreviation: entry)
TB	Tuberculosis
TDia	Tsentralen Durzhaven istoricheski arhiv (Bulgarian Central Historical Archive), Sofia
Tence	<i>Tence: Les Amis du Vieux Tence à la Découverte de notre Histoire</i>
TM	Tribunale Militaire (French Military Tribunal)
TMWC	International Military Tribunal, <i>Trial of the Major War Criminals</i> , 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949).
TNA	The National Archives (Kew, United Kingdom; formerly Public Record Office, PRO)
TR	termen redus (Romanian: reduced term of military service)
TsAFSB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv FSB (Central Archives of the Federal Security Bureau, Moscow)
TsAMO	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv ministerstva oborony Rossiiskoy Federatsii (Central Archives of the Russian Ministry of Defense, Podolsk)
TsDA	Tsentralen dŭrzhaven arhiv (Bulgarian National Archives, Sofia)
Tva	Tsentralen voenen arhiv (Central Military Archives, Veliko Turnovo, Bulgaria)
UA	Ulkoasiainministeriön arkisto (Archive of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Helsinki)
UAC	Ufficio Affari civili (Italian Army Civilian Affairs Office)
UCEI	Unione delle Comunità Ebraiche Italiane (Union of the Italian Jewish Community; successor of UCII)
UCII	Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane (Union of the Italian Jewish Community; predecessor of UCEI)
UD-CGT	L'Union départementale-Confédération Générale du Travail (French Departmental Union-General Confederation of Labor)
UdSSR	Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken (German: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; USSR)
Ufa	Universum Film AG
uff.	ufficio (Italian archival abbreviation: office)
UGB	Uprava grada Beograda (Administration of Belgrade)
UGIF	Union Générale des Israélites de France (General Union of French Jews)
UHRO	Ustaša–Hrvatska revolucionarna organizacija (Ustaša–Croatian Revolutionary Organization)
ÚHU	Ústredný hospodarský úrad (Slovak Central Economic Office)
UJRE	Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'entr'aide (Jewish Union for Resistance and Mutual Aid)
ÚjS	<i>Új Somogy</i>
UL	University of Liverpool (United Kingdom)
UMAS	L'Union metallurgique d'Arc-et-Senans (Metallurgical Union of Arc-et-Senans, France)
ÚMKL	Új Magyar Központi Levéltár (New Hungarian Central Archives, Budapest)
UNES	Unione Esercizi Elettrici (Italian Union of Electrical Concerns)

UNS	Ustaška Nadzorna Služba (Ustaša Security Police)
UNWCC	United Nations War Crimes Commission
UPV	Uradnovňa precedníctva vlády (Slovak prime minister's office)
URO	United Restitution Organization
USAAF	United States Army Air Forces
ÚŠB	Ústredna Štátnej Bezpečnosti (Slovak State Security Center)
USC	Unitarian Service Committee
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, DC
USHMMA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, Washington, DC
USHMMPA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives, Washington, DC
USIKS	Ustaški stegovni i kazneni sud (Ustaša Disciplinary and Criminal Court, Zagreb)
USSME	Ufficio storico dello Stato maggiore dell'Esercito (General Staff of the Italian Army, Historical Office, Rome)
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (also Soviet Union and UdSSR)
ÚŽ	Ústredna Židov (lit.: "Jewish Center"; Slovak Jewish organization)
v	vit (Albanian archival abbreviation: year)
Vaada	Va'adat ha-'ezrah veva-hatsalah be-Budapesht (Zionist Aid and Rescue Committee, Budapest)
VaB	Vojni arhiv, Beograd (Military Archives, Belgrade)
Valpo	Valtiollinen poliisi (Finnish Security Police)
VCC	various concentration camps (International Tracing Service term)
VDAR	<i>Vjesnik Državnog Arhiva u Rijeci</i>
V.E.	Vittorio Emanuele III (King Victor Emanuel III)
<i>VeHi</i>	<i>Veszprémi Hírlap</i>
<i>VeVá</i>	<i>Veszprém Vármegye</i>
VFM	Vestfold fylkesmuseum (Vestfold County Museum, Tønsberg, Norway)
<i>VfZ</i>	<i>Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte</i>
<i>VH</i>	<i>Vojenská Historiá</i>
VHA	Visual History Archive of the Shoah Foundation (Los Angeles, CA)
VHAB	Vojenský Historický Archív, Bratislava (Military Historical Archive, Bratislava)
VHAT	Vojenský Historický Archív, Trenčín (Military Historical Archive, Trenčín, Slovakia)
<i>VIA</i>	<i>Voенно-istoricheskii arkhiv</i>
<i>VIZ</i>	<i>Voенно-istoricheskii zburnal</i>
<i>VMS</i>	<i>La Vie Mancelle et Sarthoise: Revue culturelle et d'actualités de la Sarthe</i>
VNV	Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond (Flemish National Union)
<i>VoB-Serbien</i>	<i>Verordnungsblatt des Militärbefehlshabers in Serbien/List uredaba Vojnog zapovednika u Srbiji</i>
VoMi	Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (SS-Office for Ethnic German Affairs)
VRID	Vienne Résistance Internement Déportation (Resistance, Internment, and Deportation Association, Department of Vienne, France)
WAPIC	West African Political Intelligence Centre (London)
WJC	World Jewish Congress
WJC-R	World Jewish Congress of Romania
WL	Wiener Library (London)
WS #	worksheet number (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives designation)

926 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

XH	xhaketa (Albanian archival abbreviation: microfilm)
Y-IU	Yahad-In Unum (Together-in One, Paris)
YIVO	Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York)
YM	<i>Yalkut Moresbet: Holocaust Documentation and Research</i>
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YV	Yad Vashem (National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance, Jerusalem)
YVA	Archive of the National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem
YVS	<i>Yad Vashem Studies</i>
Z	Zigeuner (German for "Gypsy")
ZALfJ	Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden (forced labor camp for Jews)
ZAML	Zala Megyei Levéltár (Zala County Archives, Hungary)
ZBOR	Združena Borbena Organizacija Rada (United Combative Organization of Labor; lit.: "Assembly"; Serbian fascist party)
z.b.V.	zur besonderen Verwendung (special or temporary duty)
ZdL or ZStL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (Central Office for State Justice Administrations), Ludwigsburg, Germany (now BA-L)
ZIZ	<i>Zürcher Illustrierte Zeitung</i>
ŽK	Židovský Kódex (Slovak: Jewish Code)
ZKRZ	Zemaljska komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača Hrvatske (People's Republic of Croatia State Commission for the Investigation of the Occupiers and their Collaborators)
ZNO	Zone non occupée (unoccupied or Southern Zone in France)
ZO	Zone occupée (German-occupied zone in France)
ŽOZ	<i>Židovska općina Zagreb</i>
ŽPS	Židovské pracovně stredisko (Slovak forced labor center for Jews)
ŽPT	Židovský pracovný tábor (Slovak forced labor camp for Jews)
ŽR	Židovská rada (Slovak: Jewish Council)
Zs	Zsidó (Hungarian: Jew)
ZTI	Zaist'ovací Tábor v Ilave (penal camp in Ilava, Slovakia)
ŽÚ	Župný úrad (Slovak county office)
ŽÚÚ	Židovská ústredná úradovňa (Slovak Jewish Central Office)
z.V.	zur Verfügung (German: to be at one's disposal; e.g., temporary assignment)
ZZB	Zveza združenj borcev (Slovenian Association of Combatants)

TABLE OF APPROXIMATE RANK EQUIVALENTS

Armies					
	German Army	U.S. Army (World War II)	Bulgarian Army	Croatian Army	Finnish Army
	Generalfeldmarschall	General of the Army	n/a	Vojskovodja	Marsalkka
	Generaloberst	General	General	General Pješastva	Kenraali
	General (der Infanterie etc.)	Lieutenant General	General-Leytenant	Podmaršal	Kenraaliluutnantti
	Generalleutnant	Major General	General-Major	General	Kenraalimajuri
	Generalmajor	Brigadier General	Polkovnik	Pukovnik	Eversti
	Oberst	Colonel	Podpolkovnik	Podpukovnik	Everstiluutnantti
	Oberstleutnant	Lieutenant Colonel	Major	Bojnik	Majuri
	Major	Major	n/a	Nadsatnik	n/a
	Hauptmann	Captain	Kapitan	Satnik	Kapteeni
	Oberleutnant	First Lieutenant	Poporuchik	Naporučnik	Luutnantti
	Leutnant	Second Lieutenant	Podporuchik	Poručnik	Vänrikki
	Stabsfeldwebel	n/a	n/a	Zastavnik	Sotilasimestari
	Oberfeldwebel	Master Sergeant	Feldfebel	Časnički Namjesnik	Vääpeli
	Feldwebel	Technical Sergeant	Podofitser	Stožerni Narednik	Ylikersantti
	Unterfeldwebel	Staff Sergeant	Kandidat Podofitser	Narednik	Kersantti
	Unteroffizier	Sergeant	n/a	Vodnik	n/a
	Obergefreiter	Corporal	Efreitor	Razvodnik	Alikersantti
	Gefreiter	n/a	n/a	Desetnik	Korpraali
	Oberschütze	Private 1st Class	Rednik	Domobran	Sotamies
	Schütze	Private			

(continued)

Hungarian Army	Italian Army	Romanian Army	Serbian State Guard	Slovak Army
Tábornagy	Maresciallo d'Italia	Mareşal al României		n/a
Vezérezredes	Generale d'Armata	General de armată		n/a
Generale Designato d'Armata	Generale di Corpo d'Armata	General de corp de armată		Generál I Triedy
Vezérőrnagy	Generale di Divisione	General de divizie	Diviziski Đeneral	Generál II Triedy
Dandártábornok	Generale di Brigata	General de brigadă	Brigadni Đeneral	n/a
Ezredes	Colonnello	Colonel	Pukovnik	Plukovník
Alezredes	Tenente Colonnello	Locotenent-colonel	Potpukovnik	Podplukovník
Őrnagy	Maggiore	Maior	Major	Major
n/a	Primo Capitano	Căpitan	Kapetan	Stotník
Százados	Capitano	Locotenent	Poručnik	Nadporučík
Főhadnagy	Primo Tenente	Sublocotenent	Porporučnik	Poručík
n/a	Tenente	Plutonier adjutant		Důstojnícky zástupca Ašpirant
Hadnagy	Sottotenente	Plutonier maior		Důstojnícky zástupca Rotmajster
Főtörzsőrmester	Aiutante di Battaglia	Plutonier		n/a
Törzsőrmester	Maresciallo Maggiore	n/a	Narednik vodnik	Zástavník
Őrmester	Maresciallo Capo	Sergeant major	Narednik	Rotník
Szaksaszvezető	Maresciallo Ordinario	n/a	Podnarednik	Čatník
n/a	Sergente Maggiore	Sergent	Kaplar	Čatár
Tizedes	Caporale Maggiore	Caporal		Desiatnik
Őrvezető	Caporale	Fruntaş		Slobodník
Honvéd	Soldato	Soldat	Strážar	Strelník

Paramilitaries	Black Shirts (MVSN)	Hirden	Hlinka Guard	Ustaša
Nazi SS	Comandante Generale	Stabschef	Armádník	Krlínik
Reichsführer-SS	Luogotenente Generale	n/a	Divízník	Pukovnik
Oberstgruppenführer	Capo di SM	n/a	Brigádník	Dopukovnik
Obergruppenführer	Luogotenente Generale	n/a	Štábník	Bojnik
Brigadeführer	n/a	n/a	Dozorník	Nadsatnik
Oberführer	Console Generale	n/a	Kapitán	Satnik
Standartenführer	Console Comandante	Regimentfører	Nadzbroyník	Nadporučnik
Obersturmbannführer	Primo Seniore	Nestregimentfører	Zbroyník	Poručnik
Sturmbannführer	Seniore	n/a	n/a	n/a
Hauptsturmführer	Centurione	Sveitfører	n/a	n/a
Obersturmführer	Capomanipolo	Nestsveitfører	n/a	Zastavnik
Untersturmführer	Sottocapomanipolo	n/a	n/a	Častnički
				Namjestnik
Sturmscharführer	Primo Aiutante	n/a	n/a	Stožerni Vodnik
Hauptscharführer	Aiutante Capo	n/a	Skupiník	Vodnik
Oberscharführer	Aiutante	n/a	n/a	Dovodnik
Scharführer	Primo Capo Squadra	Kommandersersjant	Družnik	Rojnik
Unterscharführer	Capo Squadra	Lagfører	Rojnik	Dorojnik
Rottenführer	Vicecapo Squadra	Nestlagfører	Gardista	n/a
SS-Sturmmann	Camicia Nera Scelta	Speider		Čarkar / Vojničar
SS-Oberschütze	n/a	Nestspeider		
SS-Schütze or SS-Mann	Camicia Nera	Hirdmann		

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Diane F. Afoumado: *France/Vichy*: Introduction, Drancy

Guy Aldridge: *France/Vichy*: Château de Bégue

Jean Ancel: *Romania*: Introduction

Silvia Q. Angelini: *Italy*: Bagni di Lucca, Colle di Compito

Cristina Bejan: *France/Vichy*: Beaune-la-Rolande, Château du Roc, Château-du-Sablou, Fort-Barraux, La Meyze, Montmélian, Reillanne, Sereilhac, Sisteron, Villemur-Sur-Tarn; *Vichy Africa*: Introduction, Ain Guenfounda, Ain Sefra, Akbou, Ben Chicao, Bou Azzer, Boulhaut, Carnot, Cherchel, Conakry, Constantine, Crampel, Djebel-Felten, El-Aricha, El-Guerrah, Fort Caffarelli, Hadjerat M'Guil, Kankan, Kasbah Tadla, Kenadsa, Kersas, Khenchela, Kindia, Koulikoro, La Marne, Magenta, Marrakech, Mediouna GT-14539, Mengoub, Oued-Djerch, Oued-Zenati-Bone, Oulmèes/El Karit, Quargla, Relizane, Skiriat, Tamanar, Telergma, Tendrara; *Hungary*: Bácsalmás, Balasagyarmat, Békéscsaba, Keszthely, Kiszvárd, Máramarosziget, Marosvásárhely, Nagysurány, Paks, Pápa, Sepsiszentgyörgy, Szászrégen, Szatmárnémeti, Szeged, Zalaegerszeg; *Romania*: Craiova, Tecuci; *Tunisia*: Le Kef

Frida Bertolini: *Italy*: Chiesanuova, Colfiorito, Gonars, Mantua, Tonezza del Cimone, Tremiti Islands, Venice, Vicenza, Vo' Vecchio; *Italy/Occupied Yugoslavia*: Lubiana

Aomar Boum: *Vichy Africa*: Introduction, Abadla, Agdz, Bedeau, Béni Abbès, Berguent, Berrouaghia, Boghar, Boghari, Bossuet, Bou Arfa, Bou Denib, Cheragas, Colomb-Béchar, Djelfa, Djenien Bou Rezz, Djerrada, Géryville, Im-Fout, Laghouat, Le Kreider, Mecheria, Mediouna, Menabba, Méridja, Missouri, Monod, Oued Akreuch, Oued Zem and Moulay Bouazza, Sebikotane, Settlat, Sidi El Ayachi, Skiriat

Randolph L. Braham: *Hungary*: Introduction, Beszterce, Debrecen, Dés, Dunaszerdahely, Eger, Kaposvár, Kecskemét, Kolozsvár, Miskolc, Nagybánya, Nagykanizsa, Nyíregyháza, Pestszenterzsébet, Sátoraljaújhely, Sopron, Veszprém

Carlo Spartaco Capogreco: *Italy*: Alberobello, Aprica, Bagno a Ripoli, Borgo San Dalmazzo, Campagna, Castel di Guido, Civitella della Chiana, Civitella del Tronto, Fossaloni, Isernia, Isola del Gran Sasso, Istonio Marina, Lama dei Peligni, Lanciano, Monigo, Montalbano, Montechiarugolo, Nereto, Notaresco, Pietrofitta-Tavernelle, Pisticci, Renicci

di Anghiari, Sassoferrato, Scipione, Tollo, Tortoreto, Urbisaglia; *Italy/Occupied Yugoslavia*: Antivari, Arbe

Tim Cole: *Hungary*: Budapest

Ovidiu Creangă: *Hungary*: Nagyvarad; *Romania*:

Introduction, Acmecețca, Alexandrodar, Alexandrovca, Ananiev, Balaiciuc, Balanovca, Balchi, Balta, Balta/120 Labor Battalion, Bălți/LPRS No. 7, Bălți Raute, Berezovca, Bernandovca, Berșad, Birzula, Bobric, Bogdanovca, Bolgrad, Bolgrad/LPRS No. 8, Bondurovca, Branița-Moghilev, București/LPRA No. 12 and No. 13, Budești/LPRS No. 7/No. 13, Budi, Călărași, Capusterna, Capustiani, Carișcov, Cațmazov, Cazaciovca, Cernăuți, Cernoviți, Cetvertinovca, Chianovca, Chișinău, Cicelnic, Cihrin, Colosovca, Conotcăuți, Copăigorod, Corbeni/LPRS No. 10, Cornești Târg, Coșarini, Coșăuți, Coveliovca, Crăciunești and Vulcan/LPRS No. 9, Crasna, Crasneanca, Crișopol, Crivoi Ozero, Crușinovca, Cucavca, Cuzminți, Derebcin, Djurin, Doaga, Domanovca, Dornești/LPRS No. 6, Dorohoi, Dubăsari, Edineți, Galați, Golta, Golta/LPRS and labor camps, Gorai, Gordievca, Grabivți, Grosulovo, Grosdovca, Halcinți, Hrinovca, Huliievca, Iampol, Iaruga, Iasinova, Independența/LPRS No. 16, Jigovca, Ladijin, Ladijin/Stone Quarry, Liubașevca, Lozova, Lucineț, Lugova, Maia/LPRS No. 12, Manicovca, Mărculești, Miascovca, Mihailovca, Mitki, Mogilev-Podolsk, Moldavca, Molocene, Mostovoi, Murafa, Nemerci, Nestervarca, Obodovca, Odessa, Odessa/Internment and Labor Camps, Odessa/LPRS, Oleanița, Olgopol, Onești-Noi, Orhei, Osievca, Osmanca, Ovidiopol, Ozariți, Pecioara, Popivți, Râbnita, Reziņa, Sădăgura, șargorod, Savrani, Scazineț, Securenii, Serebria, șiria/102 Brigade for Jews, Slivina, Slobozia / LPRS No. 1, șmerinca, Soroca, Spicov, Stanislavcic, Stepanchi, Storojineț, Suha Balca, Suha Verba, șumilovca, Sumovca, Târgu Jiu, Târgul Vertujeni, Tarutino, Tătărești, Tatarovca, Tecuci, Teiș-Târgoviște, țiubulovca, Timișoara/LP No. 17, Timișul de Jos/LPRA No. 18, Tiraspol, Tiraspol/LPRS No. 5 and No. 11, Tivri, Tomașpol, Tridubi, Tropova, Trostineț, Tulcin, Ustia, Vapniarca, Vaselinovo, Vaslui/LPRS No. 4, Vazdovca, Videle, Vigoda, Vijnița, Vindiceni, Vlădeni-Homorod/LPRS No. 2, Voitovca, Voroșilovca, Vradievca, Zabocrici, Zahariovca

László Csősz: *Hungary*: Csepel Island / Internment Camps

Giovanna D'Amico: *Italy:* Lipari Island, Mamula and Prevlaka Islands, Roccatederighi, Ustica Island, Verona; *Italy/Occupied Yugoslavia:* Mamula Island and Prevlaka, Zlarino

Maura de Bernart: *Italy:* Forlì

Tommaso Dell'Era: *Italy/Occupied Albania:* Fier, Fushë Arrëz, Gërman, Kavajë, Klos, Kolonjë, Kruja, Kukës, Pejë, Peqin, Prezë, Priština, Pukë, Villa Shiroka

Andrea Di Stefano: *Italy:* Corropoli, Farfa, Gioia del Colle, Le Fraschette di Alatri, Sforzacosta, Tossicia, Visco

Diana Dumitru: *Romania:* Bălți/Rauțel, Chișinău, Edineți

Nicoletta Fasano: *Italy:* Aosta, Aravecchia, Asti, Bergeggi and Celle Ligure, Calvari di Chiavari, Sondrio, Vallecrosia

Andrea Giuseppini: *Italy:* Fertilia, Fiume

Ivo Goldstein: *Croatia:* Jasenovac I and II, Jasenovac III, Jasenovac IV, Jasenovac V

Amedeo Osti Guerrazzi: *Italy:* Introduction, Agnone, Ariano Irpino, Boiano, Buccari, Cairo Montenotte, Camugnano and Bazzano, Casacalenda, Castagnavizza, Fabriano, Laurana, Manfredonia, Monteforte Irpino, Petriolo, Poggio Terza Armata, Pollenza, Ponza, San Tomaso della Fossa, Sassoferato, Scuola Santa Croce, Senigallia, Servigliano, Solofra, Treia, Ugliano, Ventotene, Vinchiatturo; *Italy/Occupied Yugoslavia:* Buccari, Melada

Alexis Herr: *Italy/Occupied East Africa*

Ján Hlavinka: *Slovakia:* Introduction, Dubnica Nad Váhom/Work Unit, Hiadel', Ilava/Work Center for Jews, Marianka, Nováky, Sereď

Abby Holekamp: *France/Vichy:* Agde, Casseneuil, Le Barcarès, Château de Tombebouc, Collioure, Fort-de-Peigney, Jargeau, Lamotte-Beuvron, Lannemezan, Marseille/Hôtel de Bompard, Moisdon-La-Riviere, Perpignan, Récébédou, Rennes, Rivel, Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe, Soudeilles, Troyes

Jens Hoppe: *Croatia:* Đakovo, Gospić, Gospić/Jadovno, Gospić/Pag Island, Jasenovac V, Kerestinec, Koprivnica, Kruščica, Lepoglava, Loborgrad, Tenjé; *Italy:* Ferramonti di Tarsia; *Italy/Occupied North Africa:* Buqbuq, Giado, Sidi Azaz; *Italy/Occupied Yugoslavia:* Arbe, Brazza Island, Cupari, Curzola Island, Gravosa, Lesina Island, Mezzo Island, Porto Re; *Tunisia:* Introduction, Djebel Chambi, Djebibinia, Djelloula, Djougar, Enfidaville, Gabès, Kondas, Marcia Beach, Mohamedia, Sainte Marie du Zit, Saouaf, Sbikha, Thiet-Agarev, Zaghouan

Willa Johnson: *France/Vichy:* Nexon, Noé

Milan Koljanin: *Serbia:* Introduction, Smederevska Palanka

Alexander Korb: *Croatia:* Đakovo, Gospić, Gospić/Jadovno, Gospić/Pag Island, Jasenovac V, Jastrebarsko, Kerestinec, Loborgrad; *Italy/Occupied Yugoslavia:* Melada

Alexander Kruglov: *Romania:* Balanovca, Balchi, Balta, Berezovca, Berșad, Birzula, Budi, Carișcov, Cernoviți, Cicelnic, Copaigorod, Crasna, Crișopol, Crivoi Ozero, Cucavca, Derebcin, Djurin, Dubăsari, Golta, Gorai, Grabivți, Hrinovca, Lucineț

Jerome Legge: *Italy:* Fossoli

Alexandra Lohse: *Croatia:* Introduction; *France/Vichy:* Alboussière, Annecy, Argelès-sur-Mer, Barenton, Chibron, Fréjus, Grammont, Gurs, Le Mont-Dore, Les Eaux Bonnes, Nay, Port-Vendres, Prémol, Rieucros, Saint-Germain-les-Belles, Saint-Nectaire, Saint-Paul-d'Eyjeaux, Saliers, Sallanches, Valbonnais; *Hungary:* Barcs, Bárdfalva, Budafok, Budakalász, Budapest/Columbus Street, Budapest/Conti Street Prison, Budapest/KISOK, Budapest/Magdolna Street, Budapest/Margit Boulevard, Budapest/Mosonyi Street, Budapest/Óbuda, Budapest/Röck Szilárd Street, Budapest/Tattersall, Csepel Island, Csongrád, Csörgő, Garany, Győr, Ipolyság, Kalocsa, Kassa, Kistarcsa, Komárom, Léva, Mohács, Monor, Nagykanizsa/Internment Camp, Nagyszöllös, Pécs, Ricse, Sárvár, Siklós, Szécsény, Székesfehérvár, Szeklence, Szilágyosmlyó, Szolnok, Szombathely, Técső, Topolya, Újvidék, Ungvár, Verebély, Zombor; *Romania:* Liubașevca, Lugova, Tatarovca, Ustia, Vazdovca, Verhovca; *Slovakia:* Hiadel', Nižný Hrabovec, Petič

Oleksandr Marinchenko: *Romania:* Balti/LPRS No. 7, Slobozia/LPRS No. 1, Tiraspol/LPRS No. 5 and No 11.

Dallas Michelbacher: *Romania:* Calafat, Caracal, Lugoj, Turnu-Severin

Eduard Nižnanský: *Slovakia:* Degeš pre Nitre, Nováky, Vyhne

Susan Papp: *Hungary:* Beregszász, Nagyszöllös

Vanda Rajcan: *Slovakia:* Introduction, Bojková, Bratislava/Patrónka, Bystré, Degeš, Devínska Nová Ves, Dubnica nad Váhom/Concentration Camp for Roma, Hanušovce nad Topľou, Ilava/Detention Center, Ilava/Work Unit, Ivánka pri Dunaji, Jablonica, Jarabá, Kostolná, Kral'ovany, Láb, Lipníky, Miloslavov, Most na Ostrove, Nováky, Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Očová, Poprad, Revúca, Sereď, Svätý Jur, Ústie nad Oravou, Veľ'ký Kýr, Vyhne, Žilina, Žilina/Work Center, Zohor

Julia Riegel: *France/Vichy:* Gaillon, Paris / La Petite Roquette, Paris/Tourelles, Pithiviers, Pithiviers (CSS)

Marianne Robins: *France/Vichy:* Tence

Steven F. Sage: *Bulgaria:* Introduction, Dupnitsa, Ferdinand, Gara Bov, Gara Chepino, Gonda Voda, Gorna Dzhumaya, Gorna Oryahovitsa and Dolna Oryahovitsa, Haskovo, Ihtiman, Krüstopole, Lovech, Nedelino, Parzardzhik, Plovdiv, Ribaritsa, Shumen, Skopie, Smedovo, Sofia, Somovit, Struma Valley, Svishtov, Trünska Klisura, Vratsa, Zhelüztartsi, Zvünichevo

Eliezer Schilt: *France/Vichy:* Agde, Aincourt, Arc-et-Senans, Audaux, Aulus-les-Bains, Bagnères-de-Luchon, Boussais, Bram, Brens, Buzet-sur-Baïse, Casseneuil, Catus, Cauterets, Caylus, Chabanet, Château-Doux, Chaudes-Aigues, Choisel, Coray, Coudrecieux, Douadic, Écrouves, Évaux-les-Bains, Fort-de-Vancia, Frontignan, Grez-en-Bouère, La Bourboule, Lacauene les Bains, La Guiche, La Lande-à-Monts, Lamalou-les-Baines, Lamotte-Beuvron, La Morellerie, Lannemezan, Le Cheylard, Les Alliers, Les Milles, Lorient, Louviers, Mallavieille, Marseille/Hôtel le Terminus du Port, Marseille/Le Bréban, Masseube, Mérignac, Miramas, Moisdon-la-Rivière, Moloy, Monsireigne, Montech, Montélimar, Montlhéry, Montreuil-Bellay, Montsûrs, Mulsanne, Plénée-Jugon, Poitiers, Pontivy, Puy-l'Evêque, Récébédou, Rennes, Rivel, Rivesaltes, Saint-Cyprien, Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes, Troyes, Voves; *Vichy Africa:* Agdz, Conakry, Immouzer Des Marmoucha, Oued Zem and Moulay Bouazza

Raz Segal: *Hungary:* Huszt, Munkács

Oula Silvennoinen: *Finland:* Introduction

Jakub Smutný: *Italy:* San Tomaso della Fossa

Marianne Neerland Soleim: *Norway:* Introduction, Berg, Bredtveit

Paola Trevisan: *Italy:* Prignano sulla Secchia

Nikos Tzafieris: *Italy/Occupied Greece:* Akronafplia, Anafi Island, Athens/Averof Prison, Athens/Empeirikeio, Athens/Kallithéa, Corfu-Lazaretto Island, Iöannina, Kalavryta, Katouna, Larissa, Pholegandros, Thebes, Trikala, Vonitsa

Madeline Vadkerty: *Slovakia:* Introduction, Krupina

Mirza Velagic: *Croatia:* Jasenovac I and II, Jasenovac III, Jasenovac IV, Jasenovac V

Lars Westerlund: *Finland:* Introduction, Äänislinna, Detached Battalion 21

Joseph Robert White: *Croatia:* Sisak I and II, Slavon-ska Požega; *France/Vichy:* Aincourt, Arc-et-Senans, Brens, Castres, Cauterets, Coudrecieux, Égletons, Évaux-les-Bains, Fort-de-Vancia, Fort du Portalet, Gaillac, La Morellerie, Le Mont-Dore, Les Milles, Le Vernet d'Ariège, Montreuil-Bellay, Poitiers, Rabès, Récébédou, Rivesaltes, Rouillé, Ruffieux, Saint-Cyprien, Saint-Georges d'Aurac, Saint-Maurice-aux-Riches-Hommes, Savigny par Valleiry, Voves; *Vichy Africa:* Ksabi, Laghouat, Ram Ram, Talzaza Menabba, Tombouctou; *Italy:* Agnone, Antivari, Borgo San Dalmazzo, Casoli, Chieti, Citta Sant'Angelo, Elba Island, Lauria, Montechiarugolo, Senegallia; *Italy/Occupied Southeast France:* Embrun, Lynwood Villa, Megève, Mentone, Modane, Sospello, Vence; *Italy/Occupied Yugoslavia:* Cighino; *Slovakia:* Lipníky

Anna M. Wittmann: *Hungary:* Bor

ABOUT THE EDITOR

Joseph Robert White, Applied Research Scholar with the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Georgia State University and his Ph.D. in Modern European History from the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. He was a fellow at the Mandel Center in 2001 and returned to work on the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos* in 2004. Among his many other tasks, he contributed more than 90 essays to Volume I, including the introduction to the section that

covered the early Nazi camps, before he took over as editor of this volume. Dr. White published two articles in the journal *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, taught 31 online and blended courses at the University of Maryland University College, and gave lectures around the country. He was also one of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum's authorities on the archives of the International Tracing Service. To our sorrow, Dr. White died unexpectedly in May 2016.

NAMES INDEX

This index lists all names alphabetically by family name. Names and spellings of names sometimes vary, because of marriage, use of a pseudonym, or alternate spellings in the source documents. Although efforts have been expended to make the listings as consistent as possible, a person may appear more than once in the index. Where known, we have used cross-references to link these names together. Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations and their captions.

- Abala, 254
 Abdelaziz, El Hachemi, 258
 Abdelkader, Agha, 263
 Abetz, Otto, 95
 Abitbol, Michel, 247
 Ablinger, Max, 411
 Abraham, Hilde Fanny, 428
 Abrahams, Stephen, 338
 Abram, Iancu, 704
 Abramovici, Carol, 574
 Abramovici, Iosif, 604
 Abramovici, Pribluda Shloimu, 597
 Abromeit, Franz, 358
 Acgoua, Jean-Pierre, 109
 Acimović, Milan, 833, 834, 836
 Ackerman, Moise, 640
 Adam, André, 180
 Adamou, Takēs, 515
 Adamov, Arthur, 108
 Adamovici, Iulian, 736
 Adler, Francis, 384
 Adler, Sara, 361
 Agafie, Vasile, 783
 Agai, Andor, 336
 Agapie, Dumitru, 602, 603
 Agapie, Vasile, 651, 710, 711
 Agarici, Viorica, 624
 Ágh, László, 349
 Agnes, Adrien, 130
 Ahmed, Cheikh Chetout, 266
 Ahtemberg, Moise, 747
 Aigner, Leslie, 323
 Aimone (prince), 46
 Aizemberg, Iosif, 640
 Aizic, Solomon, 604
 Akoun, Fernand S., 148
 Akpo-Vaché, Catherine, 240
 Alámaru, Rubin, 733
 Albert, Lázár, 336
 Albin, Umberto, 423
 Albu, Nicolae, 652
 Aldo, Cicero, 523
 Alectoride, Teodor, 728
 Alessandrini, Filippo, 419
 Alexander (king), 47
 Alexandrescu, Constantin, 626, 634, 662, 699, 700, 709, 731, 737, 778, 780, 805, 810, 824
 Alexianu, Gheorghe, 575, 576, 578, 581, 582, 589, 590, 591, 610, 634–635, 684, 728, 729, 740, 756, 757, 803, 819
 Alizoti, Feizi, 490
 Alkalaj, Josef, 547
 Alkalaj, Leon, 547
 Alkutser, Itsak David, 41
 Allain, Léon “Hector,” 156
 Allart, Blanche and Pierre, 162
 Alongi, Francesco, 422, 445
 Alpar, Olga, 383
 Alter, Itic, 604
 Alype, François-Pierre, 177
 Amarandei, 677
 Amat-Piniella, Joaquim, 108
 Ambruș, Romulus, 588, 611, 658, 659, 670, 680, 682, 717, 718, 802
 Amikam, Benjamin, 384
 Ammazzalorso, Armando, 422
 Amoroso, Antonio, 552
 Amsel, Pearl, 346
 Amselek, Albert, 291
 Anastasiadēs, Stergios, 521
 Anderman, Heinrich, 791
 Andesburg, Olea, 640
 Andonianț, Grigore, 682
 Andorfer, Herbert, 836
 Andrei, Cocuz, 677
 Andrey, 103, 237
 Andreyeva, Valentina, 86
 Andrieu, Andrien, 118
 Andrusin, Afanasie Grigorievici, 611
 Andújar, Manuel, 218
 Angel, Rosa. *See* Anzhel, Roza
 Angeli, Alexander, 173, 183
 Anolik, Erna, 384
 Ansbacher, Leo, 218
 Ansky, Michel, 268
 Antalffy, Pál, 336
 Anthoni, Arno, 84
 Antl, Ödön, 343
 Antoine, Maurice, 120
 Antónatos, Gerasimos, 513, 518, 525
 Antonescu, Ion, 570, 571, 572, 574, 575, 576, 578, 579, 580, 582, 589, 590, 595, 610, 612, 618, 619, 622, 623, 627, 628, 634, 635, 637, 638, 646, 649, 653, 656, 658, 673, 680, 682, 684, 705, 706, 714, 717, 747, 762, 766, 786, 794, 809, 817
 Antonescu, Maria, 794
 Antonescu, Mihai, 582, 612, 688, 767, 794
 Antz, 127
 Anzhel, Roza (Rosa Angel), 41
 Aouad, Mohamed, 284
 Apolzan, Teodor, 776
 Apostolidis, Apostolos, 507
 Appelt, Mirko, 76
 Appignanesi (doctor), 467
 Appignanesi, Maria, 466
 Arato, Paul, 378
 Arbib, Benedetto, 530
 Armanasco, Stefano, 402
 Armancourt, Jehan d’, 171, 172
 Armellini, Quirino, 556
 Arnaud, Raymond, 179
 Arnim, Hans-Jürgen von, 895
 Áron, Ferenc, 355
 Arribeaute (doctor), 156
 Asael, Mazal, 16–17
 Aschenazi, Eti, 791
 Assuied, André, 899
 Astrologo, Pellegrino, 432
 Atanasu, S., 613
 Atanasov, Todor Boichev, 6, 19, 42
 Atkinson, John, 509, 510n14
 Atsalis, Grigoris, 512
 Attali, Léa, 162
 Aub Mohrenwitz, Max, 265
 Auerbach, Philipp, 117, 118
 Auflegger, Henric, 755
 Auger, Roger, 262
 Aujaleu, 180
 Aulanier, André, 177
 Aurel, Nicolae, 653
 Auzanneau, Robert-Stéphane, 169
 Avelin, 255
 Averöf, Yeörgios, 508
 Avitabile, Domenico, 430
 Babich, Ante, 473
 Babin, Louis, 130
 Bačić, Dragomir, 468
 Bader, Paul, 832
 Baderot, Alfred, 264
 Badia, 771
 Badoglio, Pietro, 401, 424, 436, 452, 455, 473, 502
 Badsí, Mahed, 266
 Baik, Eva, 386
 Bajor, Örnagy, 354
 Bakal, Nahum, 721
 Baky, László, 306, 307, 308, 310, 346
 Bălăianu, Ion, 646, 647
 Balázs, Jenő, 337
 Baldauf, Kurt, 173
 Bălea, Valerian, 677
 Băleanu, Ion C., 643, 688, 713, 715, 756
 Bali, Meshulam Aron, 41
 Baljak, Ventura, 57
 Balkányi, Judit, 375
 Balke, Harry, 173
 Balogh, András, 320
 Balogh, Károly, 358
 Bandel, 795
 Bandera, Stepan, 756
 Bandini, Attilio, 452
 Band-Kun, Milica, 73
 Banet, Elemér, 353

- Bantaş, Constantin, 797
 Barabas, Andrei, 371
 Barac, Mark, 723
 Barad, Karol, 594
 Barbanel, Toptia, 203
 Barbato, Dario, 448
 Barber, Kathleen, 378, 379
 Barbera, Gaspero, 553
 Barbie, Klaus, 144, 534
 Barcan, Ion, 673
 Barcza, Vera, 325–326
 Bardi de Fourtou, Albert, 532
 Barillon, Roland, 132
 Barkatz, George, 297
 Barnabel, Felicia, 203
 Baron, Fred, 338, 368
 Barot, Madeleine, 236
 Baroux, Paul, 130
 Barrau, Jean-Joseph-Guillaume, 280
 Barta, Johanna, 354, 355
 Bartato, Dario, 448
 Bartaux, Edmond, 183
 Bartman, Moise “Mişu,” 687
 Bartoi, 750
 Bartos, 345
 Bartoş, Petre, 591
 Baruh, Eli, 29
 Basch, Esther, 361
 Basello, Giovanbattista, 448
 Bašić, Josip, 426
 Bassani, Gemma, 428
 Basta, 811
 Bastianini, Giuseppe, 468, 552
 Bastico, Ettore, 528, 529, 896
 Bata, József, 353
 Batory, John, 339
 Batren, Babo, 381
 Battaglia, 501
 Bauer, Anna, 114
 Bauer, Hinko, 76
 Bauer, Riccardo, 451
 Baum, Kurt, 123, 124
 Baumgarten, Jacques, 236
 Baumová, Irena, 877
 Bayer, Salo, 657
 Bazin, Raymond, 207, 237
 Beane, James B., 619
 Béard, Roger, 536
 Beaudouin, Eugène, 134
 Beaugrand, Georges, 201
 Bechermer, Haim, 712
 Bechi, Filip, 736, 749
 Beer, Magda, 343
 Beerman, Armin, 891
 Behar, Victoria, 16
 Beiniş, Carol, 755
 Belardi, Italo, 448
 Belaubre, 234
 Belev, Aleksandŭr, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 31, 33, 35, 36
 Belkaim, Kaddur, 266
 Bella, Alzreda, 371
 Bellaiche, Haïm, 895
 Bellaiche, Robert, 902
 Belteki, Alexandru, 373
 Bena, 101
 Benakuva, Itziak, 328–329
 Benedek, Elizabet, 329
 Benedek, Marianne, 339
 Benedetti, Battista, 556
 Benedig, Margareth, 379
 Beneš, Edvard, 842
 Benesch, Erika, 346
 Beniamin, Korse, 607
 Benjamin, Walter, 168
 Benmoumen, Ahmed, 263
 Bensoussan, Abraham, 266
 Bentham, Jeremy, 194
 Benzler, Felix, 832
 Bercivici family, 679
 Bercovic, Avram, 738
 Bercu, Goldenberg, 607
 Berechet, F., 631
 Berecki, Ernő, 336, 348
 Beregfy, Károly, 305, 326
 Berendes, 132
 Berentes, László, 358
 Berg, Eta, 378
 Bergel, Joseph, 291
 Berger, 800
 Berggrav, Eivind, 567
 Bergl, Evelyn Arzt, 424, 425
 Berkani, Mohamed Arezki, 266
 Berkowitz, Mordechai, 378, 379
 Berl, Tresser, 621
 Bermann, Armin, 869
 Bernard, Joseph, 186
 Bernfeld, 335
 Bernou, Maamar ben, 266
 Bernstein, Béla, 364
 Bernştein, Haim, 726
 Bertalan, István, 358
 Bertényi, 359
 Bertoli, Paolo, 57
 Berzescu, Gheorghe, 773
 Best, Werner, 111
 Bestoso, Mario, 461
 Beynet, 269
 Bianchini, Severa, 466
 Bica, Liviu, 682
 Bielsa, Lluís Martí, 107
 Bienstock, 278
 Bier, Rudi, 544
 Billot, M. H., 180
 Binovici, I., 716
 Birnbaum, Teresa, 366
 Biró, József, 340, 341
 Birolí, Pirzio, 540
 Biteau, 180
 Bitozzi, Mario, 450
 Bjelinski, Bruno, 547
 Blancagemma, Antonio, 449
 Blanchet, Albert, 160
 Blasselle, 128
 Bleier, Katherine, 374
 Bleier, Olga, 368
 Blessi, 266
 Blick, Zipora, 328
 Blinder, Iosif, 607
 Bloch, Elie, 157, 203
 Bloch, Raymond, 209
 Blum, Léon, 90, 95, 139, 144, 145
 Blumel, André, 139
 Blumental, Aldred, 670
 Bobei, Gheorghe, 588, 611, 612, 686
 Bobinac, Parica, 65
 Bocchini, Arturo, 390, 407, 413, 453
 Bodet, 160, 161
 Bodo, 532
 Bogdanov, Asen Georgiev, 32
 Böhm, Ignác, 364
 Böhme, Franz, 832, 835
 Bohny-Reiter, August and Friedl, 215
 Bohrmann, Leopold, 189
 Bohuška, Jozef, 879
 Boiserie, Jean-Baptiste, 124
 Boisson, Pierre, 240, 260, 273, 279, 280, 298
 Boitel, 249
 Boivin, Yves, 211
 Bók, Miklós, 343
 Boletini, 491
 Bolgáč, Viliam, 869, 891
 Bolintineanu, C., 592, 593
 Bolocan, Petru, 820
 Bonanni, Casola, 399
 Bonanno family, 462
 Bonev, Svilen, 29
 Bonfiglio, Salvatore, 476
 Bonfils, Maurice, 196
 Bonneville, Aimé, 139
 Bonofigli, Renzo, 469
 Bonomini, Ernesto, 212
 Borbély, Kálmán, 319
 Borbola, 366
 Bordiga, Amadeo, 470
 Borgongini-Duca, Francesco, 400, 410, 416, 418, 423, 435, 439, 441, 454, 466
 Boris III (king), 2, 4, 10, 12
 Borisov, Vladimir, 662
 Borjan, Budislav, 70
 Bornemissza, Miklós, 370
 Borsa, Mario, 435
 Borsodi, József, 344
 Botez, Mihai, 739, 818
 Botilă, Mihai, 761
 Botnar, Marcu, 596
 Botoroagă, Gheorghe, 714, 715, 721, 752, 756, 799, 804
 Bouchard, M., 201
 Bouet, Louis, 127
 Bouffet, René, 173
 Bougas “Goering,” 505
 Bougzouf, 263
 Bouhali, Larbi, 266
 Bouquillard, M., 206
 Bourgain, Louis, 182, 202, 203
 Bourguiba, Habib, 144
 Bourguiba, Mahmoud, 144
 Bourrigault, 179
 Boursier, Jean-Yves, 156
 Bousquet, René, 96, 169, 534
 Boussin, Louis “Charlot,” 156
 Bouvery, 133
 Boyer, August, 169
 Boyer, Philibert, 201
 Braha, Gheorghe, 600
 Braham, Randolph, 322, 326
 Brandes family, 679
 Brasseur, Auguste, 292
 Brauch, Aladar, 670
 Brault, Gérard, 118

- Braun, Harry, 377
 Braun, Ignác, 337
 Braunstein, Iancu, 795
 Braustein, 210
 Bravmann, Benjamin, 104
 Brellier (camp administrator), 179
 Brellier, Pierre, 157
 Bremont, 128
 Brent, Vera, 367
 Brestecico, Azriel, 659
 Bretholz, Leo, 110, 120
 Bretholz, Netty, 120
 Bretschneider, Carol, 804
 Breuer, Many, 214
 de Brion, 281
 Brioude, Bertrand de, 220
 Brkljačić, Ivica, 61
 Bronfman, Zalmai, 801
 Broșteanu, Emil, 728
 Brot, 269
 Brotea, Dumitru, 734
 Brown, James Arthur "Buster," 282
 Bruck, Jonas, 349
 Brucker, Szilard, 320
 Brückler, Ernst, 874
 Bruja, Petru, 773
 Brüll, Alfréd, 332
 Brun, Paul, 168
 Brunner, Alois, 134, 135, 232, 871, 882–883
 Bruno, Giordano, 411
 Brust, Josef, 376
 Bsatica, Spascijc and Mirka, 468
 Bucșă, Teofil, 591
 Buda, István, 385
 Budak, Mile, 47
 Budica, Ion, 736
 Buffarini Guidi, Guido, 390, 392, 401, 402, 404, 406, 408, 411, 428, 441, 444, 456, 459, 461, 464, 474, 477
 Bughici, S., 811
 Buhot-Launay, 157
 Bükky, Jenő, 359
 Bulatu, Dumitru, 662
 Buligă, Zacheu, 775, 813
 Buljan, Ante, 468
 Bunea, Florin, 662
 Burădescu, Sever, 710, 711, 811, 812
 Burcel, D., 691
 Burck, 101
 Bürckel, Josef, 148, 151
 Burger, Charles, 255
 Burger, Harry, 537
 Burghelia, D., 751
 Burgher, 287
 Buriez, Charles, 263
 Burstein, Larissa, 766
 Burzio, Giuseppe, 847
 Busacca, 501
 Bussière, Jacques-Félix, 162
 Butchen, Marie, 184–185
 Butoliu, Gheorghe, 793
 Butta, Ugo, 552
 Bybelezer, Ferdinand, 178
 Caboche, Jules César, 265, 269
 Cacaud, Michel, 177
 Čaček, Samuel, 547
 Cagni, 401
 Cahn, Jacqueline, 137
 Călin, Ioan, 687
 Calmieri, Gino, 429
 Calogero, Cicero, 523
 Calogero, Ezia, 414
 Calotescu, Corneliu, 631, 632, 673, 760, 817
 Calzolari, 535–536
 Camacho, Diego, 108
 Camèra, R. M., 422
 Campailla, A., 428
 Campos Peral, José, 258
 Canari, N., 739, 818
 Căndea, 814, 823
 Cantoni, Raffaele, 469
 Cantor, Adele, 125, 126
 Čapić, Ljudevit, 76
 Capogreco, Carlo Spartaco, 410, 417, 440, 441, 450, 462, 469, 489, 551
 Caporali, Dante, 416
 Capron, Marcel, 103
 Capurro, Attilio, 445
 Caradonio-Di Blasio family, 414
 Caravita, Gregorio, 428
 Cardi, Jacques, 264
 Carlucci, Cosimo, 469
 Carol II (king), 570
 Carozzi, Giuseppe, 402
 Carpi, Daniel, 895
 Carpovici, Petro, 713
 Carrasco, Garido, 257
 Cartiens, Séraphin, 261
 Casale, Guglielmo, 399
 Caskie, Donald, 532
 Caspardo, 533
 Cassorla, Moise, 209
 Cassulo, Andrea, 697, 716, 796, 815
 Castillo, Yara de, 278
 Catargiu, Barbu, 707, 708
 Čatloš, Ferdinand, 843, 846, 847
 Cavaliere, Alberto, 464
 Cavallo, Enrico, 419
 Cavano (Cavana), 519
 Cavaropol (colonel), 792
 Cavaropol, Mihai, 793
 Cay, Paul, 160
 Cazes, Andre, 113
 Cazès-Benathar, Hélène, 241, 248, 255, 256, 290
 Cecchetti, Domenico, 443
 Cecere, Giuseppe, 399
 Celentanto, Vincenzo, 441
 Cellier, 272
 Cepleanu, Constantin, 591
 Cepleanu, Nicolae, 818, 819
 Cernăianu, Nicolae, 764
 Cerovski, Božidar, 48
 Cesarano, Andrea, 441
 Cesarec, August, 67
 Cetățianu, C., 768
 Cetenic, Franco, 468
 Chabrol, 265
 Chaigneau, Jean, 160–161
 Chaligne, Renée, 237, 238
 Chalūmov, Georgi Ivan, 42, 43
 Chapuisat, Edouard, 620, 708, 798
 Charant, J. de, 294
 Chassagnac, Henri, 116
 Cheiș, Aron, 726
 Chemouny, Joseph, 899
 Chénau de Leyritz, Léopold, 108–109, 114, 120, 121, 155, 177
 Chérier, Jeanne, 216
 Chéron, Louis, 104
 Chevalier, Paul, 140, 141, 226
 Chiche, Lucien, 263
 Chiedere, Peppino, 556
 Chihai, Gheorghe, 600, 601, 602n8
 Chimenti, Gaetano, 443
 Chindrias, Vasile, 728
 Chinkovskaya family, 748
 Chirac, Jacques, 92
 Chirca, Ion, 654
 Chircorov, 638
 Chireman, Marcu, 690
 Chiribaș, Gheorghe, 764, 765
 Chiricuță, 764
 Choko, Arcadie, 138
 Cholakov, Ivan Genov, 7, 29
 Christodoulakis, Theodosios, 518
 Christoffel, 699
 Chrokmelnick, Herzel, 821
 Ciancaglini, Francesco, 467
 Ciano, Galeazzo, 517
 Čilić, Marjan, 69
 Cimoroni, 451–452
 Cimprić, Milan, 432
 Ciortuz, Barbu "Ilie," 752
 Cireș, Mihail, 783
 Ciugureanu, N., 659
 Ciureanu, Corneliu, 670, 827
 Clara, Cleiner, 633
 Clear, Noel T., 260, 274
 Clémenceau, Georges, 135
 Clemente, Giuseppe, 268
 Clinceanu, Constantin, 599, 600
 Clinovici, Nicolae, 735
 Clopper, Isac, 694
 Coblic, Aria, 640
 Cocarla, Aristide, 672
 Codreanu, Corneliu Zelea, 570, 618, 781
 Codrescu, 669
 Cogan, Haim, 830
 Cohen, Lea, 24n15
 Cohn, Filip, 755
 Cohn, Ițic, 670
 Cohn, Louis, 271
 Cohn family, 679
 Cojan, C., 773
 Cojocaru, Alexandru, 662, 726, 754, 790
 Cojocaru, Oaie C., 574
 Coldefy, François Francisque, 128
 Collin, Emmy, 366, 367
 Collins, Reginald Douglas, 794
 Colombani (doctor), 257
 Colombani, Antoine, 293
 Colos, Grigore, 730
 Colucci, Raffaele, 474
 Coman, Nicolae, 657, 799, 825
 Comba, Francisco, 258
 Comollo, Gustavo, 448
 Conod, Édouard, 272, 287, 294
 Constantinescu, Alexandru, 783
 Constantinescu, I. D., 762

- Constantinescu, Ilie, 707, 708, 764
 Constantinescu, N., 660, 802
 Cordova, 472
 Cornișteanu, Pavel, 687
 Cornstein, Paul, 597
 Corti, Guido, 509
 Costilă, Ion, 728
 Costinescu, Ion, 610, 714
 Coturri, Renato, 554
 Coulon, 157
 Covatta, Raffaele, 476
 Cracovescu, G., 609
 Crainic, Toma, 625
 Crawford, Kenneth G., 258
 Cresp, François Augustin, 122, 681
 Creștinu, Avram, 588, 670, 671, 681, 739
 Crețu, I. D., 648
 Criste, M., 739
 Cristea, Dumitru, 646, 695
 Cristea, Hainalca, 371
 Croce, Camillo, 552
 Crockatt, Norman, 282
 Cropsal, Marcel, 137
 Cros, Pierre, 218
 Csáki, József, 379
 Csaszar, 321
 Csatáry, László, 343
 Csokor, Franz Theodor, 547
 Csukly, József, 343
 Cudisch, Leon, 597
 Cuenca Francisco, Contero, 257
 Cuiuli, Vincenzo "Snake," 541, 542
 Culnev, Gheorghe, 713, 715
 Cuza, Alexandru C., 570
 Czeisberger, Péter, 358
 Czillinger, József, 372
- Dabronaki, Belane, 345
 Dadot, Pierre, 102
 Daguet, 127
 Dahlem, Franz, 118, 171, 172
 Dahmane, 284
 Dal Pont, Adriano, 440
 Daladier, Édouard, 93, 106, 144, 145
 D'Alessio, Francesco, 519
 Dalla Costa, Elia, 406
 Dalloux, Marcel, 186
 Dalmazzo, Renzo, 551
 Dalnegro, Anna, 450–451
 Damaskinos (archbishop), 512
 Damian, C., 739
 Damianakou, Voula, 516–517, 524
 Danckelmann, Heinrich, 832, 836
 Dandolo, Giulio, 450
 Danilof, Mihail, 716, 757
 Danisovič (engineer), 866
 Danko, Marek, 870
 Dannecker, Theodor, 8, 9, 35, 95, 111, 134, 141, 151, 169, 196, 199, 200
 Danon, Sofi, 27–28
 Dănuțescu, Aurel, 713–714, 715, 721, 752, 756, 799, 804
 Dapčević, Peko, 108
 Darlan, Jean François, 242, 277, 282
 Darquier de Pellepoix, Louis, 95, 96
 Dascal, Fani, 351
 Dascal, Paul, 811
- Daupeyroux, Charles, 222
 Dauphin, 271, 272
 David, Giuseppe, 416
 Davidoff, David, 218
 Davidovich, Judith, 351
 Davidovics, Anton, 368
 de Coteau, 261
 de Fabi family, 466
 De Filippis, Giovanni, 541
 de Gaulle, Charles, 139
 De Leo, 496
 De Maio, Costantino, 463
 De Mase, Guilio, 450, 451
 De Neumann, Peter. *See* Neumann, Peter de
 De Pelet, 228
 De Ricko, Pierre. *See* Ricko, Pierre de
 De Salis, W., 467
 De Vincenti-Mazzarosa family, 446
 Deba, Isak, 38
 Debreczeni, Miklós, 319
 Declava, Ferenc, 354, 367
 Decuseară, Vera, 662, 790
 Dedulescu, Angel (Anghel), 591, 739, 818
 Degrelle, Léon, 171
 Deguines, 133
 Dejardin, Pierre-Gabriel, 216
 del Castillo, Michael, 212
 Del Vecchio, Leone, 469
 Delcea, 747
 Delcuze, 157
 Deleanu family, 679
 Delebecque, 266
 Délépine, Gabriel, 252, 269
 Deligdisch, Heinrich, 806, 807
 Della Bonna, Guido, 515
 Della Torre, Odoardo, 469
 Delvina, Hasan, 488
 Demande, Paul, 156
 Demenchuk, Aleksandr, 675
 Depner, Oscar, 732
 Désaknai, Miklós, 336
 Desoullier-Podvoletzki, 118
 Desoyard, René, 183
 Desta Damtu, 502
 Deutsch, Madeline, 318
 Deutsch, Magda, 350
 Deutsch, Oscar W., 169
 Devčić, Ivan "Pivac," 57
 Devoyon, René, 268
 D'Hérampa, Paul, 269
 Di Carlo, 461
 di Donna, Fernando, 417
 di Rosa, Gino, 556
 di Stefano, Antonio, 469
 Di Vittorio, Giuseppe, 473
 Diamant, David, 201
 Diamantini, Iolanda, 460
 Diaz, Vittorio, 427
 Didier, Gustave, 226
 Dieterlin, Paul, 226
 Dijamantstein, Bruno, 61
 Dimitriu, Constantin, 688, 713, 715, 721, 752, 766, 799, 804
 Dimitrov, Ivan, 18
 Dimitrovick, Ioro, 468
 Dindelegan, Iosif, 625, 643, 703, 713, 715, 721, 722, 752, 753, 804
- Djurišić, 381
 Dobeson, G. T., 298
 Dobjanski, Anibal, 637
 Dobrescu, Victor, 801, 811
 Dobrevski, Ilia Iliev, 36
 Dodon, Nicolae, 806
 Doffi, 272
 Dohnányi (engineer), 864, 865
 Doifing, Adolf, 740
 Domonkos, Miksa, 324
 Donath, Pavel, 811
 Donati, Angelo, 537
 Donati, Charles, 181, 186–187
 Donchev, Tsvetan, 38
 Doorman, L. A. C. M., 794
 Doria Pamphili, Filippo (prince), 448
 Dorra, Sami, 273
 Dourmanoff, 272
 Doyen, Paul-André, 139
 Drăgălina, Cornel, 673
 Drăgănești, Constantin Ștefănescu, 679
 Draganov, Peio, 31, 32, 33
 Dragolov, Hristo, 18
 Drăgulescu, Traian, 677, 758
 Drégelyi, Béla, 372
 Dresdner, Abraham, 214
 Drexel, Max, 675
 Dreyfuss, Bertha, 169
 Dreyfuss, Clara (née Pollak), 169
 Dreyfuss, Edgard H., 156
 Dreyfuss, Rudi, 169
 Dreyfuss, Wilhelm, 169
 Drobner, Leib, 766
 Drucman, Melka, 596
 Drussy, Henri, 162
 Drux, Leo, 795
 Dubuc, André, 237
 Duby-Blom, Gertrude, 212
 Ducoin, 208
 Dudáš, Andrej, 845
 Dudás, Károly, 332, 333
 Duin, 171
 Dulgheru, Arghir and Constantin, 599
 Dumas, Roland, 141
 Dumbović, Ante, 74
 Dumitrescu, Eugen, 637
 Dumitrescu, Ilie, 600
 Dumitrescu, Mihail, 732
 Dumitrescu, Vasile, 814
 Dumitru, Constantin, 643
 Dunker, Ernst "Delage," 532
 Dupont, Ernest, 266
 Dupont, Julien, 266
 Ďurčanský, Ferdinand, 843, 844
 Ďurný, Štefan, 865
 Duval (camp director), 237
 Duval, 230
 Duval, J., 222
 Dvajala, Marfa, 730
 Dzherasi, Mois, 43
- Ebstein, Heinrich. *See* Epstein, Heinrich
 Eddeng, 449
 Eerolainen, Kosti-Paavo, 87
 Egedy, Kálmán, 342, 354
 Egete, 381
 Eggers, Christian, 139

- Ehrenfeld, Adolf, 352
 Ehrenfreund-Polić, Anica, 72
 Eichmann, Adolf, 95, 306, 309, 310, 315, 318, 333, 342, 344, 346, 351, 357, 361, 375, 379, 871, 882–883, 885
 Eidenbenz, Elisabeth, 108, 215
 Eidler, Jacob, 806, 807
 Einhorn, Ulrich, 888
 Eisenberger, Sámuel, 370
 Eisenstätter, Mendel, 355
 Eisenstein, Maria Luisa. *See* Moldauer, Maria Luisa
 Eisler, Hanns, 195
 Eisner, Gizela, 329
 Elazar, Avram Moshe, 20nn18–19, 20n22
 Elkan, Erich, 218
 Elliot, Lewis, 279
 Emilian, Odijenschi Ivan, 769
 Emilian, Radu, 728
 Enache, 816
 Enăchiță, Dan, 700, 701
 Endre, László, 306, 307, 308, 309, 323, 335, 345, 348, 357
 Endrődi, Barnabás, 358
 Enge, Edgar, 836
 Engel, Ján, 869
 Engelberg, Oszkár, 336
 Engelbrecht, István, 355
 Engl, Ietta, 475
 Engleman, 856
 Engler, Jora (Iora), 791
 Epelman, Huna, 827
 Epstein, Heinrich, 118, 147
 Epștein, Iosif, 755
 Epure, Ion, 710
 Ercolani, Alceo, 456
 Erlich, David. *See* Diamant, David
 Ernst, Camille, 101
 Ernst, Max, 168, 173
 Eshkenazi, Mazal. *See* Asael, Mazal
 Estebbe, 270
 Estèbe, 208
 Esteva, Jean-Pierre, 894, 896
 Estrade, Paul, 233
 Estrade-Szwarckopf, Mouny, 233
 Eszterházy, János, 847
 Eulampia, 511
 Evitco, 795
 Exillio, 257

 Fabian, Jeanne, 366
 Fabre (capitaine), 287
 Fabre, Georges, 266
 Fabricant, Ițic, 733
 Facchini (bishop), 439
 Faerștein, Saul, 726
 Făgădău, Mochi, 764
 Faget, 73
 Failla, Alfonso, 455
 Faivre, 179
 Faláth, Jozef, 871, 885
 Falkenhorst, Nikolaus von, 562
 Fallontin, Henri, 140
 Fancello, Francesco, 473
 Fantini, Giuseppe and Angela, 453
 Fantoli, Leonardo, 552
 Fantussati, Giovanni, 439
 Fanucci, 460
 Faragó, Béla, 364
 Farhi, Angelo (Andelko), 546
 Farhi, Mois, 28
 Farinacci, Mario, 447–448
 Farkas, Ákos Doroghi, 312
 Farkasc, 381
 Fărtăi, Zaharie, 672
 Faško, 863
 Fauquier, Daniel, 535
 Faure, André-Jean, 157, 162
 Favoloro, 545
 Faye, 168
 Feckette, Nicolae, 755
 Feinberg, Kai, 561
 Feiner, Maurice “Moritz,” 291
 Fekete, József, 336
 Fekete, Maria, 336
 Felber, Hans-Gustav, 832
 Feldman, Mór, 352, 353
 Feldmann, Ladislav, 858
 Feliks, Milan, 76
 Fenichel, József, 348
 Ferenczy, László, 306, 308, 309, 310, 311, 350, 369
 Fernand, Jacq, 130
 Ferret, 156
 Ferrier, Alvarez, 278
 Ferrigno, Carmine, 447
 Ferrigno, Nicola, 466, 467
 Feschotte, Jacques, 202
 Festa, Giuditta, 463
 Fetacău, Ion, 742, 769
 Fetcău (capitan), 699, 700, 731, 743, 805, 807, 808
 Feuerwerker, David, 125, 138, 207
 Ficher, Sallo, 692
 Ficsman, Costin, 640
 Fignon, 179
 Fihman, Moise, 640
 Fihman, Sulim, 806, 807
 Filderman, Wilhelm, 579, 759
 Filho, Emmanuel, 188
 Filip, Tabac, 607
 Filipaș, Gheorghe, 662, 707, 790
 Filipović-Majstorović, Miroslav, 53, 61, 64
 Filliol, Jean, 139
 Filov, Bogdan, 2
 Finidori, 271, 272
 Finștein, Mendel, 662
 Finta, Imre, 333
 Finucci, 408
 Fiorenzuola, 454
 Fischbein, Gábor, 364
 Fischer, 262
 Fischer, József, 337, 348
 Fischmann, Bernardt, 402
 Fișera, Josef, 214
 Fishman, 712
 Flavian, Conrad and Élise, 532
 Fleischman, Ifraim, 690, 775
 Fleischmann, Gizela “Gizi,” 848, 877
 Fleișer, Monia, 829
 Fleișman, Efraim, 604, 775
 Flett, H. J. W., 260
 Fleury, Jean, 203, 204
 Flexer, Fayette J., 274, 298
 Flitman, Lorentz, 656
 Florian (major), 752
 Florian, Ion, 589, 762
 Flountzis, Antonis, 505
 Flurin, René, 120
 Foà family, 460
 Fogar, Galeano, 515
 Fogelman, Jacques, 155
 Follender, Alfred, 588, 670, 681
 Fontaine, André, 169
 Foot, M. R. D., 282
 Foppa Pedretti, Giuseppe, 464
 Fördős, Kálmán, 379
 Forgáčova, Alžbeta (neé Ungárova), 887
 Forgács, József, 348, 349
 Förster, Helmut, 832
 Forti family, 428
 Fóthy, János, 332
 Fouchet, 292
 Fournier, 147
 Fourniols, 208, 214
 Frada, Antonio and Marinovic, 468
 Fraier, Zisu, 824
 Frajermauer, Anny, 120
 Frajermauer, Chana, 121
 Frajermauer, Joseph, 120, 121
 Francetić, Jure, 69
 Franchetti, Giuseppe, 415
 Franco, Francisco, 90, 101, 120, 143, 258, 271
 Francovich, Antonio, 473
 Frank, Alfred, 221
 Fränk, Gerhard, 320
 Frank, Mór, 337
 Frankel, Ion, 677
 Franko, Mois Aron, 20n6
 Fraticelli, Mario, 424, 425
 Freedman, Oscar, 165
 Freiburger, Miroslav Salom, 555
 Freinet, Célestin, 122
 Frestecico, Simeon, 659
 Freund, Alexander, 857
 Freund, Zsigmond, 364
 Freyer (engineer), 864, 865
 Fridlander, Maurice, 155
 Fried, Shirley and Etta, 317
 Frieder, Abraham “Armin,” 847, 848, 877
 Friedländer, Ljudevit, 71
 Friedländer, Nada, 71
 Friedman, Sarah, 317
 Friedman, Tolca, 779
 Friedmann, Dezső Fejes, 335
 Frim, Livia, 353, 354
 Fry, Varian, 176
 Fröhlich, Heinrich, 786
 Fuchs, Wilhelm, 833, 836
 Fuciu, Gheorghe, 693
 Fuks, Simon, 114, 116
 Fundo, Lazar, 455, 473

 Gabrielli, Pierre Marius, 122
 Gabrovski, Petăr, 9, 32, 33
 Gaddi, Giuseppe, 448
 Gadjic, Nikola, 70
 Gaetano, Rizzello, 456
 Gagi, Mircea, 648
 Gagliardi, Mario, 422

- Gailhard, Jean, 182
 Galderani, 519
 Galerne, Suzanne, 177
 Galese, 901
 Găletaru, Petre, 670, 717
 Gálffy, Imre, 353
 Galileo, 470
 Gambassini, Lucio, 418
 Gamelin, Maurice Gustave, 144
 Gamzon, Robert, 116, 155
 Gandin, Antonio, 409
 Ganev, Anton Stefanov, 6, 17
 Gangea, Ion, 613
 Ganz, Sam, 317
 Garamvölgyi, Albert "Béla," 336
 Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 428
 Garrec, Frédéric, 158, 230
 Gasharov, Ivan Stoyan, 7, 22, 23, 24n15
 Gatenio, Karl David, 38
 Gaude, Louis, 168
 Gavăr (Gaveț), Ștefan, 597, 616, 617, 726, 732, 754, 790
 Gavriilidis, Costas, 524
 Gavrilă, Dumitru, 749
 Gecse, József, 336
 Géczy, András, 368
 Geloso, Carlo, 526
 Genchev, 33, 34
 Gendreau, 160
 Gény, 133
 Georges, 132
 Georgescu, Dumitru, 646, 647
 Georgescu, Ion, 686
 Georgiou, Fotios, 516
 Gérard, 101
 Gerber, Miriam, 175
 Gergely, Gyula, 358
 Gerlier, Pierre-Marie, 122
 Germoni, Guglielmo, 448
 Gerő, Miksa, 344
 Gerstl, Pauline and Wilhelm, 538
 Gertler, Georg, 350
 Gesler, Jozo (Josip), 69
 Gespaverić, Drago, 56
 Getting, 111
 Ghelbert family, 630n3
 Ghelfman, Nahman, 747
 Gheorghe, Petre, 786
 Gheorghe, Teodor, 620
 Gheorghiade, Ștefan S., 659, 691–692, 697, 712, 801, 811, 828
 Gherman, Idasia, 659
 Gherman, Joe, 677, 758
 Gherovici, Alexandru, 637
 Ghimpelmann, Iacov, 694
 Ghineraru, Florin, 607
 Ghini, Celso, 440
 Giacobbi, Antoine Félix, 279
 Giannelli, Ruggero, 518, 519, 525
 Giannikos, N., 505
 Gigante, Vincenzo, 455
 Giglio, Umberto, 427, 476
 Gilden, Samuel, 220
 Gilles, 121
 Gillet, 111
 Gimpel family, 408
 Gindl, Ján, 887
 Giolli, Raffaello, 435
 Girard, Germain, 222
 Girard, Yvonne, 537
 Giraud, Henri, 242, 282, 896
 Giraud, Marie-Louise, 194
 Giraudier, Vincent, 104
 Giraudo, 408
 Gireman, Marcu, 594
 Gitton, Marcel, 103
 Giugiu, Gheorghe, 763
 Giurcă, Niculae, 646
 Giuseppe, Franco, 450
 Giuseppini, Andrea, 502
 Giustiniani-Bandini, 469
 Giustino, Marino, 415
 Gkontzios, Dimitris, 515
 Gkrozios, Apostolis, 518, 519
 Glasberg, Alexandre, 122, 123
 Glasberg, Vila, 123
 Glasner, Akiba, 348
 Glasner, Dragutin, 76
 Glika, Zvonko, 547
 Glogojanu, Ion, 728
 Glück, Sándor, 370
 Goga, Octavian, 318, 570
 Gogleață, 739, 819
 Golberg, Chaja, 162
 Goldman, Norberg, 714
 Goldschmidt, Nicolae, 811
 Goldschmied, Sándor, 372
 Goldsman (Goldtman), 795
 Goldstein, Ivo, 69, 555
 Golian, Ján, 849
 Gollick, Michael, 73
 Golski, 271
 Golstein family, 203
 Goranov, 40
 Gorbov, 740
 Gorsky, Vasile, 589, 590, 652, 762
 Goruchon, Charles, 168
 Gosset, Raoul, 130
 Goțescu, Dumitru, 679
 Goteu, Grigore, 818
 Gothly, Ferdinand, 764
 Gottlieb, Juda, 352
 Gouillon, Maurice, 162
 Goyou, 278, 281
 Grădinaru, Vasile, 715
 Graham, John Turnbull, 298
 Grama, Vasile, 625, 643, 713
 Gramsci, Antonio, 470
 Grande, Luigi, 422
 Grandjean, Maurice, 162
 Granovsch, Isac, 640
 Grant, Peter, 457
 Granzow, Johnny, 118
 Granzow, Kurt, 118
 Grassi, Raffaele, 403
 Grau, 266
 Gravelle (brigadier-chief adjutant), 106
 Gravelle, Jean, 269
 Graziani, Rodolfo, 502
 Grazioli, Emilio, 550, 557
 Gregory, Eva, 342
 Gregusova, Eva, 360
 Grenier, Fernand, 102, 103, 130
 Gribovsky, György, 369
 Griffier, 116
 Grigorescu, Gheorghe, 732
 Grigoriencu, Fimareta, 687
 Grill, Solomon, 704
 Grilli, Giovanni, 435
 Grisar, Aron, 741
 Grixoni, Luigi, 519
 Gross, Bruno, 594, 690, 775
 Grosu, Gheorghe, 766
 Grosu, Nicolae, 797
 Grosz, József, 337
 Grothendieck, Alexander, 212
 Groza, Aurel, 714, 766
 Grüber, Paulina, 114
 Gruel, 229
 Grumberg, Eva, 601
 Grünberg, Micu, 634
 Grünfelder, Anna Maria, 68
 Grüngold, Margarethe, 339
 Grünvald, Paul, 604
 Grünwald, Erich, 869
 Grușovan, 734
 Guesmi, Ali, 266
 Guida, Marcello, 473
 Guijarro, Frederic, 269
 Guillaume, Camille, 102
 Guillemant, Jeannine, 137
 Guinle-Lorinet, Sylvaine, 163
 Gülzhov, Asparuh, 40
 Gurême, Henriette, 184
 Gurême, Raymond, 184
 Gurman, Cantor, 631
 Gussman, Louis, 164
 Gutman family, 69
 Guttman, I., 810
 Guttman, Landau, 637
 Guy, Christian, 186
 Guyon, 281
 Guzanyskiy, Yankl, 675–676
 Haase, Alfred, 296, 297
 Habañ, 860
 Habazin, Dragica, 74
 Hacker, Béla, 372
 Hadad (Haddad), Moshe, 527
 Hadzo, Ștefan, 857
 Hagen, Herbert, 95
 Hager, 703
 Hager, Baruch, 821
 Hager, Barukh, 667
 Hager, Hayyim Meir, 363
 Haidauțu, Teodor, 659
 Haim, Moise, 802
 Hain, Péter, 306
 Hajdú, Sándor, 343
 Hajnácskő, László, 316, 371
 Hakel, Hermann, 400, 418
 Halachev, Nikola, 6, 7, 10
 Halpern, Marco, 432
 Halpern, Nehemia, 109
 Halpern, Rose, 341
 Halpert, Ben, 369
 Halphen, Jenő, 359
 Hamburg, Jack, 114
 Hamburger, Gustáv, 891
 Hamelin, France, 194, 195–196
 Hananel, Asher, 17

- Hanshaw, John C., 449
 Haracek, József, 358
 Hark, Willy, 284, 296, 297
 Harris, Eric. *See* Loëwe, Eric
 Harth, Camillo. *See* Horth, Camillo
 Hartung, Rudolf, 642, 719
 Haskia, David, 20n22
 Hațiegan, Ion, 732
 Haubraiche, 264
 Hausch, Oberst von, 216
 Haviş, Ghesel, 726
 Hazana, Mardochée, 266
 Heath, Leslie C., 287
 Hefer, Stjepan, 76
 Hegedüs, 340
 Heger, Karlo “Karl,” 72
 Heger, Raymond, 105
 Heger, Willibald, 72
 Hegyi, Lajos, 359
 Heidingsfeld family, 167
 Heinrichsohn, Ernst, 141
 Helen (queen), 619
 Helena, Stéphanie, 266
 Heller, Joseph, 271
 Helm, Hans, 833, 836
 Hénaff, Eugène, 130
 Hénault, Robert-Pierre “Robespierre,” 160
 Henblein, 792
 Hendel, Hersh, 787
 Henle family, 109
 Henquizzi, 533
 Henry VIII (king), 169
 Herak, Slavko, 555
 Herald, Ludovít, 880–881
 Héràma, Paul d'. *See* D'Héràma, Paul
 Hergehelegiu, Ion, 643
 Herlea, Dionisie, 764
 Herman, Janet, 185
 Herman, Nikola, 68
 Herman, Veiner, 692
 Hermann, Deszö, 348
 Hermans, Ward, 171
 Heroiu, Mircea, 684
 Herold, 216
 Herriot, Édouard, 139
 Herschmann, Adolph, 766
 Herşcovici, Friderich, 747
 Herşcovici, Samuil, 661
 Herşkovitz, Olga, 323
 Hersko, Blanka, 373
 Hervé, Raymond, 162
 Herzog, Ivo, 542
 Herzog, Roman, 502
 Hess, Richard, 408, 409
 Heublein. *See* Henblein
 Heureude, René, 115
 Heydrich, Reinhard, 95, 96
 Hierl, Konstantin, 5
 Hijós, Miquel, 107
 Himmler, Heinrich, 846, 848
 Hirauski, N., 156
 Hirsch, Rudolf, 604, 775
 Hirş, Heni, 822
 Hirsch, Alexandre, 359
 Hirsch, Auguste “Gusta,” 167
 Hirsch, Zoltán, 375
 Hirschler, René, 116, 124, 220
 Hitler, Adolf, 2, 40, 46, 80, 90, 144, 390, 560, 562, 844, 845, 846
 Hlinka, Andrej, 842
 Hochhäuser, Alex, 862, 889
 Hochstädt, Avram, 766
 Hofbauer, Edith, 350
 Hofer, Marcus, 666
 Hoffmann, Julius, 438
 Hoffmeyer, Horst, 642
 Hogrel family, 129
 Hollander, Paul, 277, 291
 Hollóssy-Kuthy, Lajos, 348
 Holveck, Robert, 203
 Honti, Béla, 353
 Hörnicke, 359
 Hornyák, Miklós, 385
 Horowitz, Max, 720
 Horth, Camillo, 699
 Horthy, Miklós, 302, 305, 306, 311, 324, 332, 346, 355, 362, 368, 369, 376
 Horvát, István, 353
 Horváth, Árpád, 337
 Horváth, György, 343
 Horváth, Sándor, 374
 Horváth, Zoltán, 364
 Horvatin, Mladen, 67
 Hotz, 130
 Hrg, Andrea, 64–65
 Hrivniak, František, 857
 Huban, Ján, 881
 Hubert (camp chief), 132
 Hubert, Marie-Christine, 91, 184, 204, 222
 Hudson, James Douglas, 282
 Humbert, David-Gustave, 214
 Huntley, 794
 Hunyadi, László, 359
 Iacobescu, Nicolae, 632, 633, 795
 Iancu, Bercu, 604
 Iancu, Michaël, 146
 Ibárruri, Dolores, 108
 Ibárruri, Rubén Ruiz, 108
 Icković, 545
 Idel, Bianca, 804
 Iehil, Gold, 607
 Ignat, Bodor, 373
 Ignea, I., 695
 Ilić, Ljubomir, 117
 Iliescu, Dumitru, 768
 Iliescu, Mihai, 756, 777, 778
 Iliescu, Mihail (general), 742
 Iliescu, Mihail P. (colonel), 728
 Iliescu, Teodor, 588, 611
 Immirù, Ras, 452
 Impellizzeri, 899, 901, 902
 Infante, Adolfo, 520
 Ioan, Radu, 827
 Ioanid, Victor, 730, 797
 Ioannidis, Giannis, 506
 Ioffe, Ițic, 601
 Ionaşcu, N., 788
 Ionescu, Aliodor, 814
 Ionescu, C., 620
 Ionescu, Ioan (Ion) A., 687, 795
 Ionescu, Petre N., 738
 Ionescu, Radu, 638
 Ionescu, Ştefan, 614
 Ionescu-Obârşia, Ion, 589
 Iordanov, Poruchik Paraskev, 7, 38
 Iorgulescu, Vasile, 588
 Iosa, Gheorghe, 629, 770
 Iosifovici, Iosifescu, 827
 Iosipovici, Mayer, 755
 Iosspovici, S., 822
 Iovchev, Hristo Dimitrov, 42, 43
 Isaacson, Judith Magyar, 343
 Isăceanu, Victor, 673
 Isar, Aurelian, 768
 Isopescu, Modest, 581, 588, 589, 610, 611, 612, 658, 659, 660, 661, 670, 680, 681, 682, 686, 695, 696, 717, 718, 798, 802, 803, 815, 816, 827
 Ispravnicu, M., 690
 Israël, Benkemoun, 266
 Ițicovici, Haim, 604
 Iuliu, Brandes, 633
 Ivanchev, Aleks. *See* Shonkin, Aleks
 Ivanchev
 Ivănescu, Petre, 736
 Ivanov, Ivan, 6
 Ivanov, Zahari Velkov. *See* Velkov, Zahari
 Iványi, András, 348
 Ivaz, Antonio Amicizia, 468
 Jacchia, Diana and Dina, 428
 Jackson, Humphrey H., 280
 Jackson, Stanley, 537
 Jacob, Max, 135
 Jacquet, 111
 Jaeger, William H., 794
 Jägendorf, Siegfried, 636, 650, 664, 693, 716, 741, 757, 772, 821, 822
 Jaksetich, Giorgio, 455
 Jammet, Gaston, 182
 Janas, Karol, 860
 Janeli, Ruzzero, 513
 Janin, 255
 Jaross, Andor, 306, 308
 Javovic, Giovanni and Filomena, 468
 Jean-Faure, André, 232
 Jelinić, Krsto, 58
 Jerge, 863
 Jervell, Anton, 565
 Jessel, Richard, 282
 Jeunechamp, 282
 Joffe, Helene (née Mindel), 145–146
 Johnson, Peter Le Quesne, 275, 280
 Jólesz, Károly, 364
 Joly, Jean-Marie, 156
 Jonić, Velibor, 840
 Joos, Andor, 352
 Josten, Adolf, 836
 Jouassain, René, 138
 Jouffraud, Georges, 160
 Jouhaux, Léon, 139, 140
 Jovanović, Dragomir, 833, 836
 Józán, Miklós, 310
 Jrubetki, Leon, 617
 Juga, Aurel, 594, 653, 775, 813
 Juhász, Pál, 321
 Jukelis, Iosif, 766
 Jurenco, Eugen, 735
 Jüttner, Hans, 560

- Kabiljo, Isak, 547
 Kádár, János, 326
 Kádár, József, 365
 Kadari, Abdelkader, 284
 Kahane, Max, 229
 Kahlenberg, Marc, 182
 Kakaes, Sotiris, 518
 Kalinicenco, 802
 Kalinov, Angel, 25, 26
 Kalitsin, Yaroslav, 9, 36
 Kálnoky, István, 337
 Kalogeropoulos, Yiouris and Nikos, 509
 Kalogeropoulos family, 509
 Kamenica, Dalip Hysen, 482
 Kamenský, Štefan, 884
 Kamenszky, Árpád, 372
 Kampler, Josef, 123
 Kamras, Fela (née Smolinska), 125
 Kantorowicz, Alfred, 176
 Kaourès, Xrēstos (“Father Fourtouna”), 526
 Kapari, Eleni, 510, 511, 512, 520
 Kapel, René, 172, 209, 218
 Kapel, Samuel, 109
 Kaplan, J., 156
 Kaposváry, György, 343
 Karampinis, 525
 Karanika, Soula and Koula, 511
 Karayannē, Lena, 509
 Kardos, József, 343
 Kardoš, Ladislav, 884
 Karmasin, Franz, 843, 871, 885
 Karoly, Vera, 341
 Kartano, Arvo, 87
 Kasabov, Georgi Künchev, 42
 Kassay, János, 336
 Kassler, Ionas, 757
 Kasztner, Rudolf “Rezső,” 315, 326, 335, 339, 342, 348, 356, 372, 379
 Katan, Isak, 67
 Katramis, 516
 Kats, Moses, 716
 Katsounotos, Giannis, 524
 Katz, Antal, 337
 Katz, M. (in Moghilev), 822
 Katz, Magda, 342
 Katz, Moise (in Şargorod), 804
 Katz, Mór, 337
 Katz, Moses (in Djurin), 667
 Katz, Moses (in Moghilev), 644, 688, 757
 Kaufman, Kitty (née Reichl), 402
 Kazachevici, Mihail, 670
 Kečkemeti, Duško, 546
 Kecskeméti, Izidor, 344
 Kehrler, Walter, 675
 Keller, George, 376
 Kerekes, Lajos, 376
 Kershner, Howard E., 172
 Kertesz, Elsiebeth, 330
 Kertesz, Imrene, 345
 Kesler, Hugo, 537
 Kessler, Arthur, 811
 Kestelman, Moise, 604
 Kezsmarki, 382
 Khager, Barukh, 667
 Khaldei, Yevgeny, 301
 Khelifati, Mohand Amokrane, 266
 Khibner, 269
 Kiessel, Georg, 836
 Kirenman, Marcu, 775
 Kiril (archbishop), 11, 28
 Kiril (prince), 22
 Kirschbaum, Jozef, 871, 885
 Kirschen, Rudolf, 690
 Kirshner, Oscar, 368
 Kiseleva, Tat'iana (née Mironova), 86
 Kissinger, Ruth, 202
 Kister, Lew, 76
 Kitinchev, Spiro, 31
 Klain, Slavko, 76
 Klajič, Emil, 75
 Klarsfeld, Serge, 124, 135, 214, 220, 236
 Klein, Amerigo, 428
 Klein, Erich, 709
 Klein, Gyula, 348
 Klein, Juraj, 889
 Klein, Károly, 353
 Klein, Oszkár, 355
 Klein, Slavko. *See* Klain, Slavko
 Klein, Toivi, 596
 Klein family, 567
 Klesken, Ján, 857
 Klotz, 283
 Kluger, Nechemia and Esther, 203
 Kmet'ko, Karol, 847
 Knochen, Helmut, 95
 Koblas family, 748
 Koch (doctor), 771
 Koch, Jana, 74
 Kočović, Bogoljub, 50
 Köcsey, Sándor, 334
 Koen, Iosif, 24
 Koen, Marko, 20
 Koen, Merkado David, 20
 Koen, Mois Avram, 40
 Koen, Raphael, 235
 Koestler, Arthur, 171
 Kohn, Alfred. *See* Kuhn, Alfred
 Kohn, Esther, 158
 Kohn, Maks, 76
 Kokavec, Poručík, 863
 Kolb, Charles, 753
 Kolevski, Raicho Boichev, 8, 25, 26, 39, 40
 Kolm, Emanuel, 883
 Kolpensky, Sergei, 719
 Koltay, László, 306
 Kom, Hugo, 555
 Kon, Hugo, 67
 Kon, Ljudevit, 67
 Konka, Gejza, 879
 Kontsevich, Fedor, 675
 Konyuk, Jozsef, 351
 Kopony family, 792
 Koralnik, Gershel, 667
 Koseček, Eduard, 884
 Kosenfeld, Alazár, 884
 Kosidois, Karl, 445
 Koth, Jozef, II, 858
 Kotlárík, Jozef, 869, 884
 Kotsman, 745
 Kountouriôtēs, Pavlos, 509
 Kountouriôtēs, Theodōros, 509
 Kourakin, Ivan, 406
 Koutsodimos, Yannis, 518
 Kovac, Edit, 350
 Kováč, Tibor, 848
 Kovács, Tamás, 343
 Kovács-Nagy, István, 363
 Kovesi, Joseph, 369
 Kovesi, Vera, 376
 Kraft, 676
 Krajnović, Bogdan, 369
 Krakopolskiy, Ezra, 766
 Král, Štefan, 863
 Kramer, Nathan, 365
 Krammer, Viktor, 372
 Krasňanský, František, 880
 Kraus, Hela (née Mismar), 402
 Kraus, Henry, 371
 Kraus, Karl, 833
 Krausz, Béla, 372
 Krausz, Moses Aaron, 357
 Krausz, Szuzsana, 339
 Krengel, Hugues, 266
 Krishaber, B., 367
 Križanová-Pivková, 866
 Krkoška, Jozef, 860
 Kruk, Samuel, 781
 Kruliš (engineer), 864, 865
 Krupa, Vojtech, 856
 Kualet, Norbert, 319
 Kubala, Otomar, 874
 Kučo, Isak, 547
 Kuhn, Alfred, 255, 291
 Kula, Arthur, 771
 Kumar, Stane, 433
 Kun, Béla, 302
 Kun, Lajos, 385
 Kundt, Ernst, 91, 151, 166, 168, 171, 175
 Kunovits, Jenő, 337
 Kurlak, 275
 Kurtag, Ladislav, 869
 Kvaternik, Eugen “Dido,” 46, 48, 59, 62
 Kyzonois, 278
 la Chapel, Michel de, 157
 La Laurencie, Léon Benoit de Fornel de, 139
 La Monica, Mario, 417
 La Rocca, Jean, 297
 Labbro, Vittorio, 401
 Lacelle, Jean, 234
 Lacroix, Émile, 158, 230, 231
 Lagocheilas, 516
 Laid ben Mohamed, Amar, 263
 Lakadár, József, 336
 Lakatos, 724–725
 Lamb, Charles, 282
 Lammers, Hans, 560
 Landau (rabbi), 750
 Landau, Bernhard, 692
 Landau, Edmond, 537
 Landau, Ernő, 364
 Landau, Helmuth, 24, 25
 Landau, Herbert, 424
 Landau, Izu, 611, 612
 Landesberg, Hans, 295
 Lang, Carlo Alberto, 542
 Láng, Ernő, 364
 Langbein, Hermann, 171, 172, 218
 Langer, Marcel, 108
 Langfelder, Otto, 58, 62, 63, 64

- Langley, J. M., 282
 Lansill, 449
 Lapsker, Efsel, 766
 Larsen, Alfred, 291
 Lasselle, Jean. *See* Lacelle, Jean
 Laszlor, Jambor, 386
 Latibalu, Dejzasmach, 503
 Lattarulo, Angelo, 431
 Laufer, Josef, 757
 Laurelli, 208
 Laurens, Maurice, 168
 Laurent, 162
 Laurian, A., 574
 Lautier, Henri, 536
 Laval, Pierre, 90, 92, 96, 169, 533
 Lazăr, Ion, 634, 684, 699, 700, 742, 769, 805, 807
 Lazăr, Lazăr D., 648
 Lăzăroiu, Ion, 797
 Lazarov, Leon, 17
 Lazarovici, Cristea, 615
 Lazarovici, Frida, 604
 Lazarovici, Iancu, 594, 604, 690, 775
 Lazarovitch, Shmuel David, 340
 Lazzaroni Matteucci, Fedora, 450
 Le Bideau, 168
 Le Brun, Pierre, 533
 Le Cuen, 111
 Le Picard, Veuve, 106
 Léb, Zsigmond, 348
 Lebègue, Robert, 137, 200, 201, 234, 235, 237
 Lebrun, Albert, 90
 Lecache, Bernard, 253, 265, 266
 Lecal, Albert, 139
 Lecca, Angelo, 426
 Lecher, Ghidion, 704
 Leclercq, Louis, 179, 180
 Léderer, Manó, 372
 Lederman, 700
 Legeay, 132
 Legovi, Jakov, 530
 Lehnár, Zsigmond, 336
 Lehrer, Gheorghe, 740
 Lehuraux, 250
 Leibl, Franz. *See* Liebl, Franz
 Leibovici, Lua, 687
 Lemberg, Leon, 640
 Lemoine, Antoine, 124
 Lentić, Boris, 437
 Leon, Heisner, 607
 Leonaș, Virgil, 820
 Leonhard, Rudolf, 118
 Leoveanu, 781
 Lerner, Gizela, 208
 Lesage, Gilbert, 104, 116, 133
 Leszmann, 361
 Letko, Mikuláš, 869
 Levak, Zlato, 399
 Levi, Annette, 408
 Levi, Heinrich (Hajnrih), 546
 Levi, Nisim Isak, 43
 Levi, Primo, 401, 431
 Levi, Sami Moshe, 39, 40
 Levine, Laure, 218
 Levy (biologist), 262
 Lévy (capitan), 220
 Levy, Kurt, 567
 Lévy, Paul, 203
 Levy, Rachel Philipson, 120
 Lévy, Simone, 154
 Levy, Zdenka, 425
 Lew family, 229
 Leyser, Margot, 189
 L'Huillier, G., 203
 Li Voti, Salvatore, 473
 Liberi family, 446
 Libot, Gerard, 171
 Lichgott, 208
 Lichtman, Annie, 208
 Lie, Jonas, 561
 Liebl, Franz, 719, 777
 Liebray, 271, 296
 Limousin, 113, 207
 Lindseth, Leif, 565
 Lippolis, Pietro, 432
 Lischka, Kurt, 95
 List, Wilhelm, 831
 Liszka, Béla, 344
 Litman, David, 687
 Littaye, Jack, 214
 Liubinskaya family, 748
 Ljotić, Dimitrije, 832, 839
 Lo Spinoso, Guido, 458
 Lods, Marcel, 134
 Loëwe, Eric, 276, 277
 Loffler, Katalin, 374
 Loghin, Constantin, 634, 635, 643, 652, 688, 689, 699, 700, 701, 713, 715, 721, 731, 742, 743, 752, 756, 766, 769, 799, 804, 805, 807, 808
 Loinger, 154
 Loirat, F., 222
 Lončar, Pavao, 70
 Lorković, Mladen, 47
 Lospinozo, Guido, 534
 Lothe, Arthur, 555
 Louis XVI (king), 106
 Loustaunau-Lacau, Georges, 139, 140
 Lovinescu, I., 649
 Lövy, Oscar, 870
 Löw, Béla, 337
 Löwinger, Judith, 339
 Löwy, Oskar, 869
 Lozovský (engineer), 855, 856, 859, 860, 861
 Luburić, Vjekoslav Maks, 48, 54, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 69
 Lucianschi, Ifim, 766
 Lucký, Štefan, 863
 Luino, Gaston, 123
 Luketić, Vera, 74
 Lulay, Leó, 306
 Lulchev, Todor, 32, 33
 Lumbroso, Elia, 432
 Lunchin, Marc, 766
 Lupașcu, Dumitru, 686, 695, 702
 Lupescu, Avram, 670
 Lupini family, 445
 Luptovský, Izidor, 887
 Lupu, Ștefan, 574
 Lupy, 271, 279, 281
 Luras, 222
 Lusena, Delfina. *See* Ortona, Delfina
 Lusignoli, Ado, 460
 Lussu, Emilio, 439–440
 Lusztbaum, Béla, 335
 Luță, Mircea, 673
 Mach, Alexander “Šaňo,” 842, 843, 844, 846, 847, 848, 861, 863, 877, 882, 889, 890
 Machado, Antonio, 131
 MacNabb, 509
 Maczky, Emil Borbély, 353
 Maestro, Jozef, 546
 Maganini, 460
 Magaš, Ljubo, 58
 Maggio, Aiutante, 474
 Maiello, Mario, 422, 443
 Maier, Marcu, 795
 Maillard, 292
 Majay, Ferenc, 352
 Makúch, Pavol, 865
 Malaguti, Bruno, 415
 Malamad, Șmul, 640
 Malek, Teresa, 373
 Maleron, Yona, 816
 Malraux, Clara, 209
 Malvasi, Bartolomeo, 449
 Malý, 889
 Mancini, Irma, 466
 Mancuso, Vincenzo, 456
 Mandea, Gheorghe, 601
 Mandel, Georges, 144
 Mandel-Mantello, George, 167
 Mandil, Maier, 20
 Mandler, Iosif, 692
 Mandler, Otto, 875
 Mandušić, Mate, 69–70
 Manea, Petre Donca, 601
 Mâneciuța, I., 631, 759
 Manen, Henri and Alice, 169
 Manescau, Roland, 179, 180
 Mănescu, Vasile, 588, 611, 612, 670, 717
 Manfreda, Laminjan, 410
 Mangin, Joël, 181
 Maniadakēs, Kōnstantinos, 521
 Manolescu, Sandu, 764
 Manoliu, Constantin, 797
 Manousakas, Giannēs, 513, 514, 518, 525, 526
 Mäntykivi, T. A., 86
 Mara-Michalakea, Toula, 510, 511
 Marányi, Ede, 320, 321
 Maraš, Martin, 58
 Maratheas, 512
 Marc, Sandra, 155
 Marček, Rudolf, 889
 Marchak, Eli, 607
 Marchesini, Luisa, 466
 Marcos, Juanito, 214
 Marcos, Violette, 214
 Marcovski, Abram, 597
 Marcus, Vexer, 607
 Margoș, Panait, 677, 758, 759
 Margotti, Carlo, 476
 Marić, Ante, 59
 Marin, Léopold, 160
 Marinelli, Leonardo, 402
 Maritz, Grigore, 749
 Mark (doctor), 631
 Márk, Antal, 348

Markó, István, 344
 Markov, Georgi, 40
 Markovits, 340
 Marncenko family, 748
 Marosy, Andre, 165
 Maroulis, Ioannis, 512
 Marsalos, 516
 Marshall, 278
 Marsiglia, Truzzi Eva, 453
 Martin, 140
 Martin, Alphonse, 127
 Martin, Henri (doctor), 118, 139, 140
 Martin, Henry (Général des Corps d'Armée), 250, 263
 Martinez, Nicola, 466, 467
 Martiradonna, 441
 Martire, 482
 Martoň, 860
 Márton, Aron, 310
 Marton, Ernő, 348
 Marton, Zsigmond, 352
 Martone, Giuseppe, 414
 Mass, 699
 Masse, Pierre, 135
 Masson, 133
 Mateescu, Alexandru, 793, 794
 Mateev, Matei, 18
 Matieș, Emil, 710
 Matijević, Jozo, 53, 61
 Matković, Ivica, 61
 Matošić, Dane, 440
 Mattéoli, Jean, 92
 Mättö, J. E., 86
 Matuščin, Jozef Juraj, 882
 Maulavé, Robert, 168, 169
 Mauskop, László, 340
 Mautner, Žiga, 76
 Mauvais, Léon, 130
 Maximoff, Matéo, 164
 May, Andreas, 835
 Mayer, Dragutin, 53
 Mayer, Karl, 101
 Maynard, R., 222
 Mazza, Bernardo, 402
 Mazzali, Giulio Guido, 435
 Mazzi, Pasquale, 418
 McFadden, Allan Robert, 280
 McNiff, Kelsey Williams, 171
 Mechurova, Jolana, 350
 Meculescu, Teodor, 613, 614, 637, 638, 651, 652, 734, 748, 768, 783, 785, 786
 Médecin, Jean, 531, 537
 Medici, Carmine, 422
 Mednicov, Sara, 807
 Meggyesi, Lajos, 306, 309
 Megye, Somogy, 343
 Melamad, Šmulj, 640
 Melamed, Isak Avram, 26
 Meletic, Tiron, 820, 821
 Melinescu, Niculae, 611, 612
 Ménager, 283
 Menahemov, Buko, 19
 Ménard, 101, 121, 218
 Menaşes, Pesa, 596
 Mendel, Martin, 221
 Mendel, Segal, 747
 Mendès-France, Pierre, 173

Menè, Augusto, 417
 Menna, Enrico, 441
 Menorval, Conte de, 294
 Meo, Francesco, 473
 Mercalli, Camillo, 481, 482, 488, 493, 499
 Mercier, François, 156
 Merel, Samuel, 138
 Mérey, László, 368
 Merker, Paul, 171
 Merlika Kruja, Mustafa, 491, 496
 Mermans, Antoon, 171
 Mesarciuc, Neculae, 747
 Messingerova, Marta, 360
 Mészáros, Hugó, 379
 Metaxas, Ioannis, 505, 507, 521, 522
 Mett, Ida, 212
 Mettoudi, Elie, 899
 Metzger, 266
 Meuret, 111
 Meysner, August, 835, 836
 Mezerna, Ahmed, 266
 Miaskovshi, Iacov, 640
 Michael I (king), 582, 619
 Michel, Charles, 130
 Michelson, M., 827
 Michos, Dimitris, 516
 Micillo, Abdon V., 479
 Mickovic, Mikuláš, 860
 Migdal, André, 237, 238
 Migilevski family, 748
 Migliavacca, 537
 Migliorati family, 419
 Mihăiescu, Ion, 710, 711
 Mihail, Boulescu, 602
 Mihail, Ioan Z., 691
 Mihail, Mihail Şandor, 747
 Mihail, Schrenţel, 607
 Mihăilescu, Eugen, 710
 Mihăilescu, Vasile, 643, 713, 804
 Mihailov, 19
 Mihailov, B., 18
 Mihailovici, Victor, 684, 699, 700, 731, 805, 807
 Mihalache, 786
 Mihičić, Andro Vid ("Fra Vid"), 547
 Mikuleczky, Gyula, 353
 Milač, Metod, 541
 Milchev, Milcho, 3
 Mileta, Girolamo, 553
 Miller, Anton, 382
 Millozzi, Paola, 450
 Miloš, Ljubo, 61, 70, 76
 Milthorpe, Fred S., 280
 Milutin di Arso, Giucchin, 452
 Mindel, Helene. *See* Joffe, Helene
 Minev, Metodi, 40
 Mironova, Tat'iana. *See* Kiseleva, Tat'iana
 Mirski, Law, 425
 Mirti family, 466
 Mişcă, Ştefan, 620
 Mismar, Hela. *See* Kraus, Hela
 Misrahi, Roger, 104
 Misrahi, Suzanne, 104
 Misuri, Alfred, 470–471
 Mittelman, Janő, 343
 Mitterand, François, 141
 Moatti, 899

Mocanu, 821
 Modestino, Guerriero, 528
 Modigliani, Lazaro, 519
 Mohammed ben Youssef, Sidi, 240
 Mohammed V (king), 240
 Moine, André, 127, 253, 266
 Moisev, Alexandru, 713, 715
 Moldauer, Maria Luisa, 437
 Moldoveanu, Sandu, 600, 601, 653
 Molière, 216
 Mollier, Jean-Yves, 531
 Momigniano, Eucardio, 469
 Moncho, Vincente Ferrer, 108
 Moneger, 138
 Monod (in Beaune-la-Rolande), 111
 Monod (with French Red Cross), 237
 Monod, Maurice, 288
 Môquet, Guy, 130
 Môquet, Prosper, 130
 Moranne, Jacques, 152, 162
 Moraru, M., 716
 Morávek, Augustín, 845
 Moreau, 237
 Moreau, Charles, 129, 179, 237, 238
 Morelli, George, 647
 Moreno (Hadjerat M'Guil prisoner), 271
 Moreno (Kersas prisoner), 278
 Morin, André, 208
 Moritz, August, 538
 Mormino, 406
 Morpurgo, Attilio, 460, 461
 Morsero, Michele, 402
 Morvai, János, 355
 Mosca, 271, 272
 Moshe, Shemuil Iosif, 38
 Mošić, Alexander, 546
 Moskona, Albert, 43
 Mosner, Samuel, 806, 807
 Moşoiu, Gheorghe, 610, 686, 696n2
 Mosso, Alberto, 401
 Motora, Savin (Sabin), 687, 811, 812
 Moulinet, Emile, 182
 Mpirkas, Kostas, 507
 Mpourgiannēs, Lampros, 523
 Mucenica, Aurel, 764, 765
 Muhammed, Allel, 263
 Müller (SS-Obersturmbannführer), 642, 719
 Müller, Erwin, 262
 Muller, Katherine, 341
 Müller, Ladislav, 869
 Mumdzhev, Tsvetan, 7, 8, 10, 12, 20, 23, 24n6, 28, 34, 37, 38
 Munin, Milam Mudev, 43
 Munzi, Valentino, 447, 448
 Murgescu, Ilie C., 811, 812
 Musolino, Eugenio, 435
 Musso, Fernand, 124
 Mussolini, Benito, 46, 390, 391, 392, 393, 400, 401, 406, 410, 412, 416, 418, 420, 423, 428, 434, 435, 439, 441, 445, 449, 452, 454, 455, 460, 463, 465, 468, 469, 473, 476, 491, 502, 513, 517, 518, 528, 535, 543, 545, 546, 548, 552, 553, 554, 896
 Mustăciosu, I., 764
 Mútňanský, 889
 Muttel, 276

- Nadžer, Antun, 73, 74
 Nagler, Moritz, 791
 Nagy (főhadnagy), 320
 Nagy (from Lucenek), 424
 Nagy (zászlós), 321
 Nagy, Bela, 321
 Nagy, István, 364
 Nagy, Jenő, 357, 358
 Nagy, László, 385
 Nahmias, Paul, 266
 Nakov, 39
 Napovnici, Riven, 804
 Nasta, Alexandru, 792
 Năstase, Ion, 662
 Năsturaș, Constantin, 630, 643, 688, 699, 700, 713, 715, 721, 731, 742, 752, 756, 757, 769, 799, 804, 805, 807
 Natali, Oliviero, 473
 Natijević, Miro, 70
 Nazzari, 278
 Neaga, Ion, 749
 Nedić, Milan, 833, 835, 836, 839
 Nehring, Walther, 894, 895
 Neiger, Marcel, 169
 Neiner, Ana, 766
 Nemec, Martin, 68
 Németh, Imre, 362–363
 Németi, Sándor, 364
 Nenezić, Dragan S., 489
 Neri, Giuseppe, 448
 Neszemély, Zoltán, 339
 Neufeld, Simon, 352
 Neuhausen, Franz, 832
 Neumann, Bernard Peter de, 298
 Neumann, Oskar, 848, 875
 Neumann, Peter de, 260, 274
 Nica, Vasile, 597, 616, 662, 706, 707, 732, 754, 787, 790, 810, 816
 Nicleşte, Constantin, 806
 Nicoară, Augustin, 618
 Nicod, René, 139
 Nicolay, Joseph de, 280
 Niculescu, Dumitru, 754
 Niculescu, M., 728
 Niculescu-Coca, Mihail, 728
 Niersmann, 281
 Nikolayeva family, 748
 Nissim, Giorgio, 405
 Nistoreanu, Anghel, 730
 Nițescu, Vasile, 764
 Nitti, Francesco Fausto, 439
 Nižňanský, Edouard, 846
 Nizza, 500–501
 Njemirovski, Fedor and Boris, 547
 Noguès, Charles, 240, 294
 Nonno, Domenico, 475
 Normand, 121
 Nouă, Jucica, 750
 Nouira, Hedi, 144
 Novak, Franz, 346
 Ntavas, Vaggelis, 518
 Numahamed, 280
 Nuremberg, Iosif, 802
 Nyíregyházy, Pál, 364
 Oancea, Octavian, 693, 715, 756
 Oberg, Karl, 96
 Obranc, Ștefan, 857
 Očić, Maks, 57
 Ohlendorf, Otto, 592
 Oiring, Moise, 692
 Oláh, András, 353
 Oriel, Jacob, 247, 269, 273, 284, 288
 Oling, Max, 138, 220
 Oliva, Remei, 107
 Ollier, 262
 Ollivier, Abbot, 132
 Oppetit, Christian, 175
 Oprea, Ion, 820
 Oprițoiu, Dumitru, 615
 Orain, René, 129
 Orășeanu (Orășanu), Romeo, 625, 713–714, 715, 721, 752, 756–757, 799, 804
 Orban, László, 306
 Ordentlich, Ferenc, 336
 O'Reilly family, 160, 186
 Orel, Inka, 468
 Órendi, Gusztáv, 319
 Orešković, Joco, 58
 Orgoványi, József, 358
 Orlando, Taddeo, 432
 Ornstein, Fabius, 645
 Orsini (at Bedeau), 249
 Orsini (at Larissa), 519
 Orthman (Orthmann), Richard, 284, 296, 297
 Ortona, Delfina (née Lusena), 409
 Oșanu (Oșeanu), Gheorghe, 741, 760, 821
 Osváth, Zoltán, 358
 Otaz, Giovanni, 468
 Ottani, Agostino, 448
 Ottolenghi, Adolfo, 472
 Ottolenghi, Silvio, 405
 Oube, Dejazmach, 503
 Outselin, R., 516
 Uzegeane, Amar, 266
 Ovcharov, 21
 Pădure, Aristide S., 588, 589, 610, 611, 612, 658, 659, 670, 680, 682, 686, 695, 696, 717, 718, 802, 803, 827
 Paiser, Ilie, 789
 Paitashev, Asen Vladimirov, 33
 Paitashev, Ivan, 16
 Pajas, Janko, 70
 Pajes, 412
 Paksy-Kiss, Tibor, 306, 310, 348, 349
 Pál, Endre, 337
 Palatucci, Giuseppe Maria, 412
 Palermo, Domenico, 399
 Palm, 592
 Palți, Sonyah, 739
 Palumbi, Nicola, 466
 Palumbo, Lorenzo, 415
 Pamfil, Gheorghe, 673
 Pamphili, Filippo Doria. *See* Doria Pamphili, Filippo
 Pampuri, Angelo, 435
 Panait, Victor, 677
 Panaitescu, Traian, 817
 Panaițiu, Constantin, 637, 638
 Panapolous, Petra, 279
 Panariello, Antonio, 399, 407, 414, 475
 Pandrea, Dumitru, 719, 777
 Panea, Aurel, 647
 Paneth, József, 336
 Panicacci, Jean-Louis, 536, 537
 Pansoya, Umberto. *See* Ransava, Umberto
 Pantar, Franc, 433
 Pântea, Gherman, 728
 Panza, Stefano and Caterina, 468
 Papini, Guido, 443
 Papo, Avram, 546
 Papon, Maurice, 178
 Papp, Géza, 348, 349
 Papp, Rogozi, 374
 Papp, Zoltán Rogozi, 374
 Pappagallo, Vito, 448
 Paraschivescu, Ion, 638
 Parașciuc, Ivan, 659
 Pärmi, Nikki, 87
 Parrini, Eugenio, 416, 424, 449, 468
 Partenie, Andrei, 723, 807
 Paschkus, Salamon, 372
 Pascu, Dumitru, 739
 Pascu, Ion, 673
 Pasha (Pascià), Hessein Queri, 470
 Paskai, 860
 Pasqualoni, Olinto Tiberi, 408
 Passavanti, Pasquale Alessandro, 410
 Pastor, Felix, 196
 Pastore, Riccardo, 441
 Paszternák, Sándor “Shlomo,” 353
 Pászthói, Ernő, 319
 Pataki, Sándor, 321
 Pătrășcanu, Lucretiu, 582
 Pătrășcoiu, Nicolae, 599, 600, 747
 Pătrașcu, 600
 Paul (prince), 46
 Păun, M., 773
 Paun, Vitan, 749
 Pavelić, Ante, 46, 47, 49, 50, 54, 61, 64, 418
 Pavlik, Július, 854
 Pavlov, Nikifor Mladenov, 19, 38
 Pavlova, Maria, 33
 Paxton, Robert O., 90
 Pećanac, Konstantin Kosta Milovanović, 833
 Pecher, Iancu, 733
 Pečúch, Július, 847, 857
 Peev, Peio Draganov. *See* Draganov, Peio
 Pelosio, Leopoldo, 424
 Peltier, Laurent, 106
 Pereles, Maximilian, 425
 Perényi, Zsigmond, 361
 Perets, Perets Haim, 40
 Peretti, Louis de, 235
 Péri, Gabriel, 135
 Périnat, Paul, 177
 Perlorentzos, Manolis, 507
 Perrouault, René, 130
 Peršen, Mirko, 64, 69
 Persin, Raymond, 222
 Pertini, Alessandro “Sandro,” 451, 473
 Peschanski, Denis, 114, 139, 211, 234, 235
 Peshev, Dimităr, 9, 35
 Pétain, Henri-Philippe, 90, 94, 114, 127, 139, 140, 144, 145, 196, 220, 225, 240, 241, 247, 248, 271, 276, 280, 286, 297
 Petală, Marcel, 616, 617
 Péterffy, Jenő, 310

- Pethes, István, 378
 Petkovich, Martino and Maria, 468
 Petrenciu, N. V., 648
 Petrenciu (Petrenciu), Victor, 604, 641, 642, 652, 690, 719, 777
 Petrescu, C., 691
 Petrescu, Mircea, 600, 601
 Petri (engineer), 860, 866
 Petriccione, Domenico, 450
 Petrik, Jozef, 879
 Petrikovski, Benjamin Yakov, 43
 Petruc, 820
 Peyrouton, Marcel, 207
 Philipson-Levy, Rachel, 120
 Picard, Roger, 216
 Picciotto, Liliana, 404, 405, 474
 Picco family, 538
 Piccolini Costa, Isabella, 450
 Picili, Dominik Hinko, 61
 Picot, Marcel, 188
 Pierson, Jean "Sarcelle," 156
 Piguet (bishop), 223
 Pilat, Bruno, 402
 Pilissy, Tamás, 343
 Pillet, Maurice, 130
 Pilník, Jozef, 882
 Pinalov, Georgi Stoimenov, 38
 Pincas, Mayer, 806, 807
 Pincherle, Gino, 469
 Pinkas, Marko, 43
 Pinot, 171
 Pirkler, Ernő, 374
 Pirozzi, Vito, 403
 Pistiner, Arthur, 806
 Pistone, Eduino, 408
 Pistone, Giuseppe, 454
 Piton, Henri, 204
 Pius XII (pope), 439
 Pizzuti, Anna, 438
 Platnic, Abraham, 704
 Ploteanu, Grigore, 730
 Plugar family, 748
 Podd'umbierský, Ján Gál, 864
 Podestà, Agostino, 438
 Poenaru, Costică, 700
 Poesio, Camilla, 471
 Pohl, Sándor, 343
 Polak, Arnold, 327
 Polátsik, Jenő, 337
 Polea, Renblid, 633
 Polgár, 340
 Polhora, Mikuláš, 874, 876
 Pollak, Clara. *See* Dreyfuss, Clara
 Pollak, Paul, 469
 Pollák, Róbert, 856
 Pollock, Maida, 379
 Pompiliu, Georgescu, 687, 795
 Pop, Eugen, 792
 Popa, Augustin, 654
 Popa, Marin, 739
 Popescu, Cristodor, 811, 812
 Popescu, Dumitru, 761
 Popescu, Ioan Adrian, 690
 Popescu, Ion, 594, 604, 606, 641, 775, 777, 778, 789, 813, 817
 Popescu, Ion D., 747
 Popescu, Ionel, 795
 Popescu, Lucian, 763
 Popiști, Mihai, 679
 Popoiu, Constantin, 736, 749–750
 Popović, Miladin, 492
 Popović, Milovan, 839, 840
 Popovici, E., 691
 Popovici, P., 768
 Popovici, Traian, 631, 632
 Popovici, Victor, 677, 678
 Popovici, Virgil, 672, 677, 758
 Popović-Ostojić, Dragojla, 839–840
 Popp, Leonida, 594, 604, 606, 641, 642, 643, 690, 719, 720, 775, 777, 778, 813
 Poras, 278
 Poropane, Georges, 900
 Pospíšil, 863
 Possiel, P., 274, 275
 Posteuca, Eugen, 820
 Potier, Christophe, 182
 Potocki family, 742
 Potočník, Franc, 542
 Pozdniakova family, 748
 Pozner, I., 694
 Prast, Hauptmann von, 602, 603
 Pratz, 171
 Pressburger, Alexander, 882
 Prévôt, M., 200
 Prezioso, Vincenzo, 435
 Printzou, Eutychia, 516
 Prizant, Zvi, 340
 Prodanejschi, Mordeo, 747
 Prpić, Mihajlo, 56
 Puk, Mirko, 47
 Pusztaffi, 332
 Quast, Cläre, 212
 Quisling, Vidkun, 560, 561, 562, 566
 Raab, Franz, 118
 Rabà, Ivo and Vasco, 421
 Rabia, Ali, 266
 Rabinovici, Israel, 822
 Rabinovits, 362
 Raccah, Raymond, 899
 Rachlițchi, Serghie, 822
 Rácz, Zoltán, 337
 Radenović, Radmila, 65
 Radnóti, Miklós, 321
 Rado, Alexandru, 733
 Rado, Ernest, 67
 Radu, Lazăr, 749
 Rădulescu, Dumitru, 648
 Rădulescu, Mihai, 764, 765
 Raev, Dr., 31–32
 Raf, Talic, 604
 Raff, Leiba, 604
 Rahn, Rudolf, 895
 Raiber, Fișel (Fishel), 737
 Rako, Ivan, 59
 Ramadan, Victor, 651, 768
 Ramel, 113
 Randall, Fred D., 794
 Randow, Anita, 414
 Ransava, Umberto, 556
 Rapetti-Engler, Huguette, 157
 Rashev, P., 28
 Rasp, Herman, 726
 Rath, Joseph, 806
 Ratz, Elsa, 475
 Rauff, Walter, 895
 Raulet, 131
 Rausa, Manuel, 107
 Rauschbach, Maurice, 118
 Ravaioli, Giuseppe, 466
 Ravera, Camilla, 451
 Raynaud, Henri, 130
 Rediess, Wilhelm, 561, 562
 Reich, Albert, 176
 Reicher family, 110
 Reichl, Kaethe. *See* Kaufman, Kitty
 Reinerová, Lenka, 212
 Reinisch, Martin, 791
 Renard, Jean, 160, 186
 Renaud, Ernest, 238
 Renzoni, Guido, 414
 Reviczky, Imre, 357
 Reymond, Albert, 537
 Reynaud, Paul, 144, 145
 Reynier, Elie, 122
 Rhodes, Dusty, 280
 Ricardo, Auguste, 264
 Ricci, Riccardo, 545, 548, 554
 Richter, 889
 Richtmann, Zvonimir, 67
 Ricko, Pierre de, 266
 Riegner, Gerhard, 229
 Riepp, 271, 272
 Rigas, Yannis, 507
 Riisnæs, Sverre, 561
 Risterucci, François, 140, 226, 232
 Ristović, Milan, 545, 548
 Ritter, Rubin, 694
 Rivelis, Baca, 733
 Roatta, Mario, 391, 432, 555
 Robert, Edmond, 118
 Robotti, Mario, 550
 Rocchi, Luciana, 456
 Roddellec du Porzic, Maurice Anne Marie de, 169
 Rodogno, Davide, 486, 489, 494, 544, 545, 549, 554
 Rodriguez, Stalislo, 439
 Rogalle, Jean-Baptiste, 109
 Rogalle, Jeanne, 109
 Rogozarov, 7, 17
 Roisman, Leib, 596
 Roittmann, Rubin, 723
 Roizman, Haim, 747
 Roman, Avram, 547
 Romani, Rafael, 900
 Romano, Jaša, 56, 68, 69, 71, 76, 543, 549, 554, 555
 Romano, Leon, 547
 Romita, Giuseppe, 470
 Roncoroni, Alfredo, 547
 Rosati, Carlo, 419, 451
 Rosati, Giulio Panvini, 402
 Roșca, Augustin, 677, 758–759
 Rosemberg family, 679
 Rosén, Gunnar, 86
 Rosenbaum, 340
 Rosenberg, Albert, 296
 Rosenberg, József, 372

- Rosenberg, Lajos, 370
 Rosenberg, Villiam, 870
 Rosenberg, Walter. *See* Vrbam, Rudolf
 Rosendal, Alfred, 382
 Rosenheim, Zsigmond, 372
 Rosenstrauch, Max, 667
 Rosenwasser, Kálmám, 364
 Rosenzweig, Laszlo, 322
 Roşianu, Lazar, 740
 Rosmarin, Solomon, 646, 647
 Rosner, István, 357
 Rosselli, Carlo, 439
 Rosselli, Nello, 470
 Rossi (corporale), 519
 Rossi (maggiore), 454
 Rossi, Ernesto, 451
 Rossi, Mario, 550
 Róssler, Bernad, 726
 Rössler, Deborah, 104
 Rössler, Eisig, 104
 Rothenberg, Aurel, 811
 Röthke, Heinz, 95, 134, 135
 Rothschild, Germaine de, 154
 Rothschild, Hans, 229
 Rothschild, Herman, 291
 Rothstein family, 679
 Roubakine, Alexandre, 269
 Rouep, 454
 Rougeron, Georges, 224
 Rousseau, André, 186
 Rousseau, René, 178
 Roussillon, Jean, 149, 157, 187
 Royer (captain), 186
 Royer, Louis, 171, 172, 177
 Rozorea, Elizeu, 658, 660, 802
 Rubal, Leea, 640
 Ruben, Martin, 425
 Rubin, Iulia, 692
 Rubin, Samoil, 692
 Rubinić, Stjepan, 48, 54, 55, 56
 Rubinstein, Pinkas, 597
 Rucker, Hans, 743
 Ruda, Alice, 385
 Ruggieri, Mario, 481
 Rupp, 274
 Rupprecht, Antal, 372
 Rusca, Ion, 736
 Rusnac, Lida, 747
 Rusu, Dimitrie (Dumitru), 643, 713, 721, 752, 773, 804
 Rusu, Mihail, 769
 Rusu, Vladimir, 750
 Ruttkay, Endre, 322
 Ruxandra, Constantin, 732
 Ryan, Clifford C., 274, 275
 Ryan, Donna, 175, 176
- Sabille, Jacques, 895, 899
 Sabol, Jan, 856
 Săceleanu, N., 764
 Sachter, Filip, 646, 647
 Saddock, Mohammed, 263
 Saevecke, Theodor, 528, 529
 Safir, Mihail, 740
 Safrany, Jozef, 888
 Saftenco, Traian, 750
 Sági, József, 368
- Sagnières, Eustache, 139
 Sajer, Eduard, 61, 62
 Šakić, Dinko, 61, 64
 Salamon, Helen, 373
 Salamon, Reichard, 370
 Salczer, David, 337
 Saliège, Jules-Géraud, 120, 193, 208
 Šallay, Ján Eugen, 891
 Sallès, Bartho, 120
 Salon, Nicole Weil, 173
 Salvatore, Paolo, 424
 Salzer, Israël, 169
 Samler, Ludvig, 604
 Samuilov, Leon Iosif, 38
 Sanchez, Jean, 263
 Sandelman, Ruvin, 726
 Šándor, Elo, 864
 Santin (bishop), 439
 Santini, Ernesto, 400, 431
 Santoni family, 445
 Santucci, 271, 272
 Sanzo, Carmine, 422
 Sapir, Ze'ev, 357
 Şaraga, Fred, 628, 629, 666, 723, 746, 767, 771, 822, 826
 Sarah (saint), 228
 Sârbu, Macarie, 732
 Sarcueil, Jean, 158
 Sardan, Pierre-Olivier de, 214
 Sargala, Visco, 713
 Sárosi, Gyula, 336
 Sashalmi, Imre, 353
 Satloff, Robert, 258, 297
 Sattler, Bruno, 835, 836
 Saule, 127
 Sauvageon, Jean, 183
 Săvecke, Theodor, 895
 Savin, Maks, 547
 Savorgnan, Enzo, 459–460
 Scalarini, Giuseppe, 435, 470
 Scamboli, E., 513
 Scassellati Sforzolini, Francesco, 482
 Schaeys, 208
 Schäfer, Emanuel, 835, 836
 Schäffer, László, 321
 Schafranov, Sofia, 464
 Schaul, Dora, 212
 Schchori, Schoschanna, 333
 Schechter, Felix, 755
 Schechter, Joseph H., 738
 Scheffer, Laszlo, 320
 Scheid, Pierre, 160
 Schiberna, Ferenc, 385
 Schickler, Oscar, 807
 Schiffer, Alessandro, 409
 Schiffer, B., 716
 Schildt, Rolf, 86
 Schiller, Fred, 547
 Schilling, János, 336
 Schindler, József, 344, 345
 Schirach, Baldur von, 842
 Schlesinger, Isu, 740
 Schmidt (obersturmführer), 339
 Schmidt, Abraham, 595
 Schmidt, Imre, 373
 Schmidt, Jean, 137
 Schmolka, Marie, 872
- Schobert, Erich Ritter von, 602
 Schoenberger, Moritz, 169
 Schoenblum, David, 328
 Schönberger, Dezsö, 344
 Schor, Iacob, 640
 Schorr, Albert, 698
 Schosmann, Louis, 263
 Schossberger, Herman, 555
 Schreiber, Simon, 338
 Schröder, Ludwig von, 832
 Schroeder, Tibor, 361
 Schteinberg family, 679
 Schulhof, Ilana, 342
 Schulsinger, Max, 664
 Schulz, Eudovít, 884
 Schwab, Hugo, 738
 Schwartz, Beniamin, 747
 Schwartz, Bertha (née Teitelbaum), 236
 Schwartz, Heinrich, 872
 Schwarz, Wladimir, 183
 Schwesig, Karl, 218
 Scoccimarro, Mauro, 473
 Scorza, Carlo, 423
 Secchia, Pietro, 451
 Secuianu family, 679
 Seelig, Rudolf, 438
 Sefa, Qemil, 489
 Segal, Gustav, 604
 Segal, Iulius, 740
 Segall, A., 822
 Segre, Adele Regina, 408
 Segre, Spartaco, 409
 Seibelmann, I., 733
 Seidl, Siegfried, 364
 Seliko, Salvator Rafailov, 26
 Sello, Ernest, 255
 Sellyey, Vilmos, 306
 Sépard, Yvette, 148, 194, 195, 196
 Senise, Carmine, 392, 438, 473
 Senoist, 111
 Separavac, Ivo, 468
 Separavic, Mara, 468
 Sereni family, 447
 Serghie, Covila Covata, 662
 Şerpuleţ, Constantin, 604, 641, 690
 Seynave, 253
 Sféz, Henry, 899, 901
 Sforza, Caterina, 428
 Shaulov, Albert, 20
 Shehu, Mehmet, 171
 Shonkin, Aleksii Ivanchev, 40, 41
 Showell, 275
 Shtivelman, Loew, 771
 Shumanov, Pane, 40
 Sicor, Jeni and Hasia, 607
 Sidar, Eugen, 598
 Sideridis, Yannis, 519
 Sideris, Ilias, 512
 Siebuer, Moritz, 726
 Sienko, Galaction, 642
 Sigfried, Wittner, 608–609
 Sigot, Jacques, 153, 184, 186, 188, 204
 Silberberg, Móric (family), 886
 Silberman, Izrael, 795, 796
 Silman, Aron, 780
 Silvestri, 519
 Silvestro, 496

- Sima, Horia, 570
 Simeonov, 12
 Simitchiev, Ivan Iotov, 12, 26
 Šimko, Jozef, 865
 Simojoki, M., 86
 Simon, István, 385
 Simon, László, 343
 Simon, Magda, 333
 Singer, 703
 Singer, Milan, 555
 Singer, Vlado, 64
 Singer, Zoltán, 336
 Sinkó, Ervin. *See* Spitzer, Franjo
 Sirca, Eugen A., 591
 Sireteanu, Gabriel, 739
 Sirmayov, 19
 Skachkov, Nikola, 19, 20, 39, 40
 Smetansky, 742
 Šmil, Puchki, 607
 Smochină, Alexandru, 641, 642, 687, 690, 719, 775, 777, 813
 Smolenszki, László, 319
 Smolinska, Félia. *See* Kamras, Félia
 Smolka, Heinrich, 319
 Sobl, Samoil, 714
 Sofian, Dumitru, 616, 718, 726, 787
 Sokoly, Laszlo, 374
 Solignac, Yves, 139
 Solomon, Iosub, 604
 Solomon, Schneider, 607
 Sommer, Carlo, 552
 Sommer, Erwin, 248
 Sommer, R., 124
 Somogyi, Joseph, 345
 Somorlyai, János, 336
 Sontag, Sali, 704
 Șor, Iacob, 640
 Sorge family, 436, 437
 Soulier, 168
 Soustelle, Jacques, 284, 289
 Soutter, William, 298
 Spada, Annunziata, 450, 451
 Spadazzi, Anna, 403
 Spănu, Radu, 648
 Speiser, Benjamin (Beniamino), 443
 Spinelli, Altiero, 473
 Spinone, Giuseppe, 552
 Spira-Ruschin, Steffie, 212
 Spitz, Mozes, 319
 Spitzer, Franjo, 543
 Spritzman, Samuel, 459
 Sprung, 545
 Srebrnić, Jože, 455
 Stabile, Rosario, 441
 Stagnetti, Spartaco, 470, 471
 Stalin, Joseph, 80, 83
 Stamatiu, I., 788
 Stamboli family, 319
 Stamboliiski, Aleksandër, 4
 Stamm, Gunther, 209
 Stan, Ion, 776
 Stănculescu, Ion, 682–683, 688–689, 696, 701, 792
 Starciuc, 734
 Starinský, Peter, 863, 884
 Stark, Árpád, 890
 Stathopoulos, Kostas, 506
 Stavrat, Olimpiu, 783
 Stavrescu, Nicolae, 654, 655, 656
 Stazzi, Santo, 58
 Ștefan, Solomon, 599
 Ștefanec (engineer), 855, 856, 859, 860, 861
 Ștefănescu (inspector), 825
 Ștefănescu (locotenent), 755
 Ștefănescu, Ion, 648, 670, 686, 695
 Stegaru, Ștefan, 591, 739
 Stein, Margot, 174
 Steinberg, Heinz, 283
 Steinberg, Israel, 67
 Steinberg, Saul, 465
 Steiner, Andrew “Ondrej,” 848
 Steiner, Emil, 372
 Steiner, Sándor, 355
 Steinfeld, Bercu, 791
 Stephaich, Pál, 343
 Stéphane, Roger, 139, 140, 141
 Ștern, Iosif, 716
 Stern, Julia, 354
 Stern, Ludwig, 221
 Stern, Nicolae, 733
 Sternberg, Arnold, 71
 Sternberg, Julio, 76
 Stihl, Ion, 710
 Stino, Laurențiu, 592
 Stiper, Ivan, 75
 Stolar, Moise, 597
 Stolerman, Elias, 766
 Stolerman, Nukhem, 712
 Stoleru, Aron, 704
 Stössler, Karl, 278
 Stournas, Kostas, 523
 Străchinescu, 599
 Stracke, Fritz, 833, 835
 Straka, 854
 Strățulat, 742
 Stratulat family, 748
 Strauss, Bela, 76
 Strohschneider, Walter, 348
 Struffi, Umberto, 408
 Stuchman, Nachman, 747
 Stucinscaia, Tania, 659
 Stülpnagel, Karl-Heinrich von, 130
 Stülpnagel, Otto von, 94, 130
 Suarez, Camus, 528
 Suchet, 258
 Sudre, Antonin, 232
 Șuhotnăi, Leib, 640
 Sulewic, Henri, 233
 Šuljić, Josip, 448
 Suppa, Ercole, 448
 Șut, Mendel, 747
 Suutari, Viljo, 87
 Svarc, Jeti, 549
 Švitler, Jozef, 876
 Swimmer, Klara, 354
 Sydney, Thomas, 457
 Szabó, Gyula, 335
 Szajkowski, Zosa, 268
 Szálasi, Ferenc, 305, 306, 312, 330
 Szall, Antal, 321
 Szász, Ferenc, 348
 Szegő, Luigi, 428
 Székely, József, 348, 349
 Szenes, Catherine, 326
 Szenes, Hannah, 326, 328
 Szentandrassy, András, 329
 Szentandrassy, Pál, 370
 Szentiványi, Gavril, 371
 Szerkely, Valeria, 327
 Sziller, Károly, 341
 Szilávy, László, 353
 Szmuck, Henrik, 370
 Szmulewicz, Jacob, 217
 Szofer, Mór, 370
 Szoka, László, 374
 Szoó, Tibor, 343
 Sztern, Aba, 111
 Taar, Kázmér, 348
 Taba, 278
 Tache, Duru, 764
 Tadzher, Zhak Solomon, 39
 Taglialatela, Mario, 430
 Tahar, Cheikh Azoug, 266
 Takács, Jenő “Emil,” 336
 Tálas, András, 320, 321
 Talis, Iakov, 607
 Tamás, Károly, 357
 Tamási, Lajos, 336, 348
 Tanacs, Dziga, 132
 Tănăsescu, Constantin, 646, 647
 Tänzer (Tanger), 412
 Tarján, Kálmán, 343
 Taslitzky, Boris, 226
 Tassart (Tassard), 101
 Tassaux, 234
 Tattersall, Richard, 330
 Tăutu, Ștefan, 636, 664, 714
 Taylor, Wallace C., 794
 Tchang, Antonio, 435
 Tedeschi, Davide, 441
 Teich, Meir, 752
 Teitelbaum, Bertha. *See* Schwartz, Bertha
 Tekeres, Lajos, 385
 Temime, Isaac. *See* Temimi, Isaac
 Temimi, Isaac, 249
 Ténine-Michel, Nadia, 103
 Tepavski, Ivan, 19
 Terboven, Josef, 560, 561, 562
 Terracini, Umberto, 448, 451
 Testa, Temistocle, 437, 438
 Theis, Édouard, 225
 Thiano, David, 489
 Thomas, Charilaos, 506
 Thompson, William Frank, 31
 Thoretton, Georges, 130
 Timbaud, Jean-Pierre, 130
 Tiso, Jozef, 318, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 861, 871, 872, 880, 885, 886
 Tiso, Ștefan, 849
 Tito, Josip Broz, 39, 41, 49, 50, 553, 793
 Tloka, Alexandra, 800
 Togliatti, Palmiro, 393
 Tölgyesy, Győző, 306
 Tomaschoff, 866
 Tomášek, Vincenc, 884
 Tomasevich, 50n4
 Tomislav II, 46
 Tomulescu, Victor, 764
 Tonnot, Marc, 142

- Tontysh family, 748
 Topor, Ion, 603, 638, 749, 783
 Torchio, 408
 Torgan, Moise, 747
 Torma, Frigyes, 320
 Torrigiani, Domizio, 440
 Torrini (archbishop), 405
 Toshkov, Todor Hristov, 19, 20
 Tóth, Ernő, 385
 Toth, Lajos, 351
 Toureille, Pierre Charles, 284
 Toussaint, 119
 Tracou, Jean, 157
 Trandafirescu, Alexandru, 600, 601
 Trathman, Baba, 596
 Traz, David de, 620, 708
 Trece, 272
 Trencsényi, József, 364
 Trevisani, Guido, 422
 Trocmé, André, 224, 225
 Troise, Pasqualina, 463
 Tsan Wong-ling, 156
 Tsion, Daniel, 36
 Tsirkas, Kostas, 505
 Tsolakoglou, Georgios, 505
 Tudosie, D., 637, 638
 Tuka, Vojtech, 843, 844, 845, 846
 Tumarchin, Sergei, 653
 Tumin, Leopold, 694
 Turanec, Jozef, 847
 Turcanu, Mihail, 691
 Turcu, Titus, 654
 Turner, Harald, 832, 833, 836
 Tursun, Nikola, 69
 Turturescu, T., 824n1
 Tvrdý, Vojtech, 889
 Tzamaloukas, Nikos, 508
 Tzupani (Tzulpani), 519
- Ubrizsi, Pál, 330, 346
 Újlaky, László, 343
 Ullman, Julius, 255
 Ulman, 691–692
 Ungár, Béla, 364
 Ungar, Rosie, 374
 Ungárova, Alžbeta. *See* Forgáčova, Alžbeta
 Ungváry, Krisztián, 328
 Urbán, László, 348, 349
 Urruty, François, 156
 Urseanu, I., 811
 Ursu, Aristide, 764, 765
 Ursu, Nicolae S., 670
 Ursuleanu, Marin, 690
 Ursuleanu, Octavian, 641, 775, 813
 Usaurou, 144
 Uzan, Maurice, 899
- Vadnai, Georges, 172
 Vaisman, 626
 Vajai, Imre, 358
 Vajai, Sándor, 357
 Vajda, Ernő, 332
 Vajda, János, 344
 Vajna, Gábor, 312, 324
 Valensi, Marcelle, 203
 Vallat, Xavier, 95
 Vallet, Joseph, 266
- Vallot, 211
 Valobra, Lelio Vittorio, 491, 496
 Văluță, 747
 Vanderstocken, Gaston, 288
 Vannay, Béla, 315
 Varetto, Giacinto, 448
 Várhelyi, Tibor, 357–358
 Váró, Indár, 370
 Vásárhelyi, János, 310
 Vásárhelyi, László, 348, 349
 Vasdényei, István, 346
 Vašek, Anton, 847, 848, 890
 Vasilescu, 700
 Vasiliu, Constantin Z., 573, 582, 610, 749, 782
 Vasiliu, Ștefan, 764
 Vašina, Imrich, 854, 855, 881
 Vassallo, Sebastiano, 452
 Vasslas, Moti, 640
 Vastagh, 364
 Vautier, Camille, 256, 283, 285, 294, 296
 Vazitaris, 505
 Vazquez Sanchez, Jose, 257
 Vecchio, Antonio, 458
 Vecchio, Giorgio, 423
 Vechi, Filip, 638
 Veiserbergher, Isac, 714
 Veisman, Avraham, 822
 Veissid, Albert, 179
 Vekemans, Paul, 285
 Velkov, Zahari, 31
 Venengoni, Mauro, 435
 Venne, Vincenzo, 541
 Verbrugghen, Jacques, 537
 Verbrugghen, Lucien, 537
 Veress, Jenő, 336
 Vergne, 132
 Vermont, Victor. *See* Glasberg, Vila
 Verneiges, Noël, 168
 Vernerey, 106
 Véték, György. *See* Kaposváry, György
 Vetu, Ion, 786
 Vicder, Lupu, 741
 Viciot, 247, 271, 272, 278, 281, 296
 Vidala, 144
 Vidmar, Drago, 455
 Vieil, M., 206
 Vieillescazes, Claude, 129
 Vielcazat-Petitcol, Marie-Juliette, 116, 124
 Viest, Rudolf, 849
 Vieux, Marcellin, 134, 135
 Vignjević, Ivan, 60
 Vigor, Georges, 130
 Viguier, Henri, 155
 Vijnievschi, Bertha, 742
 Vijnievschi, Huna, 742
 Villa, Alberta, 466
 Villy, Louis, 266
 Vilner, Benjamin, 811, 812
 Vincelet, 262
 Vincze, Stefan, 371
 Vindisch, Iancu, 726
 Vinea, Emanoil, 811
 Viner, Hariton, 827
 Viningher, Siegmund, 692
 Viniola, 512
- Vion, Pascal, 153
 Viranyi, Andrei, 371
 Vitaliani, Cirillo, 402
 Vitcu, Nicolae, 761, 762
 Viterbo, Carlo Alberto, 469
 Viterbo, Gina, 460, 461
 Vitez, Ivan, 675
 Vittorio Emanuele III (King Victor Emanuel III), 402, 550
 Vizintin, Milo, 429
 Vladimirov, Ivan M., 25
 Vlasov, Andrey, 589, 720, 747
 Vlček, Tomáš, 870, 891
 Vodă, Ion, 644, 650, 688, 699, 700, 723, 745, 772, 807
 Voiculescu, Constantin, 614, 637, 638, 734, 735, 749, 827
 Voigt, Klaus, 58, 402, 546, 548, 554
 Voinea, 820
 Vojtaššák, Ján, 843
 Volár, Karol, 858
 Volner, Žiga. *See* Wolner, Žiga
 Volokh, 640
 Volosievici, Sergiu, 648
 Volpini, Gilberto, 460
 Vourtsanis, Alekos, 517
 Vovacovi, Emilio and Iecla, 468
 Vozár, Jozef, 881
 Vranik, Vladimir, 555
 Vrbam, Rudolf, 848
 Vrbán, Ante, 64
 Vujković, Svetozar, 836
 Vulesica, Marija, 68
- Wagner, Robert, 148, 151
 Wallenberg, Raoul, 324
 Wallestad, Eivind, 561, 562, 565, 566
 Walter (doctor), 189
 Walter, Bernard, 602–603
 Ward, James Mace, 844, 847
 Wax, Aladár, 364
 Wayne, Benjamin, 327
 Weil, Nicole. *See* Salon, Nicole Weil
 Weil, Richard, 536
 Weill, Clementine, 235
 Weill, Joseph, 145
 Weill-Raynal, S. M., 175
 Weinberger, Hillel, 337
 Weinberger, Jenő, 337
 Weinberger, Manó, 336
 Weinberger, Miksa, 335
 Weinberger, Mózes, 348
 Weinberger, Pál, 337
 Weinberger, Samu, 336
 Weinberger, Yechiel, 337
 Weinisch, Herş, 791
 Weinstein, Moise, 645
 Weinstock, Samu, 364
 Weisman, Haim, 596
 Weiss, Harry, 169
 Weiss family, 181
 Weissmandel, Michael Dov, 848
 Weisz, Hedy, 361
 Weisz, Icuka, 361
 Weisz, József, 337
 Weisz, Mór, 364
 Weisz, Pál, 335

952 NAMES INDEX

- Weisz, Sándor, 361
 Weisz family (Hungary), 318
 Weitzman, Israil, 640
 Wenger, Victor, 140
 Wennholz, Erich, 362
 Wertheimer, 220
 Weschler, 808
 Wetzler, Alfred, 848
 Wetzler, József, 337
 Whalley, George, 261, 274, 280
 Whealy, Aniko, 349, 350
 Wider, Náthán, 364
 Wider, Shulem, 364
 Wiener, Ladislav, 61
 Wiesel, Elie, 351
 Wiesenthal, Mendel, 604
 Wildmann, Hannelore, 148, 149
 Wildmann, Heinrich, 198
 Wildmann, Hugo, 148, 165
 Wildmann, Manfred, 148, 149
 Wildmann, Margot, 148
 Wilhelm, Schimmel, 608–609
 Williamson, 298
 Winkler, Ernő, 358, 359
 Wisliceny, Dieter, 330, 351, 845, 847, 848
 Wittner, Herbert, 806, 807, 808
 Wodowski, Félix, 105
 Wodowski, Regine, 105
 Wojtowicz, Richárd, 349
 Wolf, Friedrich, 171
 Wolf, Mátyás, 342
 Wolf, Maurice, 233
 Wolk, Salomon, 165
 Wollheim, Heinrich, 189
 Wolner, Žiga, 76
 Worms, Marcelle, 139, 140
 Worms, Roger. *See* Stéphane, Roger
 Wyss-Dunant, 251, 252, 254, 255, 259, 265, 267, 272, 273, 276, 277, 282, 284, 285–286, 288, 289, 290, 294, 296
 Xydeas, Michalis, 517
 Yeōrgios I (king), 508
 Zagami, Leopoldo, 439
 Zaharia (camp commander), 730
 Zaharia, Gheorghe, 827, 830
 Zaharia, Sali, 755
 Zahariev, Ivan, 32
 Zaidel, Ana, 661
 Zakani, Kamos, 530
 Zakratsek, Karl, 291
 Zambra, 764
 Zamfir, Georgescu, 764
 Zamfirescu, P., 788
 Zamorani, Emilio and Massimo, 428
 Zancu, Justin, 739
 Zanetc, Marco, 468
 Žanić, Milovan, 47
 Zannas, Alexandros, 509, 510n3, 510n14
 Zaslavskii, Iosif, 640
 Zavodský, Vojtech, 890
 Zeberou, Jacob, 266
 Zei, Alberto, 424
 Zelleke Agadew, Bejirond, 503
 Zhdanov, Andrey, 83
 Zilberman, Iulius Haim, 41
 Zilberman-Lipcani, Motel, 742
 Zilberstein, Marcel, 105
 Zimriev, Lioben Petrov, 37
 Zins, Bogdan, 411
 Zinsenheim, Karol, 858
 Zirojević, Voja, 468
 Živaković-Kerže, Zlata, 76
 Zlătescu, Gheorghe, 781
 Zloezower, Mina, 807
 Znamenák, Ján, 880
 Zogu, Ahmet (Zog I), 500
 Zöldi, Márton, 306, 357
 Zoltán, Péter, 355
 Zolyomi, Lajos, 372
 Zorić, Zdravka, 74–75
 Zsari, Arpad, 381–382
 Zsidegh, Ferenc, 379
 Zuber, 72
 Zurian, Eudovít, 864
 Züszmann, Alfréd, 353

PLACES INDEX

This index lists place names; organizations are included in the Organizations and Enterprises Index. The page numbers corresponding to each ghetto/camp essay are in bold type, and alternate names and spellings are in parentheses. Page numbers in italics refer to illustrations and their captions.

- Ääninen Lake. *See* Onega Lake
 Äänislinna (Petrozavodsk), 79, 81, 82, **86**, 87
 Abadla (Abdala, Ksar El Abadla), **247**, 271, 278, 281
 Abano Terme, 477
 Abaújszántó, 353
 Abaúj-Torna County, 343
 Abbazia Pattuglie train station, 438
 Abdala. *See* Abadla
 Abony, 345
 Abruzzo, 406, 434, 436, 445, 449
 Acmecetca (Acmicetca, Ahmecetca, Akmechets'ki Stavky, Akmechetka, Akmecetca), 579, **588–589**, 610, 614, 641, 681, 718, 827
 Adakamre, 503
 Adale, 504
 Addi Ugri (Adi Ugri), 503
 Addis Abeba (Addis Ababa), 503, 504
 Adeleni (Ardeleni) farm, 730
 Adige River, 474
 Adi Keyn (Adi Caieh), 503
 Adi Kuala, 503
 Adi Ugri. *See* Addi Ugri
 Adrar, 251
 Adriatic Sea and islands, 46, 49, 435, 445, 464, 467, 540, 542, 543, 546, 547, 548, 553
 Adrien Bonnefoy-Sibour, 102
 Aegean Region and Archipelago, 507, 521, 522
 Aeolian Islands, 439, 470
 Aetolia-Acarnania region, 525
 Aflou, 264
 Africa, 30, 462. *See also* East Africa; French West Africa; Italian East Africa; North Africa; Tunisia; Vichy Africa
 Africa Orientale Italiana. *See* Italian East Africa
 Afrique occidentale française. *See* French West Africa
 Agafievca, 702
 Agde, **101–102**, 146, 183, 214
 Agdz (Agdt), **247–248**, 285
 Agen, 124
 Ágfalva, 372
 Aghia Moni, 523
 Agnone, **399–400**, 408, 434
 Agordat, 503
 Agoût River, 225
 Aguilon, 115
 Ahmecetca. *See* Acmecetca
 Aholahiti, 82
 Aidussina. *See* Ajdovščina
 Aigio, 516
 Aigio-Kalavryta, 517
 Aïn al-Ouraq, 254, 255
 Ain Beida, 254
 Ain Beni Mathar. *See* Berguent
 Aincourt, **102–103**, 130, 237
 Ain Département, 139, 143
 Aïn el-Ourak, 287
 Ain Guenfounda (Guenfouda), **248**
 Aïn Séfra (Ain Sefra), **248–249**, 266, 270, 271, 277, 278, 284, 285, 296
 Airvault, 112
 Aït Ammar (Ait Amar), 283, 289
 Aix-en-Provence, 175, 178
 Aix-sur-Vienne, 230
 Ajdovščina (Aidussina), 477
 Ajosaari, 82
 Akaki Radio Station, 503
 Akbou, **249**
 Akmechetka (Akmecetca). *See* Acmecetca
 Akmechets'ki Stavky. *See* Acmecetca
 Aknasugatag, 317
 Aknaszlatina, 351
 Akrach. *See* Oued Akreuch
 Akraion, 514–515
 Akronafplia (Akronauplia), **505–507**, 518, 519, 521, 524, 525
 Al Jubaybīnah. *See* Djebibinia
 Al Kaf. *See* Le Kef
 Al Khums. *See* Homs
 Al Marsa. *See* La Marsa
 Al Parco Hotel, 437
 Alam Bakagni Prison, 503
 Al-Aricha (Al-Arisha). *See* El-Aricha
 Alatri. *See* Le Fraschette di Alatri
 Alavoinen (Il'inskiy), 81
 Alba Adriatica. *See* Tortoreto Stazione
 Alba-Iulia, 310, 599
 Albania, 46, 49, 72, 392, 425, 437, 452, 464, 471, 479, 540, 833, 835
 Albania (Italian-occupied), 479–501, 832
 Albergo Commercio (hotel), 428
 Alberobello (La Casa Rossa, The Red House), **400–401**, 431
 Albi, 221
 Alboussière, **103–105**
 Alexandria, 646
 Alexandrodar (Aleksandrodar, Oleksandro-dar), **589–591**
 Alexandrovca (Alexandrovka, Oleksandrivka), **591–592**, 612, 739, 771, 819
 Alexandru cel Bun, 749, 783
 Alexianu, 576
 Algeria, 118, 128, 205, 224, 226, 240, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 253, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 296, 297, 298, 896, 900
 Alghero, 426
 Algiers, 128, 240, 252, 253, 259, 266, 268, 269, 270, 272, 276, 277, 289
 Allez-et-Cazeneuve, 123
 Allier Département, 94
 Almyros, 509, 520
 Alpes-de-Hautes-Provence Département, 210, 226, 232
 Alpes-Maritimes Département, 92, 122, 129, 169, 214, 531, 532, 535, 536, 537
 Al-Qasrayn. *See* Kasserine
 Alsace, 126, 233
 Alsace-Lorraine, 115, 127, 158, 177, 227
 Alsace-Moselle, 165
 Alsóferenezely, 358
 Alsólendva, 359
 Altillac, 124
 Altötting, 849
 Alžbetín dvor. *See* Miloslavov
 Ambo, 503
 Anafi Island, **507–508**, 521
 Ananiev (Ananyev), 575, 576, **592–593**, 686, 768, 830
 Anchetta, 443
 Ancona, 420, 423, 432, 458, 460, 461
 Angers, 157, 186, 187
 Anghiari. *See* Renicci di Anghiari
 Angoulême, 167, 168, 187
 Annecy, **105–106**, 149, 229
 Annemasse, 105
 Antella, 406
 Antivari, **540**
 Antono Codincevo, 731
 Anvers, 110
 AOF. *See* French West Africa
 AOI. *See* Italian East Africa
 Aosta (Mottino barracks), **401**
 Apagy, 364
 Apatin, 381
 Apennine Mountains, 404, 453, 455
 Aprica, **401–402**
 Aprica Pass, 401
 Apuseni Mountains, 654
 Aquitaine region, 115
 Arad, 761, 789, 818
 Aravecchia, **402–403**
 Arbe (Campora, Kampor, Rab Island), 49, 392, 393, 416, 433, 442, 454, 476, **540–543**, 545, 546, 548, 549, 550, 553, 554, 555
 Arc River, 535
 Arc-et-Senans, **106–107**, 143, 181
 Arcipitovca, 610, 702
 Arciz (Artsy), 615

- Arctic Ocean, 81
 Ardeal, 682
 Ardèche Département, 103, 104, 122, 166, 168, 173
 Ardeleni farm. *See* Adeleni farm
 Ardino, 4, 27
 Arezzo province, 418, 427, 454
 Argelès-Gazost, 120
 Argelès-sur-Mer, **107–108**, 113, 114, 131, 164, 165, 183, 197, 205, 214, 219, 227
 Argentina, 50
 Argeș, 646
 Argeș River, 646
 Argirocastro (Gjirokastrë), 500, 501
 Ariano Irpino, **403–404**, 420
 Ariège Département, 109, 117, 118, 119, 120, 131, 156, 165, 171, 172, 226
 Arles, 178
 Armășoia, 814
 Arpajom, 130
 Arsiero, 464
 Arta, 515
 Artsyz. *See* Arciz
 Arva farm, 593
 Ascoli Piceno, 432, 461
 Asenovgrad, 2, 18
 Asker, 567
 Asmara, 503
 Aspe Valley, 144
 Assab, 503
 Aş Şawwāf. *See* Saouaf
 Aş Subaykhah. *See* Sbkha
 Asti, **404**
 Atachi (Otaci), 601, 629, 630, 632, 636, 645, 651, 664, 674, 677, 714, 715, 721, 723, 731, 745, 751, 752, 756, 758, 759, 760, 770, 774, 820, 829
 Athens, 506, 507, 516, 519, 522; Averöf Prison, **508–510**, 511; Empeirikeio, **510–512**; Kallithéa, **512–513**
 Atia, 3
 Atlas Mountains, 247, 273
 Attica, 508, 522
 Aube Département, 222, 234, 235
 Auberive, 142
 Aubervilliers, 130
 Auchères (at Rosiers d'Égletons). *See* Égletons
 Audaux, **108–109**
 Aude Département, 112, 113, 213, 225
 Augsburg, 74
 Aulus-les-Bains, **109–110**, 120, 121
 Aunus (Olonets), 82
 Aurillac, 128
 Auschwitz, 61, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 91, 96, 103, 104, 105, 111, 114, 116, 118, 123, 124, 135, 138, 141, 147, 150, 152, 155, 157, 163, 167, 169, 175, 177, 179, 184, 185, 188, 194, 198, 199, 200, 203, 208, 210, 226, 230, 233, 235, 236, 303, 305, 315, 316, 317, 318, 322, 323, 327, 328, 329, 330, 333, 334, 337, 338, 339, 341, 342, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 354, 355, 359, 360, 361, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 371, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 383, 384, 386, 387, 389, 404, 405, 406, 408, 409, 421, 428, 431, 444, 456, 459, 461, 465, 474, 477, 542, 555, 561, 847, 848, 849, 855, 871, 877, 879, 889
 Auschwitz II-Birkenau, 49, 109, 120, 132, 151, 169, 184, 203, 315, 319, 322, 329, 331, 333, 335, 337, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 356, 358, 359, 360, 361, 365, 366, 368, 372, 374, 375, 381, 385, 411, 432, 472, 883
 Auschwitz III-Monowitz, 220
 Aussois, 535
 Austerlitz train station (Gare d'Austerlitz), 96, 111, 199
 Australia, 31, 154, 169, 457
 Austria (Ostmark), 50, 83, 108, 120, 125, 145, 151, 171, 207, 234, 291, 302, 323, 327, 329, 333, 342, 366, 368, 369, 372, 379, 382, 404, 438, 836, 842, 846, 849, 891
 Austria-Hungary, 64, 341, 343, 349, 350, 384, 386–387, 570, 842, 862
 Auvergne region, 154
 Auzon, 220
 Avaspatak, 361
 Avellino, 403, 420, 444, 462, 463
 Averöf Prison (Efêveion Averöf), **508–510**, 511
 Avrillé-lès-Ponceaux, 157, 160. *See also* La Morellerie
 'Ayn Jalulah. *See* Djelloula
 Azemmour. *See* Sidi El Ayachi
 Azov Sea, 579
 Babek, 29
 Bacău, 599, 648, 789
 Bačka, 46, 302, 832
 Bačka Palanka, 381
 Backa Topola. *See* Topolya
 Bački Monoštor, 381
 Bácsalmás, 311, **315**
 Bács-Bodrog County, 381, 382, 383, 387
 Bácska, 311, 315, 382, 383
 Bács-Kiskun County, 315
 Baden, 151, 177, 183
 Bad Schwabach, 221
 Bagatelle. *See* Saint-Germain-les-Belles
 Bagnères-de-Bigorre, 110, 120
 Bagnères-de-Luchon, **110**
 Bagneux, 133
 Bagni Caldi, 404
 Bagni di Lucca, **404–405**, 421, 439
 Bagno a Ripoli (Villa La Selva), **405–407**, 464, 531
 Bagnolo in Piano. *See* San Tomaso della Fossa
 Bagólyuk, 337
 Baia, 571, 818
 Baia-Mare. *See* Nagybanya
 Băița, 654
 Báj, 364
 Baja, 311, 315, 383, 387
 Bajšar, 381
 Bakar. *See* Buccari
 Balaiciuc (Balaichiuk), **594–595**
 Balanovca (Balanovka), **595–596**, 610, 651, 707, 714
 Balassagyarmat, 311, **315–316**, 374
 Balaton, Lake, 345
 Balatonalmádi, 385
 Balchi (Balki, Balking), **596–597**, 636, 664, 713, 714
 Baldovinești, 574
 Balkans, 25, 31, 43, 49, 387, 391, 392, 393, 422, 439, 451, 452, 458, 471, 562, 620
 Balkány, 364
 Balki (Balking). *See* Balchi
 Balmazújváros, 335
 Balsa, 364
 Balta, 575, 576, 577, 578, 581, 592, 595, **597–598**, 606, 607, 610, 616, 617, 621, 635, 640, 651, 662, 674, 682, 686, 691, 706, 707, 709, 711, 718, 719, 724, 726, 732, 733, 737, 750, 754, 755, 768, 778, 779, 790, 791, 809, 816, 824, 827, 830
 Balta 120 Labor Battalion/Detachment (BL 120), **599–600**, 608, 747
 Băltăreți, 668
 Bălți, 620, 648, 686, 710, 751, 782, 815
 Bălți/LPRS No. 7, **600–602**, 620, 656
 Bălți/Rautel, **602–604**
 Bamako, 261
 Banat, 302, 792, 832, 833, 835
 Bánffyhunad, 348
 Banja Luka, 57
 Banjica, 833, 835, 836, 839, 840
 Bánovce nad Bebravou, 868, 886
 Bánréve, 353
 Banská Belá, 869
 Banská Bystrica, 849, 862, 890
 Banská Štiavnica, 864, 888
 Baq-Baq. *See* Buqbuq
 Bar, 540, 596, 713, 743, 799
 Baranya County (Baranja), 46, 302, 311, 353, 366, 371
 Barbat, 58
 Barbu Catargiu castle, 764
 Barcarès, 227
 Barcs, **316**, 343, 366, 371
 Bárdfalva (Berbești), **317**
 Bardufoss, 562
 Barenton, **110**, 186
 Bari, 400, 424, 432, 438, 468, 482, 484, 499, 540, 542, 547, 552
 Bârlad, 678, 814
 Bars and Hont County, 310, 341, 350, 385
 Basque region, 150
 Bas-Rhin region, 115, 211
 Bassans, 189
 Basse-Normandie region, 110
 Basses-Alpes Département (Hautes-Alpes), 92, 122, 226, 531, 537
 Basses-Pyrénées Département. *See* Pyrénées-Atlantique Département
 Batak, 29
 Băținești, 762
 Baumettes, 179
 Bavaria, 73, 849
 Bayonne, 168
 Bazzano, **412–414**
 Beau-Désert, 177, 178
 Beaumont-La-Ronce, 160
 Beaune-la-Rolande, 92, 96, **111–112**, 125, 135, 153, 198, 199, 200, 201
 Beauséjour Hotel, 103, 104
 Béchar. *See* Colomb-Béchar

- Bedeau (Râs el Ma), **249–250**, 262, 268, 269, 283, 284
- Begeč, 381
- Beicușul Mare, 589
- Bejirond Zelleke Agadew prison, 503
- Békásmegyer, 312
- Bekecs, 370
- Békés County, 317
- Békéscsaba, 311, **317–318**
- Beklemeto Pass (Troyanski Pass), 3, 30
- Belaevca (Bilaevka, Bilaievca, Bilyavka), 731, 739, 740, 797, 818
- Beled, 372, 379
- Belene, 3
- Belene Island, 39
- Belgian Congo, 293
- Belgium, 91, 101, 109, 110, 120, 123, 146, 184, 206, 207, 218, 230, 233, 236, 261, 285, 293, 296, 537
- Belgrade, 47, 73, 74, 75, 491, 496, 547, 832, 833, 835, 836
- Belgrade Fairgrounds. *See* Semlin
- Beli Manastir, 381
- Belovo, 22, 29
- Ben Arous, 894
- Ben-Chicao (Ben-Chica), **250–251**, 252, 257, 258, 292
- Bencovazzo, 468
- Bender. *See* Tighina
- Benghazi (Bengasi), 413, 425, 528, 896, 900
- Béni Abbès (Beni-Abbas), **251**
- Benin. *See* Dahomey
- Beni Snassen Mountains, 267
- Ben Slimane. *See* Boulhaut
- Berat, 479, 484, 488, 496, 497
- Berberști. *See* Bárdfalva
- Bereg County, 318, 355
- Beregkövesd, 318
- Beregovo. *See* Beregszász
- Beregsurány, 318
- Beregszász (Berehovo, Berehove), 308, **318–319**
- Beregvégardó, 318
- Berehovo (Berehove). *See* Beregszász
- Berettyóujfalu, 311
- Berezhanka, 787
- Berezin (Berezan'), 818
- Berezovca (Berezivka), 575, 576, 579, 581, 588, 592, 594, **604–606**, 607, 611, 614, 638, 641, 642, 652, 653, 690, 719, 720, 728, 766, 768, 775, 776, 777, 778, 813, 821
- Berg, 559, 561, 562, **565–566**, 567
- Bergamasca Settlement. *See* Celle Ligure
- Bergame. *See* Berguent
- Bergeggi (Spotorno camp), **407**, 410
- Bergen, 562
- Bergen-Belsen, 315, 330, 333, 335, 345, 347, 351, 352, 360, 376, 386, 419, 420, 431, 883
- Berguent (Bergame, Ain Beni Mathar), **251–252**
- Berhida, 385
- Berkovitsa, 11
- Berlin, 2, 48, 120, 125, 241, 425, 560, 562
- Berlin (Bor subcamp), 320, 321
- Berlin-Plötzensee prison, 118
- Bern, 418, 794
- Bernandovca (Berandovka, Chyzhove), **606**
- Berrouaghia, 241, **252**, 278
- Berșad (Bershad), 575, 577, 578, 595, **606–608**, 662, 706, 707, 709, 737, 754, 778, 779, 780, 809, 810, 824, 825
- Besaçon, 106
- Bessarabia, 570, 574, 575, 576, 580, 589, 592, 593, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 605, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 620, 621, 622, 626, 628, 629, 630, 633, 636, 637, 640, 644, 645, 648, 650, 651, 655, 657, 660, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 670, 672, 673, 674, 675, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 694, 697, 698, 699, 702, 703, 704, 709, 710, 712, 714, 715, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 728, 730, 732, 734, 735, 739, 742, 746, 747, 748, 749, 751, 752, 753, 755, 756, 758, 759, 763, 767, 768, 771, 772, 776, 778, 780, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 790, 791, 797, 799, 801, 803, 808, 809, 810, 812, 813, 815, 816, 822, 825, 826, 827, 829, 830
- Beszterce (Bistrița, Bistritz), 309, **319**
- Beszterce-Naszód County, 309, 319
- Bethlen, 336
- Beyseyre St. Mary, 220
- Bezdan, 381
- Béziers, 101
- Biard Hill (Butte de Biard), 216
- Bihar County, 309, 362
- Bihardiőszeg, 362
- Bijelina, 59
- Bilaevca (Bilaevka, Bilaievca). *See* Belaevca
- Bilke, 318
- Bilyavka. *See* Belaevca
- Biograd na Moru. *See* Zaravecchia
- Birzula (Kotovsk, Podilsk), **608–609**, 675, 797, 821
- Bischwiller, 115
- Bistrița (Bistritz). *See* Beszterce
- Bitola, 31, 32
- Bivert, 169
- Bivolari, 789
- Bizanet, 236
- Bizerte, 894, 899
- Bjelovar, 68
- Bjorkelangen, 562
- BL 120. *See* Balta 120 Labor Battalion/ Detachment
- Black Sea and coast, 3, 25, 575, 591, 728, 738, 823
- Blacksmiths' Synagogue, 679
- Blagoevgrad. *See* Gorna Dzhumaya
- Blatta, 468
- Blechhammer, 217, 220, 230, 236
- Blida, 252, 264
- Blois, 162
- Bobric (Bobrick, Bobrik), **609–611**, 695, 714, 747
- Bocche di Cattaro, 551
- Bodrogkeresztúr, 370
- Bodrogköz, 368
- Bog-Bog. *See* Buqbuq
- Bogdanovca (Bohdanivka), 579, 588, 590, 591, 604, 610, **611–613**, 614, 641, 661, 680, 681, 686, 702, 714, 720, 728, 739, 785, 816, 827, 830
- Boghar, **252–253**, 257, 258, 262, 278
- Boghari (Boughari, Ksar Boukhari, Ksar El Boukhari, Morand), 252, **253**, 257, 263
- Bogopol, 680
- Bohdanivka. *See* Bogdanovca
- Bohemia, 842, 843, 846
- Boiano, 399, **407–408**
- Bojková, **854**
- Bol (Boli, Vallo della Brazza), 543
- Bolgrad (Bolhrad), **613–615**, 785
- Bolgrad/LPRS No. 8, **615–616**
- Bolgrad/Turnu Măgurele, 615
- Bolhrad. *See* Bolgrad
- Boli. *See* Bol
- Bologna, 413, 430
- Bolzano, 392, 459, 463
- Bon Hepos Hotel, 547
- Bondurovca (Bondurovka, Bondurivka), 599, **616–618**
- Bonga, 503
- Bonifi ca della Vittoria, 429
- Bonyhád, 367
- Bor, 304, **320–322**, 354
- Borcea River, 624
- Bordeaux, 140, 144, 157, 177, 178, 216
- Bordighera, 471
- Bordj-Chandez, 250
- Bordo, 273, 274–275
- Borgo Piave barracks. *See* Visco
- Borgo San Dalmazzo, **408–409**, 534
- Borpatak (Valea Burcutului), 358
- Borshchi, 608
- Borsod County, 310, 352, 353
- Bortniki, 714
- Bosanski Brod, 75
- Bosnia, 47, 48, 55, 69, 484, 545, 549, 554
- Bosnia-Herzegovina, 46, 47, 49, 50n4, 61, 69, 75, 545, 548, 554
- Bossuet (Dhaya), **253–254**, 265, 266, 268, 278, 283
- Botoșani, 571, 574, 600, 622, 627, 644, 673, 782, 789, 814
- Bou Arfa (Bouarfa), 241, 251, **254–255**, 258, 286, 287, 296
- Bou Azzer (Moulay Bou Azza/Bouazza), **255–256**, 291. *See also* Oued Zem and Moulay Bouazza
- Bouche-du-Rhône Département, 94, 122, 129, 168, 169, 174–176, 178, 215
- Bou Denib (Boudenib, Bou Dnib, Haricot, Mèknes camp), **256**
- Boughari. *See* Boghari
- Boulhaut (Bouhaut, Ben Slimane), **256**
- Bourget, Lake, 217
- Bourgogne region, 181
- Bourrasol Castle, 144
- Bou-Saada, 264
- Boussais, **112**, 182
- Bov, 17. *See also* Gara Bov
- Boyano, 32
- Bozen-Gries, 429
- Brač Island. *See* Brazza Island
- Brad, 654, 655
- Brăila, 574, 620, 674, 680, 731, 740, 789, 818

- Brailov, 625, 766
 Bram, **112–113**
 Branč, 857
 Branița-Moghilev (Bronnytsya), **618**
 Brașov, 789, 793, 794, 814, 823
 Bratislava, 844, 846, 849, 856, 858, 863, 864, 867, 868, 869, 871, 872, 873, 874, 881, 882, 885, 886
 Bratislava-Patrónka, 847, **854–855**, 881, 886
 Braşlav, 725
 Bratslav, 579
 Brazza Island (Brač Island), **543–544**, 549
 Brche, 468
 Brébant Prison, 145. *See also* Marseille
 Bredtveit, 561, **566–567**
 Bregenz (Bor subcamp), 320, 321
 Breil-sur-Roya, 532, 535
 Bremen, 345, 386
 Bremen-Farge, 238
 Brenner Pass, 416
 Brens, **113–115**, 133, 212, 236
 Breslau, 862
 Bretagne region, 130, 132, 167, 204, 210
 Brétigny-sur-Orge, 184
 Bretonneau General Hospital, 161
 Briceni, 650, 677, 758
 Britain. *See* Great Britain
 Britava, 791
 Britavca, 599
 Brive, 125, 189, 207
 Brive-la-Gaillard, 138, 207
 Bročice. *See* Jasenovac II
 Brodoc, 814
 Bronnytsya. *See* Branița-Moghilev
 Bronska-Balca, 594
 Broût-Vernet, 110
 Bruchsam, 104
 Brunn (Bor subcamp), 320, 321
 Buccari (Bakar, Kakar), 427, **544**
 Bucharest (Bucureşti), 570, 574, 575, 578, 579, 582, 589, 599, 600, 601, 611, 612, 614, 617, **618–620**, 632, 640, 643, 647, 650, 655, 656, 659, 661, 670–671, 678, 681, 686, 687, 689, 694, 696, 711, 716, 718, 720, 722, 729, 730, 733, 735, 736, 739, 740, 743, 744, 751, 755, 757, 759, 763, 774, 778, 782, 793, 794, 796, 800, 803, 804, 807, 812, 817, 818, 819, 824
 Buchenwald, 144, 145, 167, 203, 226, 238, 315, 351, 365, 409
 Buchenwald/Magdeburg-Rothensee, 365
 Bucovăț, 792
 Bucureşti. *See* Bucharest
 Bucureşti/LPRA No. 12 and No. 13, **618–620**
 Buda, 323
 Budafok, 311, **322**
 Budakalász, 312, 322, **323**, 331, 354
 Budapest, 301, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311–312, 318, **323–325**, 332, 333, 334, 340, 346, 348, 349, 354, 355, 356, 366, 367, 376, 887; Columbus Street, **325–326**; Conti Street Prison, **326**; KISOK, **326–327**; Magdolna Street, **327–328**; Margit Boulevard, **328**; Mosonyi Street, **328–329**; Obuda, **329–330**; Röck-Szilárd Street, **330**, 332, 333; Szabolcs Street, 327, 329; Tattersall, **330–331**
 Budeşti/LPRS No. 7 and 13, **620–621**
 Budi (Budy), 621–622
 Budienny farm, 813
 Büdzentmihály, 364
 Budy. *See* Budi
 Bug-Bug. *See* Buqbuq
 Bug River, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 588, 590, 592, 595, 596, 599, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 615, 625, 629, 634, 635, 636, 640, 645, 652, 658, 662, 667, 670, 680, 682, 684, 686, 687, 690, 691, 695, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 703, 706, 707, 709, 712, 713, 719, 720, 722, 723, 727, 731, 742, 743, 745, 747, 753, 754, 757, 762, 766, 769, 770, 771, 778, 779, 780, 790, 795, 798, 799, 801, 803, 806, 807, 810, 813, 816, 824, 825, 826
 Buj, 364
 Bukbuk. *See* Buqbuq
 Bukovina, 570, 575, 576, 577, 580, 589, 593, 595, 596, 598, 605, 607, 608, 609, 611, 615, 621, 622, 626, 628, 629, 630, 633, 636, 640, 644, 645, 650, 655, 656, 657, 660, 663, 665, 666, 667, 670, 672, 673, 674, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 692, 694, 697, 698, 699, 700, 702, 703, 704, 709, 710, 712, 714, 715, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 726, 728, 731, 732, 742, 746, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 755, 758, 759, 760, 763, 769, 771, 772, 773, 774, 776, 778, 780, 783, 786, 787, 790, 791, 801, 804, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 813, 816, 817, 820, 822, 825, 826, 827, 829
 Bulgaria, 1–44, 131, 485, 570, 621, 832, 833
 Bumbeşti, 781
 Bungur, 336
 Buqbuq (Baq-Baq, Bog-Bog, Bug-Bug, Bukbuk), **527–528**, 530
 Burgas, 3, 11, 13n14
 Burgenland, 302
 Burilova, 658
 Burrell, 481, 482, 486, 499. *See also* German
 Butte de Biard. *See* Biard Hill
 Buzău, 600, 818, 823
 Buzet-sur-Baise, **115**
 Byala Slatina, 11
 Byal Izvor, 4, 27
 Bystre, 844, **855–857**, 861, 865
 Bzenica, 887
 Čabar, 541
 Čačak, 835
 Cadale, 504
 Čadca, 855, 874, 879, 889
 Cadrilater, 570
 Cahors, 119, 206
 Cahul, 784, 785, 786
 Cairo, 298
 Cairo Montenotte, **409–410**, 450
 Caïs, 145
 Cajarc, 206
 Calabria, 416, 424
 Calafat, 571, **622–623**, 672. *See also* Dorneşti and Calafat/LPRS No. 6
 Călan, 655
 Călăraşi, 571, 601, 620, **623–625**, 824
 Călăraşi Târg, 648
 Calvados Département, 152, 162
 Calvari di Chiavari, **410–411**, 423, 471
 Camaione, 405, 421
 Camp Boulhaut. *See* Boulhaut
 Camp de Fanlac. *See* Château du Sablou
 Camp du Ramram. *See* Ram Ram
 Camp Joffre. *See* Rivesaltes
 “Camp of La Pierre.” *See* Coudrecieux
 Campagna (San Bartolomeo and Immaculate Conception convents), **411–412**, 415, 418, 419, 432, 434, 436, 440
 Campania, 449
 Câmpina, 571
 Campobasso, 399, 407, 414, 433–434, 475
 Campo Concentramento Internati Civili—Padova. *See* Chiesanuova
 Campora (Kampor). *See* Arbe
 Câmpu lui Neag, 655
 Câmpulung, 629, 715, 752
 Camugnano, **412–414**
 Canada, 31, 457
 Cantal Département, 93, 128, 219, 220
 Căpătâneni (Căpătineni), 646
 Capdenac, 121
 Capodistria, 410, 439
 Capo Marino, 556
 Caporotondo, 448
 Capusteani (Căpuşteni). *See* Capustiani
 Capusterna (Copesteren, Copistern, Copistrin, Kopystyrn), 579, **625–626**
 Capustiani (Capusteani, Căpuşteni, Kapustiani, Kapustyany), **626–627**, 701
 Caracal, 571, **627–628**
 Caraş, 761
 Carbonara, 547
 Cariera de Piatră. *See* Ladijin/Stone Quarry
 Carişcov (Karyshkov, Karyshkiv), **628–629**
 Carnot, **256–257**
 Carpathian Mountains, 316
 Carpathian Ukraine, 843
 Carpatho-Ruthenia, 302, 306, 307, 308–309, 310, 318, 340, 360, 361, 380, 384, 842, 843
 Čarug, 381
 Casablanca, 241, 248, 255, 265, 272, 273, 275, 280, 285, 289, 294, 295, 296, 297
 Casacalenda, **414–415**
 Casa Concordia, 429
 Casale Montferrato, 408
 Casa Mirti. *See* Tossicia
 La Casa Rossa. *See* Alberobello
 Caserma di Carabinieri di Addis Abeba. *See* Addis Abeba
 Caserma Diaz. *See* Diaz Barracks
 Caserma Mottino. *See* Aosta
 Caserma Vittorio Emanuele III. *See* V. E. barracks
 Caserne Forty. *See* Forty Barracks
 Caserne Salel, 537
 Caserne Vallier de Lapeyrouse, 531
 Casoli, **415**, 417, 421
 Casseneuil (Sauvaud, Spanish, or Train Station camp), **116–117**, 123, 124
 Cassino, 449
 Castagnavizza, **415**, 450

- Castelbellino, 423
 Castel di Guido, 401, **416**, 429
 Casteljaloux, 124
 Castello Sereni. *See* Pietrafitta-Tavernelle
 Castelnuovo di Garfagnana, 404, 405
 Castiglion della Valle, 447
 Castres, **117–119**, 139, 146, 147, 172, 226
 Cațmazov (Catzmazov, Katsmaziv, Kotmazov), **629–630**, 771
 Cattaro (Kotor), 484, 486, 494, 551
 Catus, **119**, 206
 Catzmazov. *See* Cațmazov
 Caucasus Mountains, 579
 Cauterets, 109, **120–121**
 Caylus, **121–122**, 182
 Cazaciocva, 629, **630–631**, 685
 Cazaubon, 122
 Cegléd, 345
 Cehei. *See* Somlyócséhi
 Celldömölk, 339
 Celle Ligure (Bergamasca Settlement), **407**
 Ceneșeuți, 749, 750
 Ceremosh River, 820
 Čerhov. *See* Csörgő
 Cernăuți (Chernivtsi, Czernowitz), 576, 600, 608, 628, **631–633**, 635, 674, 677, 699, 700, 715, 721, 722, 726, 731, 745, 750, 751, 758, 760, 771, 774, 786, 799, 804, 807, 811, 817, 818, 820, 821
 Cernoviți (Cernevti, Chernevtsy, Chernivitz), **633–634**
 Certovca, 590
 Čertovica, 867
 Certvertinovca, 701
 Červený Most, 854
 Cetatea Albă, 613, 615, 739, 785, 786
 Cetinje (Cettigne), 540
 Četnik, 382
 Cettigne. *See* Cetinje
 Cetvertinovca (Chetvertinovka), **634–636**, 732, 805
 Chabanet, **122**
 Chaffaut, 226
 Chagal, 503
 Chaidari, 511
 Chain Bridge, 329
 Chalabre, 213
 Chalcida, 509
 Châlons-sur-Marne, 235
 Châlons-sur-Saône, 169
 Chambéry, 105, 217
 Champagnole, 106
 Chanonat Villa, 167
 Charente, 168, 203
 Charente-Maritime, 168, 203
 Charles III prison, 137
 Charolles, 156
 Chartres hospital, 237–238
 Chartreuse-de-Prémol, 205
 Châteaubriant, 103, 129, 157, 161, 179, 199, 204, 237
 Château de Bégué, **122–123**
 Chateau de Flageac, 220
 Chateau-de-Grammont. *See* Grammont
 Château de la Pierre. *See* Coudrecieux
 Château de Tombebouc, **123–124**
 Château d'en Bardou, 214
 Château-Doux, **124–125**
 Château du Coudeau, 159, 231
 Château du Roc, **125–127**
 Château du Sablou (Camp de Fanlac), 92, **127–128**, 224
 Château Royal de Collioure. *See* Collioure
 Chatzëkösta, 516
 Chaudes-Aigues, **128–129**
 Chautagne, 217
 Chauvinerie. *See* Montsûrs
 Chaux forest, 106
 Chechelnyk. *See* Cicelnic
 Cheragas (Cheraga), **258**
 Cherchel (Cherchell, Cherchelles), **258–259**
 Cher Département, 152
 Chernevtsy (Chernivitz). *See* Cernoviți
 Chernivtsi. *See* Cernăuți
 Chervona. *See* Grabivți
 Chetroșica Veche, 601
 Chetvertinovka. *See* Cetvertinovca
 Cheylard, 173
 Chiana Valley. *See* Civitella della Chiana
 Chianovca (Chianivca, Kiianovka, Kyvanivka), 579, **636–637**
 Chiaravalle di Fiastra, 469
 Chibron, 122, **129**, 226
 Chiesanuova (Padua), **416–417**, 432, 433, 449, 454, 471, 541, 557
 Chieti, 415, **417**, 420, 435, 436, 464
 Chiianivca. *See* Chianovca
 Chilia, 613, 784, 785, 786
 Chilia Nouă, 784, 785
 Chinon, 160
 Chirnasovca, 701
 Chișinău (Kishinev), 576, 588, 612, 615, **637–640**, 651, 670, 686, 730, 734, 749, 768, 785, 786, 815, 827, 830
 Chiusi, 447
 Chmel'ov, 870
 Choisel, **129–130**, 179, 180, 199, 237
 Chop. *See* Csap
 Chuchulgovo, 8
 Chust. *See* Huszt
 Chychykliya River, 719, 813
 Chyhyrin. *See* Cihrin
 Chyzhove. *See* Bernandovca
 Chyžnian Voda, 880
 Cicelnic (Cicelnik, Chechelnyk), 626, **640–641**
 Cigánd, 370
 Cighino (Čiginj), 433, **545**, 550
 Ciglana. *See* Jasenovac III
 Cihrin (Chyhyrin), **641–642**
 Cimiez, 532
 Ciobănița, 571, 738
 Cirova, 867
 Cité de la Muette ("The Silent City"), 134
 Città del Duce. *See* Forlì
 Cittaducale, 447
 Città Sant'Angelo, **417–418**
 Cittàvecchia. *See* Stari Grad
 Ciuc, 371
 Ciușlea, 679
 Civitella della Chiana (Chiana Valley, Mazzi Villa, Oliveto Villa, Val di Chiana), 413, **418–419**
 Civitella del Tronto (Santa Maria dei Lumi monastery), **419–420**, 466
 Clairfond Center, 183
 Clairvaux prison, 130
 Clayes-sous-Bois, 103
 Clermont-Ferrand, 167, 223
 Cluj-Napoca. *See* Kolozsvár
 Cobadin. *See* Osmancea and Cobadin
 Cocloc, 620
 Colfiorito, 403, **420–421**
 Colle di Compito, 405, **421**
 Collioure, **131–132**
 Colomb-Béchar, 241, 247, 254, **259–260**, 270, 271, 276, 278, 281, 284, 286, 287, 296
 Colombes Stadium, 92, 94
 Colonia alpina Umberto I. *See* Tonezza del Cimone
 Colonia Bergamasca. *See* Celle Ligure
 Colosovca (Kolosivka), 579, **642–643**
 Columbus Street (Budapest), **325–326**
 Comando Piazza, 509
 Compiègne, 103, 111, 135, 145, 170, 203, 216, 238
 Compiègne-Royallieu, 92
 Conakry, 241, **260–261**, 273, 274, 279, 280, 298
 Conatchivët. *See* Conotcăuți
 Condat, 128
 Conotcăuți (Conatchivët, Conatcăuți, Kanatchivți, Konatkiivtsi, Konatkovtsy), **643–644**
 Consolata, 404
 Constanța (Constantza), 571, 574, 620, 738, 764, 814, 823
 Constantine, 240, 241, **261–262**, 263, 268, 290, 297
 Continvoir, 160
 Conti Street Prison (Budapest), **326**
 Copaigorod (Kopaigorod, Kopaygorod, Kopaihoroda), 575, 628, 629, **644–646**, 650, 683, 685, 688, 689, 704, 723, 724, 745, 746, 772
 Copesteren (Copistern, Copistrin). *See* Capusterna
 Copusteni. *See* Capustiani
 Coray, **132**
 Corbeni/LPRS No. 10, 583, **646–648**
 Corbul, 601
 Coreglia Ligure, 410
 Corfû (Kérkyra), 448, 452, 513, 514, 526
 Corfû-Lazaretto Island, **513–514**, 526
 Cornești Târg (Cornești Tg.), 601, **648–650**
 Cornil, 207
 Corrèze Département, 124, 125, 138, 182, 206, 233
 Corropoli, 406, 415, 419, **422**, 440, 445, 461, 464
 Corsica, 427
 Coșarinți (Coșarineți, Cozarinți, Kosharyntsi), **650–651**
 Cosăuți, **651–652**, 677, 691, 710, 751, 756, 768, 783, 820
 Cosenza, 391, 400, 404, 415, 424, 425, 459
 Cosmești, 668

Cossovo. *See* Kosovo
 Costigueni Hospital, 827
 Côte d'Azur Département, 181
 Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), 240
 Côtes-d'Armor Département, 202
 Côtes-du-Nord, 202
 Côte Radieuse, 218
 Côte Vermeille, 107
 Cotonea, 579
 Cotul-Lung, 680
 Coudrecieux ("Camp of La Pierre"),
132–133, 188, 202
 Courgenay, 222
 Covaliovcă (Covalevca, Covaleovca,
 Kovaliovka, Kovalivka), **652–654**, 690
 Covasna County, 371
 Covurlui, 571, 679, 696, 824
 Covurlui Territorial Circle, 574
 Cozarinți. *See* Coșarînți
 Cozmești, 814
 Crăciunești/LPRS No. 9, **654–656**
 Craftsmen's Synagogue, 679
 Craiova, 571, 599, **656–657**, 673, 674, 789
 Crampel, **262–263**
 Crângăși, 620
 Crasna (Crasnoe, Crasnoie, Krasne,
 Krasnoe), **657–658**, 756, 757, 799, 800,
 825
 Crasneanca (Cransnencoe, Crasnei,
 Krasnen'ke, Krasnenchi), **658–659**, 718
 Crasnoie. *See* Crasna
 Crete, 235, 507, 510, 521
 Creuse Département, 94, 109, 136, 139
 Crijiopol (Kryzhopil', Krizhopol', Kryzho-
 pol'), **659–660**, 707, 711, 828
 Crikvenica, 554
 Crimea, 615
 Crișul Alb River, 761
 Crivoi Ozero (Krivoye-Ozero), 575, 592,
 608, 610, 658, 659, **660–662**, 680, 686,
 747, 802
 Croatia, 45–77, 311, 391, 411, 426, 427, 433,
 437, 446, 465, 468, 476, 484, 485, 543,
 545, 546, 547, 548, 551, 552, 553, 554, 832,
 833, 835
 Croatia-Slavonia, 302
 Crușinovca (Krushynivka, Krushynovka),
662–663
 Csáktornya, 311, 359
 Csallóközkürt, 337
 Csap (Chop), 347
 Csepel, 311, 331
 Csepel Island, 323, 330, **331–333**
 Csepreg, 372
 Csík, 309, 373
 Csillaghegy, 323
 Csobaj, 364
 Csongrád, **333**, 375
 Csörgő (Čerhov), 303, **334**
 Csorna, 372
 Csurgó, 316, 343
 Cubei (Kubey), 614
 Cucavca (Kukavka), **663–664**
 Cudznea, 579
 Cumpăna, 646
 Cuneo, 408, 534
 Cupari (Kupari), **545–546**, 548, 554

Curtea de Argeș, 646
 Curzola Island (Korčula Island), **546–548**
 Cuzminți (Cuzminț, Cuzminet,
 Kuz'myntsi), **664–665**
 Cvozdavca. *See* Vazdovca
 Cyclades Islands, 507, 521
 Cyrenaica, 528
 Czechoslovakia, 131, 151, 218, 302, 318, 336,
 338, 340, 341, 342, 343, 349, 350, 361,
 368, 377, 380, 382, 384, 385, 425, 842,
 844, 849, 862, 871, 872, 873, 886
 Czernowitz. *See* Cernăuți
 Dabat, 503
 Dachau, 74, 76, 134, 145, 172, 210, 330, 349,
 351, 352, 366, 416, 459, 515
 Dachau/Mühldorf, 366
 Dahomey (Benin), 240
 Dakar, 240, 241, 247, 248, 261, 271, 274,
 276, 280, 286, 293, 297, 298, 299
 Đakovo (Đjakovo), 48, 49, **53–54**, 76
 Dalmatia, 46, 47, 403, 417, 422, 423, 436,
 446, 451, 459, 464, 468, 494, 542, 543,
 544, 547, 551, 552, 557
 Dalnik, 728, 730
 Dâmbovița, 789
 Danane. *See* Dhanaane
 Danica. *See* Koprivnica
 Danube River, 307, 311, 323, 329, 331, 349,
 353–354, 383, 570, 615, 622, 623, 672, 764
 Dărăbani, 627, 644, 673, 741, 742, 809, 822
 DE 102. *See* Șiria/102 Brigade for Jews
 Debra Sîna, 503
 Debre Birhan, 503
 Debrecen, 304, 307, 311, **334–335**
 Debre Libanos, 504
 Debre Tabor, 503
 Dedinje, 833
 Degeš (Rastislavice), **857**
 Dej. *See* Dés
 Dejazmach, 503
 Dekemhare, 503
 Deleni, 814
 Delsomogy, 359
 Délvidék, 311
 Demarcation Line, 111, 116, 125, 128,
 193, 218
 Demecser, 364
 Demir-Hisar, 3, 6, 8, 9
 Derebchin (Derebchin, Derebchyn),
665–666
 Derlo River, 756
 Derventa, 75
 Dés (Dej), 309, **335–336**
 Detached Battalion 21 (Er.P 21), 80, **87–88**
 Detașamentul de Evrei 102. *See* Șiria/102
 Brigade for Jews
 Deux-Sèvres Département, 112, 182, 203
 Deva, 654, 656
 Devínska Nová Ves, **857–858**
 Dhanaane (Danane), 502, 504
 Dhaya. *See* Bossuet
 Diaz Barracks (Caserma Diaz), 427, 433, 476
 Dibrano, 482, 487
 Dieppe, 534
 Dijon, 161
 Diósgyőr, 353

Divdyadovo, 3
 Đjakovo. *See* Đakovo
 Djebel Chambi, **899**
 Djebel Dejjelloud railway station, 899
 Djebel-Felten, **263–264**
 Djebibinia (Al Jubaybinah), **899**, 902
 Djelfa, 118, 241, 250, 252, 253, 263,
264–265, 266, 268, 269, 278, 281, 287,
 900
 Djelfa Bedeau. *See* Fort Caffarelli
 Djelloula ('Ayn Jalulah), **899**
 Djenien Bou Rezg, 248, 253, **266–267**,
 287
 Djerrada (Jerada), 248, **267**
 Djougar (Jougar), **899**, 901
 Djurin (Dzhurin, Dzhurnyn), 577, **666–668**,
 821
 Dniester River, 575, 577, 591, 599, 600, 602,
 608, 613, 618, 629, 630, 632, 636, 638,
 645, 651, 659, 664, 676, 677, 687, 691,
 693, 694, 710, 711, 714, 715, 718, 723, 731,
 733, 741, 745, 747, 748, 749, 751, 752, 756,
 758, 759, 760, 767, 768, 770, 783, 785, 795,
 797, 801, 803, 820, 821
 Doaga, **668–670**
 Doboj, 545
 Dobra-Nadejda (Sofiivka), 690
 Dobrovolyatz, 369
 Dobrudzha, 2, 7
 Dobruja, 570
 Dochna (Dokhno), 617
 Dokhna River, 616
 Dokhno. *See* Dochna
 Dolenja Trebuša. *See* Trebussa Inferiore
 Dolha, 318
 Dolj, 622, 656, 672
 Dolna Oryahovitsa, 13, 14, **19–20**
 Domanovca (Domanevca, Domanevka,
 Domanivca, Domaniovca), 579, 588, 610,
 611, 614, 641, 658, **670–671**, 680, 682,
 702, 717, 718, 720, 763, 815, 827, 830
 Döme Sztójay, 306
 Domokos, 522
 Dömsöd, 331
 Donja Gradina, 61
 Donji Milhoja, 76
 Donkha River, 809
 Don River, 179
 Dordogne, 125, 127, 128, 224
 Dorian House, 679
 Dornești and Calafat/LPRS No. 6, **671–673**
 Dorog, 329
 Dorohoi, 571, 576, 579, 580, 593, 623, 628,
 629, 630, 634, 636, 640, 644, 656, 657,
 665, **673–675**, 678, 694, 699, 703, 705,
 706, 709, 715, 716, 721, 722, 723, 733, 742,
 746, 752, 753, 755, 760, 771, 772, 782, 789,
 799, 800, 804, 806, 807, 809, 818, 822,
 826, 829
 Doroshich, 305
 Dospat, 29
 Dospatski Prokhod. *See* Tash Boaz
 Dotrščina Park, 67
 Douadic, 125, 126, **133–134**
 Doubs Département, 106, 143, 181, 222
 Dournazac, 231
 Dragomirovo, 13n14

- Drama, 38
 Drancy, 91, 92, 94, 96, 102, 104, 109, 111, 116, 118, 124, 133, **134–136**, 137, 138, 145, 147, 151, 155, 157, 163, 167, 169, 172, 175, 177, 178, 179, 184, 188, 194, 196, 203, 208, 214, 217, 220, 229, 230, 233, 236, 408
 Dráva River, 311
 Dresden, 320
 Drniš, 543
 Drobeta-Turnu Severin. *See* Turnu Severin
 Drôme Département, 173, 183
 Drütte, 238
 Dubăsari (Dubossary), 575, 608, **675–676**, 797
 Dubina (Dubyna), 727
 Dubnica nad Váhom/Concentration Camp for Roma, 844, **858–860**, 881, 885
 Dubnica nad Váhom/Work Unit, 844, 856, **860–861**, 865, 869, 885
 Dubossary. *See* Dubăsari
 Dubrovnik, 484, 544, 545, 546, 548, 553
 Dubyna. *See* Dubina
 Duderstadt, 333
 Dulcigno, 496
 Dumbrăvița, 823
 Dunajská Streda. *See* Dunaszerdahely
 Dunamocs, 359
 Dunaszeg, 329
 Dunaszerdahely (Dunajská Streda), 311, **336–337**
 Dunavecse, 342
 Dupnitsa (Dupnitsa), 9, 11, **16**, 19, 37
 Durazzo (Durrës), 481, 484, 487, 494, 499
 Đuša Street prison, 839
 Dve-Mogili, 13
 Dvoreanca, 579
 Dzhurin (Dzhuryn). *See* Djurin
 Dzygovka (Dzyhivka). *See* Jigovca
- East Africa (Italian-occupied), 502–504
 Eaux-Bonnes, **136**, 167, 189, 223
 Écrouves, **137–138**, 207, 237
 Edelény, 353
 Edineți (Ediniți, Ediniț, Edineț), 601, 651, **676–678**, 751, 758, 774, 820
 Èfèveion Averōf. *See* Averōf Prison
 Eger, 311, **337–338**
 Egersehi, 337
 Egersee. *See* Zalaegerszeg
 Éggletons (Auchères camp, Rosiers d'Éggletons), **138–139**, 220, 233
 Egypt, 298, 527, 530, 896
 El Agareb. *See* Tniet-Agarev
 El Bayadh. *See* Géryville
 El Karit (El Karib, El Kartit, El Karrit, Oulmès), **291**
 El Kef. *See* Le Kef
 El Kheither. *See* Le Kreider
 El Ksabi. *See* Ksabi
 El Meridja. *See* Méridja
 El Salvador, 167
 Elanet (Yalant'), 692
 El-Aricha (Al-Aricha, Al-Arisha, El-Arisha), **267–268**
 Elba Island (Isola d'Elba), **422–423**
 Elbasan, 483, 492, 496
 Élesd, 362
- El-Guerrah (El-Guerre), **268**
 El-Guettar, 900
 Ellera. *See* Pietrafitta-Tavernelle
 El-Méridj. *See* Méridja
 Elna, 108
 El-Oued, 258
 Elsass, 797
 Elvenes, 82
 Embrun, **531–532**, 535, 537, 538
 Emilia Romagna, 453, 457, 470
 Emilia Way, 428
 Empeirikeio, **510–512**
 En Cimeraux, 181
 Encs, 353
 Enda Medani Alem, 503
 Enfidaville (Enfidha), 895, **899**
 Enikioi. *See* Krüstopole
 Enying, 385
 Épirus, 513, 514, 525
 Eraclea, 429
 Erdőbénye, 370
 Erillinen Pataljoona. *See* Detached Battalion 21
 Eritrea (Italian-occupied), 502–504
 Érmihályfalva (Valea lui Mihai), 362
 Er.P 21. *See* Detached Battalion 21
 Érsekújvár, 311, 360
 Esen, 351
 Esino River, 423
 Eso Piccolo (Iž Mali), 552
 Espeland, 562
 Essoila. *See* Jessoila
 Essonne Département, 183
 Este, 477
 Estonia, 80, 179
 Esztergom, 304
 Ethiopia (Italian-occupied), 502–504
 Eure Département, 147, 152, 157, 173, 237
 Eure-et-Loire Département, 152, 237
 Évaux-les-Bains, **139–140**
- Fabriano, 420, **423**, 458
 Fadd, 365
 Făgăraș, 599, 789
 Fălcu, 571, 669, 782
 Fălești, 603, 648
 Fallingbostal, 560
 Falstad SS penal camp (SS Strafgefangenenlager), 562, 567
 Fancsika, 361
 Fanlac. *See* Château du Sablou
 Fara Sabina, 424
 Farfa, 401, **424**, 445, 459
 Făurei, 679
 Fedala, 285
 Fejér County, 310, 376
 Feketepatak, 361
 Felnémet, 337
 Feodorovca farm, 731
 Ferdinand, 11, **16–17**, 28
 Ferești, 814
 Ferizaj. *See* Uroševac
 Ferma de Stat Suha Balca. *See* Suha Balca
 Ferramonti di Tarsia, 391, 393, 400, 404, 415, 416, 419, **424–426**, 431, 432, 434, 435, 436, 438, 445, 446, 459, 468, 484, 528
- Ferrara, 432
 Fertilia, **426–427**
 Fertőszentmiklós, 372
 Fier (Fieri), **479–480**, 488, 492, 493
 Fierbinți, 708, 764
 Filești, 679
 Filip farm, 593
 Finistère Département, 132
 Finland, 79–88
 Finnish Lapland, 82, 83
 Finnmark, 562
 Fit-Ber Prison, 504
 Fiume (Rijeka), 302, 410, 411, **427–428**, 433, 437, 438, 440, 445, 446, 448, 454, 458, 465, 476, 541, 557
 Flavian, 532
 Florence, 405, 406, 419, 427, 430, 437, 443, 447, 464
 Florești, 574, 710, 768, 783
 Flossenbürg, 321, 409
 Focșani, 669, 679
 Focșani-Nămoloasa-Brăila Zone, 574
 Foggia, 403, 420, 440, 467
 Foix, 94
 Folegandros. *See* Pholegandros
 Foligno, 420
 Foltești, 679
 Fontignano, 447
 Forbidden Zone, Vichy France (zone interdite), 106, 137, 213, 234
 Förgépatony, 337
 Forlì (Forlì-Cesena, Città del Duce, City of Mussolini), **428–429**, 519
 Fort-Barraux, 117, 127, 129, **140–141**, 226, 236
 Fort Caffarelli (Fort Cafarelli, Djelfa Bedeau), 127, 224, 265, **269–270**
 Fort-de-Peigney, **142–143**, 181
 Fort de Romainville, 194
 Fort-de-Vancia, **143–144**
 Fort du Hâ, 140, 144, 177, 178
 Fort du Portalet, **144–145**
 Forte di Mandida, 503
 Fort Montluc, 144
 Fort Ontario, New York, 438
 Fort Sisteron. *See* Sisteron
 Fort St. Nicolas, 144
 Fort Vittorio Emmanuel, 535, 546
 Forty Barracks (Caserne Forty), 535
 Fossalon, **429–430**
 Fossoli (Fossoli di Carpi), 389, 392, 393, 401, 403, 408, 410, 413, 419, 420, 421, 428, 429, **430–431**, 439, 444, 447, 451, 456, 459, 461, 472, 474, 477
 Foum-Deflah, 254
 Fqih ben Salh. *See* Settāt
 France, 250, 251, 253, 262, 266, 392, 448, 457, 463, 555, 842, 844
 France (Italian-occupied), 531–539, 546
 France/Vichy, 89–239. *See also* Vichy Africa
 Franciscan Sisters of Mary, Mission of the, 186
 Frankfurt an der Oder, 189
 Free Zone, Vichy France, 114, 116, 183
 Freetown, 261, 274, 298
 Fréjus, 94, **145–146**
 French Caribbean, 298

French Guinea (French Guyana), 241, 260, 273, 274, 279, 298, 330
 French Sudan (Mali, Soudain Français), 240, 241, 251, 274, 279, 280, 298
 French West Africa (Afrique occidentale française, AOF), 240, 241, 260, 273, 274, 279, 280, 298
 Friedenthal (Myrnopillya), 615
 Friuli-Venezia Giulia. *See* Venezia Giulia
 Frontignan, **146**
 Frosinone, 438
 Frystak, 104
 Fumone, Mount, 438
 Furnaza, 57
 Fushë Arrëz (Fush Arstit, Fusha Arsit), **480–481**, 482, 490, 494, 498, 499
 Füzesabony, 337
 Füzesséry estate, 332

Gaalkacyo (Rocca Littorio), 504
 Gabès (Qābis), 896, **899**
 Gabrovitsa, 28, 30
 Gacko, 545
 Gaeta. *See* Gulf of Gaeta
 Gaillac, 113, 117, 118, **146–147**
 Gaillon, 130, **147–148**, 237
 Gaisin, 698
 Galata, 3, 18
 Galați, 614, 620, 656, 669, **679–680**, 696, 789, 818, 824
 Galați Jewish Community High School, 679
 Gălcinți. *See* Halcinți
 Galicia, 848
 Gallion, 157
 Gara Belitsa, 8, 37, 38
 Gara Bov, 4, **17–18**
 Gara Chepino, 4, **18**
 Garany (Hraň), 303, **338–339**, 341, 368
 Gara Pirin, 8, 37, 38
 Gara Rupel, 8, 37, 38
 Gara Udovo, 32
 Gard Département, 122, 168
 Gare d'Austerlitz. *See* Austerlitz train station
 Gassion Castle, 109
 Gaysin, 579
 Gèdre, 136
 Gelle, 337
 Gelsa (Jelsa), 548, 549
 Gelse, 364
 Gelsenkirchen, 351
 Genale. *See* Janaale
 General Todorov, 8
 General Todorov railway station, 14
 Genete Le'ul Palace, 503
 Geneva, 167, 229, 406, 413, 629, 848
 Gênevrey de Vif, 537
 Gennevilliers, 130
 Genoa, 407, 410, 411, 471
 Germaines, 142
 Gërman (Germani, Ghermani, Burrel), **481–484**, 486, 487, 490, 491, 494, 495, 496, 498, 499, 540
 Germany, 2, 5, 10, 18, 24, 38, 40, 46, 49, 67, 70, 72, 76, 80, 107, 108, 120, 125, 131, 133, 151, 207, 211, 234, 250, 291, 302, 308, 327, 335, 354, 382, 387, 391, 404, 408, 409, 415, 425, 438, 442, 448, 456, 457,

462, 485, 502, 552, 560, 561, 562, 565, 570, 579, 582, 619, 647, 669, 792, 793, 836, 842, 843, 846, 849, 871, 872, 887, 889, 894, 895
 Gers Département, 116, 122, 123, 124, 164, 177
 Géryville (El Bayadh), **270**
 Gesztely, 370
 Gevgeli, 32
 Ghardaïa, 264, 266, 269
 Gharian (Ghuryan), 528, 529
 Gherășeni, 600
 Ghermani. *See* Gërman
 Ghidighici, 638
 Ghidirim, 599, 747
 Ghindești-Soroca, 601
 Ghioroc, 761
 Ghuryan. *See* Gharian
 Giado (Jadu), **528–529**
 Gibraltar, 289, 413
 Gigen, 3
 Gioia del Colle, 400, **431–432**, 435
 Gironde Département, 177, 178
 Giulianova, 445
 Giumiurdzhina. *See* Komotini
 Giurgeni, 672, 764
 Giurgeni-Urziceni highway, 764
 Gizeau, 160
 Gjakova (Gjakovë), 482, 490
 Gjirokastrë. *See* Argirocastro
 Glina, 48
 Glück lumberyard, 384
 Gnivan, 826
 Goa, 251
 Gödöllő, 322
 Goga-Cuza, 319
 Golcinti. *See* Halcinți
 Golikovka. *See* Äänislinna
 Golta, 576, 579, 581, 588, 589, 591, 592, 604, 606, 609, 610, 611, 612, 614, 638, 641, 642, 658, 660, 661, 670, **680–682**, 683, 685, 686, 695, 696, 702, 711, 717, 718, 720, 735, 739, 740, 755, 763, 785, 795, 797, 798, 802, 803, 815, 819, 827, 830
 Golta/LPRS and Labor Camps, **682–683**
 Gonars, 416, 427, **432–433**, 442, 447, 454, 476, 541, 545, 550
 Gönc, 353
 Gonda Voda, 3, **18–19**
 Gönyü, 329
 Gorai (Horai), **683–684**
 Gordievca (Gordievka, Hordiivka), **684–685**
 Gorica (Nova Gorica), 545
 Gorizia, 415, 429, 442, 449, 450, 458, 460, 476, 477
 Gorizia Hills, 442
 Gorj, 781
 Gorna Dzhumaya (Blagoevgrad), 9, 11, **19**, 38, 39
 Gorna Oryahovitsa, 13, 14, **19–20**, 42
 Gornja Rijeka, 66, 71, 72
 Gorski Kotar, 541
 Gospić, 48, **54–55**, 58, 59, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70
 Gospić/Jadovno, 48, 49, 54, **55–56**
 Gospić/Pag Island (Isola da Pago), 54, 55, **57–58**, 59, 69, 70

Gottesman School, 679
 Grabivți (Chervona), **685**
 Grado, 429
 Gradovca, 579
 Grammont (Chateau-de-Grammont), **148–149**
 Granik, 61
 Gran Sasso Island, 432, **434–435**, 436, 461
 Gravosa (Gruž), 545, 546, **548**, 554
 Great Britain, 31, 169, 274, 285, 393, 401, 457, 794, 842, 844, 894
 Greater Romania. *See* Bessarabia; Bukovina; Cadrilater; Dobruja; Romania; Transylvania
 Great Synagogue, 679
 Greece, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 16, 19, 24, 28, 31, 36, 37, 38, 46, 49, 95, 125, 235, 392, 479, 484, 485, 488, 496, 500, 835
 Greece (Italian-occupied), 505–526
 Grenoble, 236
 Grez-en-Bouère (Mauditière, Meslay), **149**, 188
 Grigoriopol, 676
 Grinăuți, 648
 Grini, 562, 567
 Grosdovca (Grozdvka, Gvozdovka Vtoraya), 608, **685–687**, 695
 Gross Betschkerek. *See* Petrovgrad
 Grosseto, 455, 456, 459
 Gross-Rosen, 167, 315, 339, 347, 386, 459
 Grosulovo (Grossolovo, Grosulova, Velyka Mykhailivka), **687–688**, 812
 Grubišno Polje, 68
 Gruž. *See* Gravosa
 Gudovac, 47, 48
 Guenfounda. *See* Ain Guenfounda
 Guéret, 136
 Guerrah. *See* El-Guerrah
 Guiche, 198
 Guinea. *See* French Guinea
 Guir River, 247
 Gulaievca. *See* Hulievca
 Gulf of Gaeta, 472
 Gulf of Salerno, 412
 Gulianca, 620
 Gunskirchen, 306
 Gura-Humorului, 752
 Gurs, 89, 92, 94, 96, 97n16, 101, 103, 104, 109, 114, 116, 120, 123, 124, 125, 126, 128, 133, 136, 141, 148, **150–152**, 155, 156, 164, 169, 172, 177, 183, 184, 189, 190, 207, 215, 217, 219, 221, 229, 230, 234, 236
 Gusen, 410
 Guyana, 332
 Gvozdiovca (Hvozdavka Persha), 592
 Gvozdovka. *See* Vazdovca
 Gvozdovka Vtoraya. *See* Grosdovca
 Gyergyószentmiklós, 373
 Gyöngyös District, 337
 Győr, 310, 311, **339–340**
 Győr-Moson-Pozsony County, 339
 Győrsziget. *See* Sziget
 Hadjerat M'Guil (Hadjeret et Meguil), 247, 251, **270–272**, 276
 Hagymászlápos, 358

- Haidari, 508
Hajdú County, 334, 335
Hajdúböszörmény, 304, 311, 335
Hajdúdorog, 311, 335
Hajdúhadház, 311, 335
Hajdúnánás, 311, 335
Hajdúsámson, 335
Hajdúszentgyörgy, 334
Hajdúszoboszló, 311, 335
Halcinți (Halcintz, Galcinți, Golcinți, Shevchenkove), **688–689**
Hanko, 80, 82
Hanušovce nad Topľou, 844, 855, 856, **861–862**, 874
Harangláb, 318
Harangod plain, 364
Harar, 503
Haricot. *See* Bou Denib
Háromszék, 309
Hârșova, 764
Hartonen, 87
Haskovo, 11–12, **20–21**, 22, 27
Hassloch, 189
Hatvan, 305, 310, 311, 366
Haute-Barde, 160
Haute-Garonne Département, 110, 114, 155, 156, 177, 191, 206, 212, 236
Haute-Loire Département, 219, 220, 234
Haute-Marne Département, 142, 181
Haute-Normandie, 173
Hautes-Alpes. *See* Basses-Alpes Département
Haute-Saône Département, 148
Haute-Savoie Département, 105, 148, 217, 228, 229, 533, 534
Hautes-Pyrénées Département, 109, 110, 120, 163, 164
Haute-Vienne Département, 115, 122, 124, 125, 128, 133, 138, 159, 177, 189, 209, 221, 224, 226, 230, 231, 233
Hegyeshalom, 306, 327, 329
Hegyhát, 366
Heidelberg, 104, 126
Heidenau (Bor subcamp), 320, 321
Hejósca, 353
Helm Hotel, 517
Helsinki, 83, 87
Helylä, 22, 82
Heraklion, 521
Hérault Département, 101, 146, 158, 183, 198
Herend, 385
Herminamajor, 332
Hertza (Herța), 570, 758
Herzegovina, 69, 551. *See also* Bosnia-Herzegovina
Heves, 310, 337
Hiadel', **862**
Hidalmás, 348
Hidasnémeti, 353
Hidegség, 306
Hincești, 734
Hobyaa, 504
Hódmezővásárhely, 304, 311
Hodonín, 858
Holíč, 847
Homorod. *See* Vlădeni-Homorod/LPRS No. 2
Homs (Al Khums, Khoms), 530
Hôpital Psychiatrique de Lannemezan (Psychiatric Hospital of Lannemezan, HPL), 164
Hôpital Saint-Jean (Saint-Jean Hospital), 198, 218
Hôpital Saint-Louis (Saint-Louis Hospital), 149, 197, 198
Horai. *See* Gorai
Hordiivka. *See* Gordievca
Horodkivka. *See* Miascovca
Horthyliget (Újtelep), 332, 333
Hôtel Atlantique, 174
Hotel Benkovski, 30
Hôtel de Bompard. *See* Marseille
Hotel des Marquisats. *See* Marquisats Hotel
Hôtel-Dieu, 216
Hôtel du Tourisme, 120
Hôtel le Terminus du Port. *See* Marseille
Hôtel Levant, 174
Hôtel Sarthe, 120
Hôtel Szabadság, 383
Hotel Tiranë, 496
Hotin, 601, 629, 636, 650, 676, 677, 715, 745, 758, 759, 774, 820
Hoțului, 593
HPL. *See* Hôpital Psychiatrique de Lannemezan
Hraň. *See* Garany
Hrinovca (Hrinivca, Hrinova, Khrenovka), **689–690**
Hrvatska Mitrovica (Sremska Mitrovica), 64
Huelgoat, 130
Huittinen, 82
Hulievca (Huliaevovka, Hulyaivka, Gulaievca), **690–691**, 777
Humenné, 864
Hunedoara, 654, 655, 656, 761
Hungarian Gendarmerie camps: District I, 307, 311, 368; District II, 307, 310; District III, 307, 311, 359, 372, 385; District IV, 307, 311, 316, 343, 385; District V, 307, 311, 335; District VI, 307, 311, 335; District VII, 307, 310, 311, 337, 353, 374; District VIII, 306, 307, 356, 384; District IX, 306, 307, 309, 319, 348, 357; District X, 306, 307, 309
Hungary, 46, 47, 64, 68, 125, 131, 218, 301–387, 438, 570, 792, 832, 833, 843, 844, 847, 871, 872, 873, 876, 878, 885, 886. *See also* Austria-Hungary
Huși, 614, 814
Hussein-Dey, 277
Huszt (Chust, Khust), 308, **340–341**, 377
Hvar Island. *See* Lesina Island
Hvozdvka Druha. *See* Vazdovca
Hvozdvka Persha. *See* Gvozdirovca
Iabocricior. *See* Zabocrici
Ialomîța, 620, 672, 707, 764
Iampol (Yampil, Yampol), 569, 595, 618, 651, **691–693**, 697, 709, 718, 751, 756, 759, 768, 783, 790, 829
Iarișev (Yarishev), 741, 760, 821
Iaroșinca. *See* Yaroshenka
Iaruga (Jaruga, Yaruha), **693–695**, 756
Iași (Iassy, Yassy), 571, 574, 600, 624, 648, 740, 744, 745, 768, 789, 804, 807, 814, 818
Iasinova (Iașii Noi 1 and 2, Yasenove), **695–696**, 702
Iassy. *See* Iași
Ibrány, 364
Igal, 343
Ignon Forest, 181
Ihtiman, 7, 12, **21–23**
Ilava, 844, 859, 860
Ilava/Detention Center (Zaist'ovaci tábor v Ilave, ZTI), 848, 854, 856, **862–864**, 880, 889
Ilava/Work Center for Jews, **864–865**
Ilava/Work Unit, **865–866**
Ile-de-France, 146
Ilfov, 618, 620, 707, 764, 824. *See also* Călărași
Il'ichevo. *See* Jalkala
Il'inskiy. *See* Alavainen
Ilkamajor, 306
Ille-et-Vilaine Département, 167, 210
Illéspuszta, 342, 374
Ilmajoki, 82
Im-Fout (Imfoud, In-Fout, In-Foud), **272–273**
Immaculate Conception convent. *See* Campagna
Immuizer des Marmoucha (Imouizzer), **273**
Imperia, 471
Imperia Prison, 531, 532
Impilahti, 82
Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, NDH). *See* Croatia
Independența/LPRS No. 16, 620, 656, **696–697**
Indre Département, 133
Indre-et-Loire Département, 156, 157, 160, 161, 186
In-Fout. *See* Im-Fout
Innsbruck, 320, 321
Inotești, 624
Ioannina (Yannena), **514–516**
Ionian Islands, 513
Ipoly River (Ipel'), 315
Ipolyság (Šahy), **341–342**
Isère Département, 140, 205, 226, 236
Isernia, **433–434**
Iskür River, 4, 17
Isola di Mezzo. *See* Mezzo Island
Island of Rhodes. *See* Rhodes
Ismail, 613, 614, 615, 784, 785
Isokyrö, 82
Isola da Pago. *See* Gospić/Pag Island
Isola del Gran Sasso. *See* Gran Sasso Island
Isola d'Elba. *See* Elba Island
Isola di Ustica. *See* Ustica Island
Isolotto Calogero, 468
Isontino, 450
Isonzo River, 429, 449, 477
Israel, 12, 788
Istonio Marina (Vasto Marina), **435–436**
Itala, 504
Italian East Africa (Africa Orientale Italiana, AOI), 502–504

Italy, 30, 46, 50, 58, 69, 92, 105, 131, 151, 250, 302, 335, 389–478, 482, 484, 486–487, 489, 491, 493, 494, 495, 496, 499, 500, 502, 509, 511, 512, 513, 515, 528, 529, 531, 532, 535, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 547, 550, 552, 555, 556, 570, 647, 832, 833, 842, 843, 871; Albania (occupied), 479–501, 832; East Africa (occupied), 502–504; France (occupied), 531–539, 546; Greece (occupied), 505–526; North Africa (occupied), 502, 527–530, 894–897, 898, 899–902; Yugoslavia (occupied), 400, 401–402, 404, 418, 420, 427–428, 432, 454, 485, 540–557

Itter Castle, 145

Iuch Bunar, 7, 8, 35, 36

Ivalo, 82

Ivangorod, 579

Ivánka, 857

Ivánka pri Dunaji, **866–867**, 869

Ivanovka. *See* Vazdovca

Ivory Coast. *See* Côte d'Ivoire

Ivrea, 401

Iž Mali. *See* Eso Piccolo

Izvorche, 26

Jablanac, 49, 64

Jablonica, **867**, 869

Jabocrici. *See* Zabocrici

Jacques Cartier prison, 211

Jadovno. *See* Gospić/Jadovno

Jadu. *See* Giado

Jageršek. *See* Zalaegerszeg

Jalkala (Il'ichevo, Yalkala), 87

Janaale (Janale, Genale), 504

Jäniskoski, 82

Jánoshalma, 315

Japy Gymnasium, 96

Jarabá, **867–868**

Jargeau, 106, 142, **152–154**, 157, 162, 173, 187, 201, 210

Jaruga. *See* Iaruga

Jasenovac (camp complex), 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53, 55, 59, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76

Jasenovac I (Krapje), 48, **58–60**

Jasenovac II (Bročice), 48, **58–60**

Jasenovac III (Ciglane), 48–49, 59, **60–62**, 63, 76

Jasenovac IV (Kožara), 48, 59, **62–63**

Jasenovac V (Stara Gradiška), 48–49, 53, 55, **64–65**, 66, 68, 70, 72, 74

Jastrebarsko, 48, 49, 55, **65–67**, 74, 75

Jászberény, 320

Jászkarajenő, 345

Jász-Nagykún-Szolnok County, 378

Jaz Cove, 552

Jebel ech Chambi, 899

Jefren (Yefren), 528, 529

Jegersek. *See* Zalaegerszeg

Jelsa. *See* Gelsa

Jerada. *See* Djerrada

Jerusalem, 144

Jessoila (Essoila), 82

Jieť. *See* Petroșani

Jigovca (Dzygovka, Dzyhivka), **697–698**

Jijia River, 673

Jiu-Paroseni. *See* Lupeni

Jiu River, 655, 781

Jougar. *See* Djougar

Józsa, 335

Jugastru (Zhugastru), 575, 577, 659, 687, 691, 692, 697, 711, 712, 777, 782, 800, 801, 802, 811, 828. *See also* Iampol

Juigné-des-Moûtiers, 179

Juks Ferry School, 234, 235

Junimea School, 745

Jura, 106

Juralevca, 775

Kadarkút, 343

Kaid El Ayachi. *See* Sidi El Ayachi

Kailūka (Kaylaka), 21, 28, 36, 37

Kakar. *See* Buccari

Kál, 337

Kalamata, 516, 524

Kalavryta, **516–518**, 524

Kallithéa, **512–513**

Kalocsa, 311, **342**

Kälviä, 82

Kamenets-Podolsk, 303, 348, 352, 362, 364, 368, 370

Kampor (Campora). *See* Arbe

Kanatchivți. *See* Conotcăuți

Kangasjärvi (Kangasyarvi), 87

Kankan, 241, 260, 261, **273–275**, 279, 298

Kannus, 22

Kaplaneios, 515

Kapnikbánya, 358

Kápolnokmonostor, 358

Kaposvár, 311, **342–343**

Kapușany, 878

Kapustyany (Kapustiani). *See* Capustiani

Kapuvár, 372

Karcag, 311

Karelia. *See* Soviet Karelia

Karhumäki (Medvezhyegorsk), 82

Karkkila, 82

Karla Lake, 519

Karlobag, 57

Karlovac, 49, 68

Karlovo, 2

Karnobat, 11, 33

Kartaika (Kuhnersdorf), 690

Karvia, 82, 87

Karyshkiv (Karyshkov). *See* Carișcov

Kasbah Tadla (Kasba Tadla), **275–276**

Kaspichan, 14

Kassa (Kosiče), 304, 306, 308, 310, 339, **343–344**, 352, 363, 366, 367, 378, 380

Kasserine (Al-Qasrayn), 899

Katelina, 590

Katō Chōra, 521

Katouna, 506, 513, **518–519**, 525, 526

Katsmaziv. *See* Cațmazov

Katunitsa, 14

Katyn forest, 20

Kavajë (Kavaja), 481, 482, **484–486**, 487, 489, 491, 496, 497, 498, 540

Kavala, 19, 38

Kaylaka. *See* Kailūka

Kazanlūk, 10

Kea Island (Tzia Island), 508, 522

Kecel, 311

Kecskemét, 305, 311, 318, **344–345**

Kef. *See* Le Kef

Kék, 364

Kékes, 336

Keleti Railway Station, 328, 329

Kellomäki, 87

Kenadsa (Kenadza, Kenadzan), 241, 251,

254, 259, 268, 271, **276–277**, 278, 279, 291

Kenyérmező (Kenyermezo), 310, 373

Kerch, 615

Kerecsend, 337

Kerestinec, 48, **67–68**

Kérkyra. *See* Corfū

Kerpape sanatorium, 163

Kersas (Kersah, Kerzaz, Khersas, Kerras), 247, **277–278**, 281

Keszthely, **345**, 386

Khenchela, **278–279**

Khoms. *See* Homs

Khotin, 667

Khrenovka. *See* Hrinovca

Khust. *See* Huszt

Kiev, 604, 606, 766, 771, 827

Kiianovka. *See* Chianovca

Kilkis, 524

Kilometric Point 384 (Point Kilométrique 384, PK 384), 286

Kindia (Kinda), 241, **279**

Kingdom of Hungary. *See* Hungary

Kingdom of Italy. *See* Italy

Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia, 535

Kingdom of Romania. *See* Romania

Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

See Yugoslavia

Kingdom of Yugoslavia. *See* Yugoslavia

Kinnasvaara, 81

Kiostendil, 9, 35

Királyerdő, 332

Kirkova, 26

Kirnasovca, 701

Kirovograd, 579

Kirvu, 82

Kishinev. *See* Chișinău

Kiskálló, 364

Kiskőrös (Kiskörös, Kiskörös), 311, 345

Kiskunfélegyháza, 311

Kiskunhalas, 306

Kiskunlacháza, 331

KISOK (Budapest), **326–327**

Kispest, 323, 331

Kistarcsa (Toloncház II), 303, 328, 329, 330, 333, **345–347**, 369, 382

Kisvárd, **347**

Kitee, 82

Kiuruvesi, 82

Kivennapa (Pervomayskoye), 87

Kjesäter, 566

Klausenburg. *See* Kolozsvár

Klos, 481, 482, 484, **486–488**, 498, 540

Kočevje, 442

Kodyma (Kodima), 640

Kodyma River, 592, 695

Kokkola, 22

Kolašin, 540

Kolónia Alžbeta. *See* Miloslavov

Kolonjë (Kolonja, Kolonia), 479, **488–489**, 492

- Kolosivka. *See* Colosovca
 Kolosjoki, 82
 Kolosovca, 799
 Kolozsborsa, 348
 Kolozs County, 309, 347, 348
 Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, Klausenburg), 304, 307, 309, 310, 319, 326, 336, **347–348**, 678
 Kolvasjärvi (Kolvasozero), 81
 Komanto Piatza, 510
 Komárom (Komárno), 304, 310, 311, 336, 337, **349–350**, 360, 382
 Komotini (Giumiurdzhina), 16
 Komsí, 481
 Konatkivtsi (Konatkovtsy). *See* Conotcăuți
 Koncentračné stredisko Židov Bratislava-Patrónka. *See* Bratislava-Patrónka
 Kondas (Kondar), 899, **900**
 Konitsa District, 500
 Kopaigorod (Kopaihoroda, Kopaygorod). *See* Copaigorod
 Koprivnica (Danica), 56, **68–69**
 Kopystyryn. *See* Capusterna
 Korčula Island. *See* Curzola Island
 Korem–Quoram, 503
 Körmend, 379
 Körösmező, 368
 Korosten, 305
 Kosharyntsi. *See* Coșarînți
 Kosiče. *See* Kassa
 Kosolovca, 720
 Kosovo, 46, 452, 481, 482, 484, 486, 487, 488, 490, 491, 494, 495, 496, 498, 832
 Kostinbrod, 13
 Kostolná, **868–869**, 870, 884
 Kőszeg, 304, 306, 327, 379
 Kotmazov. *See* Çațmazov
 Kotor Bay, 551
 Kotovsk. *See* Birzula
 Koulikoro (Koulikorro), 241, 274, **280–281**, 298
 Kovačić Hotel, 549
 Kovaliovka (Kovalivka). *See* Covaliovca
 Koveri (Kovero, Kovera), 82, 87
 Köyliö, 82
 Kožara. *See* Jasenovac IV
 Kozirca, 590
 Központi, 331
 Kozubivka. *See* Moldavca
 Kragujevac, 835
 Krakau (Kraków), 849
 Krakau-Płaszów, 352
 Kraków. *See* Krakau
 Kraljevica. *See* Porto Re
 Kral'ovany, **869–870**, 883, 891
 Krapje. *See* Jasenovac I
 Krasmenca, 661
 Krasne. *See* Crasna
 Krasnen'ke (Krasnenchi). *See* Crasneanca
 Krasnoe. *See* Crasna
 Krasnoznamenska. *See* Riisihisyrjä
 Krasnye Okna, 675
 Kremnička, 849
 Kresna, 38
 Kriniski, 579
 Kristiansand, 562
 Kristiansund, 567
 Kriva Palanka, 32
 Krivorushiko, 719
 Krivoye-Ozero. *See* Crivoi Ozero
 Krizhopol'. *See* Crijopol
 Krøkebørsletta, 562
 Kruja (Krujë), 481, 485, **489**, 491, 496, 501
 Krupnik, 8
 Kruščica, 48, 49, 55, **69–70**, 71
 Kruševac, 835
 Krushynivka (Krushynovka). *See* Crușinovca
 Krüstopole (Enikioi), 3, 4, **24–25**
 Kryve Ozero, 658, 718
 Kryzhopil' (Kryzhopol'). *See* Crijopol
 Ksabi, 247, 251, 277, 278, **281**
 Ksar Boukhari. *See* Boghari
 Ksar El Abadla. *See* Abadla
 Ksar El Boukhari. *See* Boghari
 Kuban, 620
 Kubey. *See* Cubei
 Kudryavtsivka, 720
 Kuhnersdorf. *See* Kartaika
 Kukavka. *See* Cucavca
 Kukës (Kukes), **489–490**, 492
 Kukonmäki. *See* Äänislinna
 Kula, 13n20
 Kulata, 8, 37
 Kumanovo, 32
 Kupa River, 73
 Kupari. *See* Cupari
 Kurievka, 579
 Kurkijoki, 82
 Kürnare, 30
 Kurtovo Konare, 8, 12, 13n20
 Kurzbach, 350
 Kuzmintsy, 636
 Kuz'myntsi. *See* Cuzminți
 Kvarner Bay islands, 448
 Kyustendil, 11
 Kyyanivka. *See* Chianovca
 La Bourboule, 136, **154**, 167, 223
 La Brenne Regional Park, 133
 La Castelletta, 446
 La Ciobat, 169
 La Forge Neuve. *See* Moisdon-la-Rivière
 La Goulette, 895
 La Guette, 154
 La Guiche, **156**
 La Lande-à-Monts, 94, **156–158**, 161
 La Marne, **283**
 La Marsa (Al Marsa), 900
 La Meyze (La Meyse), **158–160**, 230
 La Mine, 110
 La Morellerie (Avrillé-lès-Ponceaux), 157, **160–162**, 186
 La Pergola, 120
 La Petite Roquette prison. *See* Paris
 La Plaine du Lac, 122
 La Prairie, 120
 La Roquebrussane, 169
 La Roquette prison, 130
 La Route de Limoges, 178
 La Santé prison, 130
 La Seyne, 122
 La Spezia, 405
 La Tourette, 138
 La Tréfilerie, 116
 La Verrie, 181
 Laatokka Lake. *See* Ladoga Lake
 Láb, 845, 868, **870**
 Labergement-lès-Moloy. *See* Moloy
 Lacaune-les-Bains, **155**, 177
 Laconia, 524
 Ladijin (Ladajin, Ladizin, Ladigeni, Ladyzhin, Ladyzhyn), 626, 634, 635, **698–700**, 701, 805
 Ladijin/Stone Quarry (Cariera de Piatră), 699, **700–702**, 731, 805, 806
 Ladoga Lake (Laatokka Lake), 81
 Ladyzhin (Ladyzhyn). *See* Ladijin
 Lagărul de prizonieri de război americani (LPRA). *See* POW camps (Romania)
 Lagărul de Prizonieri de Război Sovietici (LPRS). *See* POW camps (Romania)
 Lager Kalbert. *See* Salzgitter
 Laghouat (Nili), 241, 264, **281–282**, 900
 Lagos, 298
 Laibach. *See* Lubiana
 Laihia, 82
 Lakatnik, 4, 17, 18
 Lama dei Peligni, **436**
 Lamač, 855
 Lamalou-les-Bains, **158**
 Lamartine School, 197
 Lamotte-Beuvron, **162–163**
 Lanciano (Sorge Villa), **436–437**
 Landau, 592, 642, 652, 653, 719, 777
 Landes Département, 123
 Landshut, 459
 Langeac, 220
 Langenbielau, 315
 Langhe, 407
 Langon, 218
 Langouhède, 202
 Langres, 142
 Languedoc-Roussillon, 101, 174
 Lannemezan, **163–164**
 Lapland. *See* Finnish Lapland
 Láposbánya, 358
 Lappeenranta, 22
 Lăpușna, 601, 637, 648, 677, 734
 Larissa (Larisa), 506, 511, **519–521**, 523, 524
 Laruns, 136
 Latina, 472
 Latva, 22
 Laurana (Lovran), **437–438**
 Lauria, **438**
 Laval, 149
 Lavaur, 113
 Lazaretto (Lazaretta) Island, 508, **513–514**, 515, 526
 Lazio, 449
 Laznica, 320
 Lazy Trnavy, 878
 Le Barcarès, 148, **164–166**
 Le Brébant. *See* Marseille
 Le Chambon-sur-Lignon, 225
 Le Cheylard, **166–167**
 Le Domaine du Pin de la Légue, 145
 Le Fraschette di Alatri (Alatri), 410, **438–439**, 452, 471, 552
 Le Kef (Kef, El Kef, Al Kaf), 250, **900**
 Le Kreider (El Kheither), **283**

Le Mans, 132, 186, 188
 Le Marche. *See* Marches
 Le Mont-Dore, 136, **167**, 223
 Le Mourtier, 537
 Le Sers, 250
 Le Vernet d'Ariège, 96, 117, 118, 119, 131, 156, 165, **171–173**, 183, 212, 226, 265
 Lecce, 412
 Leipzig, 221
 Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), 81, 87
 Lepoglava, 48, 49, **70–71**
 Lepsény, 385
 Les Alliers, **167–168**
 Les Marquisats. *See* Marquisats Hotel
 Les Milles, 94, 96, 123, **168–170**, 174, 175, 178, 207, 217, 221, 232
 Lesbos, 510
 Lesina Island (Hvar Island), 543, **548–550**
 Leskovac, 835
 Lespezi, 782
 Létráštětó, 353
 Leucate, 165
 Léva (Levice), 311, **350–351**, 385
 Levadeia, 522
 Levanger, 562
 Levice. *See* Léva
 Lévigny, 234
 Levunovo, 3
 Lhomeau, 149
 Libos, 206
 Libya, 242, 404, 406, 412, 418, 419, 422, 425, 431, 438, 470, 527, 528, 529, 530, 894, 895, 896, 899, 900, 901
 Lichtenfeld, 777, 778
 Light School, 679
 Liguria, 407, 409, 427, 471
 Lika, 54
 Lillestrøm, 567
 Limani, 61
 Limbenii Noi, 603, 710
 Liminka, 82
 Limoges, 124, 128, 140, 157, 189, 190, 221, 231
 Limousin region, 124, 230
 Limoux, 213
 Linas-Monthéry. *See* Monthéry
 Lipari Island, 69, 418, 437, **439–440**, 459
 Lipcani, 650, 759
 Lipník, 856, **870–871**, 878
 Lipovăț, 814
 Liptovský Svätý Peter, 845
 Litheos River, 523
 Lithuania, 179
 Littoria, 451–452, 473
 Liubașevca (Liubashevka, Lyubashivka, Lyubashivka), 608, 609, 610, 659, 686, 695, **702–703**, 815
 Liubopol (Lyubopil), 731
 Livezeni, 781
 Livne, 468
 Livorno, 421, 422, 432
 Ljubljana. *See* Lubiana
 Lobor, 72
 Loborgrad, 48, 49, 53, 55, 69, 70, **71–73**, 76
 Łódź, 138
 Lohja, 82

Loire-Atlantique Département (Loire-Inférieure), 129, 133, 157, 161, 179, 204, 237
 Loir-et-Cher Département, 162–163
 Loiret Département, 111, 135, 142, 152, 153, 163, 173, 198, 200, 201, 237
 Lom, 16, 19, 36, 37
 Lombardy (Lombardia), 441, 463
 London, 298
 Longueau, 130
 Lonja River, 58, 60
 Lonjsko polje, 58, 59
 Lopud Island. *See* Mezzo Island
 Lorient, 204
 Lorient, **173**
 Lorraine, 92, 168
 Losonc, 374
 Lot Département, 119, 205
 Lot-et-Garonne Département, 93, 115, 116, 123, 124, 208, 232
 Lot River, 116, 206
 Louviers, **173–174**
 Lovech, 8, 12, **25–27**, 39, 40
 Lövvö, 372
 Lovran. *See* Laurana
 Low Tatras mountains, 862
 Lozen, 29, 43
 Lozère Département, 114, 174, 211
 Lozova, **703–704**
 Lozovac, 552
 LPRA. *See* POW camps (Romania)
 LPRS. *See* POW camps (Romania)
 Lubeník, 880
 Lubiana (Laibach, Ljubljana), 402, 403, 416, 432, 433, 442, 476, 477, 541, 544, 545, **550–551**
 Lublin, 152, 847, 874, 879, 889
 Lublin-Maidanek (Majdanek), 145, 155
 Lucca province, 404, 405, 421. *See also* Bagni di Lucca
 Lucenek, **424**
 Luchon, 155
 Lucineț (Lucineți, Luchinets), **704–705**
 Ludwigsburg, 73
 Lugo di Ravenna, 428
 Lugo, 571, **705–706**
 Lugova (Luhova), **706–707**, 810
 Luigi Sbaiz barracks. *See* Visco
 Lujeni, 759
 Lukovit, 11
 Luncoiu de Jos, 655
 Luncoiu de Sus, 655
 Lupeni (Jiu-Paroseni), 655
 Lusdorf, 730
 Luxembourg, 206
 Luz-Saint-Sauveur, 136
 Lvov, 579, 701, 807
 Lynwood Villa, 531, **532–533**, 535
 Lyon, 122, 129, 143, 144, 172, 234, 240, 534
 Lyon region. *See* Rhône-Alpes region
 Lyubashivca (Lyubashivka). *See* Liubașevca
 Lyubopil. *See* Liubopol
 Macallè. *See* Mek'ele
 Macedonia, 8, 9, 11, 25, 31, 32, 33, 46, 486, 505, 508

Macerata, 415, 432, 437, 446, 447, 450, 451, 462, 466, 469, 470
 Mád, 353, 370
 Maddalena, 452
 Magdeburg-Rothensee, 365
 Magdolna Street (Budapest camp), **327–328**
 Magenta, 268, **283–284**, 289
 Mágyocs, 371
 Magyarlápós, 336
 Mahdiya, 288
 Mährisch Weisswasser, 316
 Maia, 764
 Maia/LPRS No. 12, **707–708**
 Măicănești, 620
 Maine-&-Loire camp. *See* Montreuil-Bellay
 Maine-et-Loire Département, 180, 182, 185, 186, 188, 202, 222
 Maiovca (Moivka), 692
 Maison-Carrée, 277
 Maitova, 579
 Majdanek. *See* Lublin-Maidanek, 145
 Majestic Hotel, 94, 346
 Mak'at'awa (Mek'et'ewa), 504
 Makkosjánosi, 318
 Maklár train station, 338
 Makó, 311
 Maktiwa, 504
 Malavieille, **174**
 Mali. *See* French Sudan
 Malina Stream, 870
 Malines. *See* Mecheln
 Malko Bülovo (Malko Belovo), 13
 Malquière, 155
 Malta, 289, 413
 Mamou, 274
 Mamula Island, **551–552**
 Manarov/Mándrova, 797
 Manastir, 483
 Manche Département, 110, 186
 Mândrov, 731
 Manfredonia, 417, 420, **440–441**
 Manfréd Weiss Works (camp), 332, 333
 Mangalia, 823
 Mannheim (Mannheim), 731, 797
 Manicovca (Man'kivka, Man'kovca), 707, **709–710**
 Mânjești, 814
 Man'kivka (Man'kovca). *See* Manicovca
 Mannheim. *See* Mannheim
 Manosque, 210
 Mans, 132
 Mantova, 441
 Mantua, **441–442**, 462
 Máramaros County, 317, 351, 377, 380
 Máramarossziget (Sighet, Sighetul Marmației), 317, **351–352**
 Mărășești, 624
 Marassi, 411
 Marcali, 304
 Marceau, 137
 Marcenat, 128
 Marcerata, 462
 Marches (Le Marche), 423
 Marcia Beach (Marcia Plage), 896, **900**
 Marco Foscarini Boarding School, 472
 Mărculești, 603, 632, 651, 707, **710–711**, 747, 751, 774

- Marghita. *See* Margitta
 Margit Boulevard (Budapest), **328**
 Margit Bridge, 329
 Margitta (Marghita), 362
 Margueritte camp. *See* Rennes
 Marianka (Mariatal), **871**
 Marienheim monastery, 792
 Marikostino (Marikostinovo), 8, 37, 38
 Marinovca (Mar'yanivka), 690
 Markivka River, 711
 Marne Département, 235
 Maros-Torda County (Mureş district), 309, 352, 373
 Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), 307, 309, **352**
 Marquisats Hotel, 105
 Marrakech, 247, 250, **284**, 292
 Marseille, 104, 129, 144, 145, 168, 172, 179, 210, 221, 240, 248, 249, 262; Hôtel de Bompard, 94, 169, **174–175**, 211; Hôtel le Terminus de Port, 94, 169, 174, **175–176**; Le Brébant, **176**
 Marvejols, 174
 Mar'yanivka. *See* Marinovca
 Marzocco, 460
 Mascara, 259
 Mas-des-Près. *See* Reillanne
 Massawa (Massaua), 503
 Masseria Gigante, 401
 Masseube, 104, 116, 124, **177**
 Mat District (Rrethi i Matit), 481
 Mátéfalva, 361
 Matera, 390, 415, 416, 420, 448, 449
 Mateuți, 749, 750
 Matievka, 579
 Matkaselkä, 82
 Mat River, 486
 Matrüh, 527
 Mauditière. *See* Grez-en-Bouère
 Mauriac, 219, 220
 Mauritanie (Mauritania), 240
 Mauthausen, 74, 108, 168, 210, 306, 327, 345, 349, 366, 410, 435, 515
 Mauthner, 332, 333
 Max Nordau Cultural Society, 679
 Mayenne Département, 149, 180, 187–188
 Mazzi Villa. *See* Civitella della Chiana
 Mecheln (Malines), 91, 184, 230
 Mecheria (Méchéria), 249, 263, 266, 283, **284–285**
 Medea, 250
 Mediouna, **285**
 Mediouna/GTE-14539, **285**
 Mediterranean-Niger railway (Mer-Niger railway, Trans-Saharan Railroad), 241, 242, 247, 248, 251, 259, 260, 271, 276, 280, 286, 287, 297
 Mediterranean Sea and coast, 131, 165, 218, 258
 Medjidia, 620
 Medžustrugove, 64
 Medvezhyegorsk. *See* Karhumäki
 Medzianky, 878
 Mees, 169
 Megeš, 878
 Megève, **533–534**, 537
 Mehedinți, 761, 808
 Mek'ele (Macallè), 504
 Mek'et'ewa. *See* Mak'at'awa
 Mekkès, 256, 293. *See also* Bou Denib
 Melada (Molat), 404, 426, 439, 459, 468, **552–553**, 557
 Menabba (Menabha), 259, **285–286**, 296.
See also Talzaza Menabba
 Mende, 211
 Mendefera, 503
 Mendida, 503
 Mengoub, 259, **286–287**, 296
 Menton (Mentone), 532, **534–535**
 Meran, 430
 Mereni, 571, 738
 Méridja (El-Méridj), 268, **287**
 Méridnac, 157, **177–178**
 Méron. *See* Montreuil-Bellay
 Meslay. *See* Grez-en-Bouère
 Mesologgi, 515
 Mestre, 472
 Metajna, 57, 69
 Metohija, 46, 487, 490, 832
 Metsäkylä (Molodezhnoye), 87
 Meurthe-et-Moselle Département, 137, 237
 Mexico, 101, 118, 265, 287, 293
 Mezöcsát, 353
 Mezökeresztes, 353
 Mezökövesd, 353
 Mezöszila, 385
 Mezzo Island (Isola di Mezzo, Lopud Island), 545, 548, **553–554**
 Miascovca (Miastkovka, Mişcova, Horodkivka), **711–713**
 Middle Atlas Mountains, 273
 Middle East, 509
 Midi-Pyrénées region, 109, 110, 113, 121, 182, 207, 212
 Miehikkälä, 81
 Mihăileni, 673
 Mihailovca (Mykhailivka), **713**
 Mikepércs, 335
 Mikre, 13, 25, 26
 Mila, 297
 Milan, 404, 405, 406, 408, 411, 418, 430, 432, 435, 441, 465, 470, 473, 474, 518, 552, 895
 Milcov Valley, 817
 Milles. *See* Les Milles
 Milna (Milona), 543
 Milos, 522
 Miloslavov (Kolónia Alžbeta, Alžbetin dvor), 844, **871–873**, 885, 886
 Minimes Barracks, 95
 Mirabel, 101
 Miramas, **178–179**
 Mircești, 624
 Mirti House. *See* Tossicia
 Mişcova. *See* Miascovca
 Miskolc, 304, 307, 310, 311, **352–353**
 Missouri (Misur), **287–288**
 Misztófalú, 358
 Mitki (Mitkii, Mitchi, Mytki, Mytky), 610, **713–715**
 Mitrovica (Mitroviza), 496
 Mittelbau-Dora, 238
 Mlaka, 49, 64, 74, 75
 Modane, 531, 532, **535–536**, 537, 546
 Modena, 392, 401, 408, 420, 430, 431, 453
 Mogadishu, 504
 Mogador. *See* Tamanar
 Moggio. *See* Mojo
 Moghilev, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 592, 596, 618, 625, 628, 630, 635n5, 636, 643, 644, 650, 651, 657, 659, 663, 664, 665, 666, 674, 683, 685, 688, 689, 693, 703, 704, 713, 714, 715, 716, 721, 722, 723, 725, 731, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 745, 746, 752, 756, 757, 760, 766, 768, 770, 771, 772, 774, 797, 798, 799, 800, 803, 804, 807, 821, 822, 825, 826
 Moghilev-Podolsk, 592, 618, 629, 636, 657, 663, 664, 674, 694, 699, 703, 713, **715–717**, 721, 723, 745, 752, 758, 759, 760, 770, 774, 783, 795, 820, 821, 822
 Mohács, 304, **353–354**, 366, 367, 387
 Mohamedia, **900–901**
 Mohyliv-Podil's'kyi. *See* Moghilev-Podolsk
 Moico, 504
 Moisdon-la-Rivière (La Forge Neuve, “The New Forge”), 130, 133, **179–181**, 188, 204, 210, 237
 Moivka. *See* Maiovca
 Mojo (Moggio), 504
 Molat. *See* Melada
 Moldava, 656
 Moldavca (Moldavka, Kozubivka), 658, **717–718**
 Moldavia, 571, 624, 668, 674, 781, 782, 789, 814, 827
 Moldova, Republic of, 571, 574, 600, 602, 622, 623, 627, 628, 637, 648, 651, 676, 710, 735, 747, 748, 767, 783, 786, 795
 Molise, 399, 433
 Moll, 259
 Molocnea (Molochina, Moloknia), 579, **718–719**
 Molodezhnoye. *See* Metsäkylä
 Moloknia. *See* Molocnea
 Moloy (Labergement-lès-Moloy), 106, **181**
 Momina Klisura, 28, 29, 30
 Monfort Center. *See* Montmélian
 Monigo, 416, 433, **442–443**, 447, 476, 541, 543
 Monod (Oued Monod, Sidi Allal el Bahraoui), **288**
 Monok, 353
 “Monopol” tobacco warehouse. *See* Skopie
 Monor, 312, 323, **354–355**, 368
 Monostori Fortress, 349, 360
 Mons, 124, 190
 Monsempron, 206
 Monsireigne, **181–182**
 Montalbano (Rovezzano), **443**
 Montana. *See* Ferdinand
 Montauban, 182
 Montech, **182**
 Montechiarugolo, 417, **443–444**, 457, 458, 459
 Monteforte Irpino, 420, **444**
 Montélimar, 101, 173, **183**
 Montenegro, 47, 108, 452, 464, 482, 484, 485, 486, 490, 491, 494, 495, 496, 498, 500, 540, 551, 552, 832
 Montgivray, 133
 Monticelli Terme, 444

- Montignac, 127
 Montigny-le-Roi, 142, 143
 Monthéry (Linaz-Monthéry), 133, **183–184**, 188
 Montluçon, 94
 Montmélian (Monfort Center), **184–185**
 Montpellier, 141, 158, 198, 218
 Montréal cemetery, 113
 Montreuil-Bellay (Maine-&-Loire, Méron), 91, 110, 133, 160, 161, 180, 182, 184, **185–187**, 188, 202, 203, 210, 217, 222
 Monts. *See* La Lande-à-Monts
 Montsûrs (Chauvinerie camp), 149, **187–188**
 Mont-Valérien, 135
 Morand. *See* Boghari
 Morava River, 891
 Moravia, 842, 846, 860
 Morbihan Département, 163, 179, 204
 Morocco, 240, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257, 259, 261, 262, 264, 267, 268, 269, 271, 272, 273, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 894
 Morsciano, 447
 Mortagne-sur-Sèvre, 182
 Moscow, 18, 67, 80
 Moselle, 157
 Moskovits brickworks, 384
 Moșnița Nouă, 792
 Mosonmagyaróvár, 329
 Mosonszentmiklós, 306
 Mosonyi Street, Budapest (Toloncház I & II), **328–329**
 Mostar, 459, 547
 Most na Ostrove (Most pri Bratislave), **873**, 878
 Mostovoi (Mostove, Mostovoie, Mostovoy), 579, 594, 614, 642, 643, 690, **719–721**, 777, 778, 813, 821
 Motohija, 482
 Mottino barracks. *See* Aosta
 Moulay Bouazza (Moulay Bou Azza). *See* Bou Azzer; Oued Zem and Moulay Bouazza
 Moulouya River, 287
 Mount Fumone, 438
 Movila Aviatiei, 603
 Muć, 556
 Mühl Dorf, 366
 Mukačevo (Mukachevo). *See* Munkács
 Mulsanne, 133, 180, 184, 186, **188–189**, 202
 München, 320
 Munich, 425, 842
 Munkács (Mukačevo, Mukachevo), 307, 308, **355–357** 362
 Muolaa, 22
 Muqdisho, 504
 Murafa, 577, 625, **721–723**
 Murafa River, 633, 721, 770
 Muraköz, 359
 Muránska Dlhá Lúka, 880
 Murashka River, 629
 Mureș district. *See* Maros-Torda County
 Mureș River, 761
 Murmansk, 562
 Mussolini, City of. *See* Forli
 Mustasaari, 82
 Mustio, 82
 Myjava, 854
 Mykhailivka. *See* Mihailovca
 Mykolaiv, 615
 Mykolaivs'ka, 643
 Myrнопillya. *See* Friedenthal
 Mysen, 562
 Mytki (Mytky). *See* Mitki
 Mýto pod Dumbierom, 867
 Myzeqe Plains, 479, 488
 Naâma, 284
 Nádasment, 348
 Nafplio, 505, 518, 520
 Nagyatád, 343
 Nagybjajom, 343
 Nagybánya (Baia-Mare), 304, 309, **357–358**
 Nagybátöny-Újlaki Brickyards. *See* Újlaki Brickyards
 Nagycenk, 306
 Nagydemeter, 319
 Nagyilonda, 336
 Nagykálló, 364
 Nagykanizsa, 303, 311, **358–360**, 382
 Nagykáta, 311
 Nagykörös, 345
 Nagymegyer, 337
 Nagysikárló, 358
 Nagysomkút, 358
 Nagysurány (Šurany), **360**
 Nagyszőlős (Nagyszőlös, Seleșu Mare, Sevluš, Szelis, Vinohradov, Vynohradiv), 308, **360–362**
 Nagyvárad, 309, 310, 311, **362–364**
 Nagyvázsöny, 385
 Nailat, 189
 Nail Loschwitz, 189
 Nalchik College of Medicine, 662
 Nancy, 137, 264
 Nantes, 130, 179, 180, 186
 Naples, 400, 424, 438, 462, 472, 511
 Napoléon Barracks, 95
 Narvik, 567
 Naszód, 319
 Natzweiler (Struthof), 92
 Nay, **189**
 NDH. *See* Croatia
 Nedelino (Nedülinö), 4, **27**
 Nefasilk, 503
 Nefasit, 503
 Negrești, 814
 Nemecká, 849
 Nemerici (Nemerche, Nemertji), **723–724**
 Nemesabony, 337
 Nemesbük, 345
 Nemeskér, 372
 Nemirow, 579
 Nemiya River, 741, 772
 Nemours, 293
 Nepolocăuți (Nepolokivtsi), 820
 Néresi. *See* Nerezisce
 Nereto, **445–446**, 465
 Nerezisce (Néresi), 543
 Nestervarca (Nestervarka), **724–726**, 799, 806
 Nestore River, 447
 Nestorio Kastorias, 509
 Netherlands, the, 31, 109, 151, 206, 218, 457, 531
 Neuengamme, 238, 349, 532
 Neustadt, 350
 Neustadt an der Waag. *See* Nové Mesto nad Váhom
 Neuvéglise, 128
 Neuvic-d'Ussel, 182
 Neu Zuczka (Neyzuchka), 786
 New York, 438
 Nexon, 122, 125, 127, 133, 139, 177, **189–191**, 206, 207, 209, 221, 226, 230, 232, 233, 237, 253
 Neyzuchka. *See* Neu Zuczka
 Nezavisna Država Hrvatska. *See* Croatia
 Nice (Nizza), 92, 408, 531, 532, 533, 535, 536, 537, 538
 Nicolaev (Nikolayev, Mykolaiv), 598, 615, 640, 645, 650, 716, 722, 723, 726, 743, 798, 799, 804, 807
 Nièvre, 222
 Nigeria, 298
 Niger River, 260, 273, 280
 Nikolaev, 652
 Nili. *See* Laghouat
 Niš, 320, 833, 835
 Nisko, 887
 Nitra, 856, 857, 864, 871, 885, 886
 Nižný Hrabovec, 844, 861, **874**
 Nizza. *See* Nice
 Nocra, 502, 503
 Noé, 96, 102, 114, 123, 156, **191–194**, 206, 207, 208, 209, 226
 Nógrád County, 310, 315, 374
 Nogyszalonta (Salonta), 362
 Nord, 91
 Normandy, 162, 184
 North Africa, 30, 92, 101, 144, 171, 176, 411, 413, 430, 502, 527, 528, 529, 531, 532, 533, 535, 537, 538. *See also* Algeria; Morocco; Tunisia; Vichy Africa
 North Africa (Italian-occupied), 502, 527–530, 894–897, 898, 899–902
 “Northern” camp. *See* Äänislinna
 Northern Transylvania, 302, 304, 306, 307, 308, 309–310, 319, 335, 348, 349, 351, 352, 357, 358, 362, 373, 377, 570
 Norway, 74, 80, 82, 559–567
 Noschiveț (Noskivtsi, Zatiș'e, Zatișcea, Zatișa), 771
 Notaresco (Notoresco), 415, 434, **446**
 Notre-Dame des Prés. *See* Reillanne
 Noua-Suliță, 650
 Nová Baňa, 887
 Nova Gorica. *See* Gorica
 Nováky, 841, 846, 847, 862, 864, 867, 870, **874–877**, 879, 881, 882, 887, 888, 889
 Novaya Uman, 579
 Nové Mesto nad Váhom (Neustadt an der Waag), **877–878**
 Nové Zámky, 360
 Novi Sad. *See* Újvidék
 Novi Sisak, 74

- Novi Vinidolski, 554
 Novo Mesto, 442
 Novo Obodovca, 726
 Nuove prison, 408
 Nuremberg, 356
 Nyiracsád, 364
 Nyirbátor, 364
 Nyirbogat, 364
 Nyíregyháza and Varjúlapos, 308, **364–365**
 Nyírjes, 364
 Nyírjespuszta, 315

 Oancea, 574
 Oasis Territory of Quargla. *See* Quargla
 Obbia–Hobyaa, 504
 Obilești, 620
 Obilićev Venac, 833
 Obodovca (Obodovka, Obodivka), 598, 610, 616, 617, 621, 635, 651, 662, 701, 707, 714, 718, 719, **726–728**, 754, 787, 790, 791
 Óbuda (Budapest), **329–330**
 Occupied Zone, Vichy France (Zone occupée, ZO), 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 102, 116, 124, 135, 147, 156, 157, 167, 193, 202, 230, 233
 Oceacov, 575, 579, 581, 589, 590, 604, 606, 650, 726, 753, 762
 Ochacov (Ochakov), 652–653, 728, 730, 740, 803
 Očová, 873, **878**
 Odaia, 797
 Ödenburg. *See* Sopron
 Odessa, 575, 576, 579, 589, 590, 592, 593, 594, 604, 606, 608, 612, 613, 615, 640, 641, 642, 670, 681, 690, 695, 716, 719, **728–729**, 739, 763, 766, 771, 775, 777, 795, 797, 811, 813, 818, 821, 827
 Odessa/Internment and Labor Camps, **730**
 Odessa/LPRS, **730–731**, 797
 Odorhei, 371
 Odžaki, 381
 Oești (Oiești), 575, 583, 646, 647
 Oestringen, 104
 Oiești. *See* Oești
 Olaszliszka, 370
 Oleanița (Olianița, Olyanitsa), 701, **731–732**
 Oleksandrivka. *See* Alexandrovca
 Oleksandrodar. *See* Alexandrodar
 Oleksiivka, 771
 Olevan Hotel, 549
 Olgopol (Oligopol, Ol'hopil'), 575, **732–734**, 811
 Olianita. *See* Oleanița
 Oligopol. *See* Olgopol
 Oliveto Villa. *See* Civitella della Chiana
 Olonets. *See* Aunus
 Oloron, 189
 Olt, 627
 Oltenia, 622
 Olviopol, 680
 Olyanitsa. *See* Oleanița
 Olympic Theater (Teatro Olimpico), 464, 474
 Olynek River, 693
 Omiš, 543
 Onega Lake (Ääninen Lake), 81, 87
 Onești-Noi (Onești), 575, **734–735**

 Onga-Muksa. *See* Onkamus
 Oniscova (Onyskove), 658
 Onkamus (Onga-Muksa), 87
 Onyskove. *See* Oniscova
 Oradea, 362
 Óradna, 319
 Oraison, 129, 225–226
 Oran, 240, 258, 262, 267, 268, 297. *See also* Southern Oran
 Oranienburg, 48
 Orava River, 869, 884
 Oresh, 13n14
 Orhei, 638, **735–737**, 748, 749
 Orimattila, 82
 Orivesi, 82
 Orléans, 152, 153, 178, 198, 199, 237
 Orléansville, 257
 Osievca (Osiivka, Osifca), **737–738**
 Osijek, 53, 76
 Osimo, 458, 460
 Oslo, 562, 565, 567
 Osmancea and Cobadin, 571, **738–739**
 Østfold, 562
 Ostmark. *See* Austria
 Ostrava, 887
 Oswego, 438
 Otaci. *See* Atachi
 Ouargla. *See* Quargla
 Oued Akreuch (Oued Akrach), 283, **288–289**
 Oued-Djerch (Oued-Djer, Pont de l'Oued Djer), 285, **289**
 Oued Monod. *See* Monod
 Oued Zem and Moulay Bouazza, 254, 275, 284, **289–290**, 294
 Oued Zeni. *See* Oued-Zenati-Bone
 Oued-Zenati-Bone, 268, **290**
 Oujda, 255, 267
 Oulmès. *See* El Karit
 Oulu, 82
 Oum Rabia River (Oum er Rbia River), 272, 294
 Ountal Mountain, 284
 Ovidiopol, 575, 591, 681, 731, **739–740**, 797, 818
 Oyonnax, 139
 Ozariñți (Ozarineț, Ozarenți, Ozarineti, Ozaryntsi, Ozarintsy), **740–742**, 756, 821
 Ózd, 353

 Paavola, 82
 Padova, 454, 477
 Padua. *See* Chiesanuova
 Paget, 145
 Pag Island. *See* Gospić/Pag Island
 Paks, 311, **365**
 Palaca Hotel, 549
 Palace District (Palotanegyed), 330
 Paladia, 601
 Palatinate (Saarpfalz), 151, 177
 Pale, 69
 Palestine, 2, 229, 242, 405, 425, 529, 580, 793, 887
 Palmanova, 476, 477
 Palotanegyed. *See* Palace District
 Pâncota, 761

 Panicale, 447
 Pannonian Plain, 383
 Pápa, 304, 311, **365–366**
 Parád, 369, 372
 Paraguay, 169, 447
 Paramythia, 516
 Paris, 50, 92, 94, 95–96, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134, 135, 151, 157, 183, 184, 199, 201, 211, 216, 226, 233, 240, 439, 534, 896; La Petite Roquette, 130, **194–195**, 211; Tourelles, 194, **195–197**
 Pârlita-Bălți, 601
 Pârliți Târg, 648
 Parma, 400, 443, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460
 Parschnitz, 339
 Pasațeli II, 791
 Pașcani, 807
 Pas-de-Calais Département, 91, 234, 235
 Patra, 510, 516
 Patrónka. *See* Bratislava-Patrónka
 Pau, 94, 140, 144, 155
 Pauliș, 761
 Pavlikeni, 20
 Pavlos Melas, 506, 508, 516
 Pavlovca, 797
 Pays de la Loire region, 185, 188, 203
 Pazardzhik, 13, 14, **27–28**, 30, 42, 43
 Pearl Harbor, 144
 Pec (Peć, Peč). *See* Pejë
 Pechora (Pechera). *See* Pecioara
 Peciara. *See* Pecioara
 Pećin. *See* Peqin
 Pecioara (Pechora, Pechera, Peciara, Peciora), 579, 626, 684, 694, 699, 714, 715, 725, **742–744**, 805, 807
 Pécs, 304, 307, 311, 354, **366–367**
 Pécsvárad, 366
 Peigney, 106. *See also* Fort-de-Peigney
 Pejë (Pec, Peć, Peč), 481, 482, 488, **490–492**, 493, 496, 498, 499
 Peloponnese region, 505, 516, 520, 524
 Pennabilli, 463
 Penne-d'Agenais, 124
 Peqin (Pećin), 479, 488, 490, **492–494**, 496
 Peräseinäjoki, 82
 Perelety, 598
 Perevalochnaya. *See* Äänislinna
 Périgueux, 125, 126, 128
 Perlak, 311, 359
 Pero, 87
 Perpignan, 131, 164, **197–198**, 214, 215, 218
 Perșani, 823
 Perugia, 403, 447, 448
 Pervomais'k (Pervomaysk). *See* Golta
 Pervomayskoye. *See* Kivennapa
 Pesaro, 432
 Pescara, 417, 420
 Peschanaia, 607
 Peschanka (Pishchanka), 640
 Peshtera, 29
 Pessac, 178
 Pest, 323, 324, 325
 Pest County jail, 346
 Pesterzsébet, 323
 Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun County, 306, 322, 323, 331, 342, 344, 345, 354, 368
 Pestszenterzsébet, 311, **367–368**

- Pétervásári, 304, 337
 Petič, 844, 861, 870, **878**
 Petra Olympou Sanitarium, 506
 Petriolo, **446–447**, 462, 467, 470
 Petriv's'ke. *See* Petrovski
 Petrošani (Jieț), 655
 Petroverovca, 593
 Petrovgrad (Gross Betschkerek, Zrenjanin), 833
 Petrovski (Petriv's'ke), 591, 818, 819
 Petrozavodsk. *See* Äänislinna
 Philippeville, 242
 Pholegandros (Folegandros), **521–522**
 Piacenza, 453
 Pianello, 423
 Piano, 457
 Pianura di Akaki, 503
 Piedmont, 402, 408. *See also* Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia
 Piegario, 447
 Piemonte, 407
 Pierre-Buffière, 127
 Pierrefort, 128
 Pierre-Lévée, 216
 Pierre Levée prison, 203
 Pietrafitta-Tavernelle (Ellera, Castello Sereni, Sereni Castle), 433, 442, **447–448**
 Pigny, camp of. *See* Bram
 Piliscsaba, 329
 Pinerolo, 519, 520
 Piraeus, 507, 509, 520
 Pirot, 19, 40
 Pirvomaisk, 609
 Pisa, 404, 470
 Pisarevo, 19
 Pishchanka. *See* Peschanka
 Pisticci, 390, 415, 416, 420, 429, **448–449**, 468
 Pitești, 661
 Pithiviers, 92, 96, 111, 130, 135, 153, 163, **198–200**, 216, 237
 Pithiviers (CSS), **200–202**, 216, 237
 Piuia Pietrii, 764
 PK. *See* Point Kilométrique 384
 Plav (Pllavë), 490, 496
 Plavecký Svätý Mikuláš, 867
 Plénée-Jugon, 188, **202**
 Ples Hotel, 877
 Pleven, 8, 11, 12, 19, 25, 26, 28, 30, 36, 37, 39, 42
 Pllavë. *See* Plav
 Ploemeur, 163
 Ploiești (Ploesti), 30, 571, 574, 618, 619, 620, 789, 793, 794
 Plosca, 759
 Plovdiv, 2, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 18, 22, 24, 27, **28–30**, 35, 37, 42
 Pod Gerlachom, 878
 Podgorica, 540
 Podilsk. *See* Birzula
 Podoleanca, 579
 Podravska Slatina, 76
 Podul Iloaiei, **744–745**
 Poggio Nativo, 424
 Poggio Terza Armata (Third Army Hill, Sdraussina, Zdravščina), 415, 429, **449–450**
 Point Kilométrique 384. *See* Kilometric Point 384
 Poissy prison, 130
 Poitevin, 203
 Poitiers (Route de Limoges), 112, 157, 162, 163, 178, 182, **202–204**, 216
 Poitiers-La Rochelle railway, 215
 Poland, 23, 25, 26, 31, 34, 36, 38, 40, 94, 109, 120, 125, 131, 135, 145, 151, 206, 207, 217, 218, 233, 251, 302, 338, 370, 382, 425, 438, 443, 474, 485, 565, 567, 570, 579, 634, 720, 846, 848, 855, 872, 873, 874, 879, 881, 886, 887, 889
 Polgar, 364
 Poličnik, 57
 Pollenza (Villa Lauri, Villa Laura), 437, 447, **450–451**, 462, 469, 470
 Pomáz, 323
 Ponente Ligure, 407
 Ponom farm, 730
 Pont de l'Oued Djer. *See* Oued-Djerch
 Pontavenaux, 217, 230
 Pontcharra, 236
 Ponte a Ema, 406
 Pontedera, 421
 Pontine Archipelago, 451
 Pontivy (Toulboubou), **204–205**
 Ponts-et-Chaussées, 113
 Ponza, 418, **451–453**, 455, 471, 473, 494, 495, 499
 Popivți (Popivët, Popivtsi), **745–746**
 Popovo, 31
 Popovți. *See* Popivți
 Poprad, 847, 854, 868, 869, **878–880**
 Pori, 82
 Portalet. *See* Fort du Portalet
 Portet-Saint-Simon train station, 208
 Portoferraio, 422
 Porto Re (Kraljevica), 541, 544, **554–556**
 Port-Vendres, 127, **205**
 Poruchik Minkov, 8, 37, 38
 Poruchik Minkov railway station, 14
 Postire (Postira), 543
 Postumiese, 450
 Potenza, 432, 438
 POW camps (Africa), 502, 503–504
 POW camps (Albania), 479, 481, 482, 486, 488, 490, 493, 494, 498
 POW camps (Finland), 81–82
 POW camps (Greece), 519, 524
 POW camps (Hungary), 359, 369
 POW camps (Italy), 392, 405, 421, 422, 427, 428, 430, 431, 432, 435, 438–439, 461, 462, 469
 POW camps (Norway), 562
 POW camps (Romania), 574–575, 583, 600–602, 615–616, 618–619, 620–621, 646–648, 654–656, 668, 671–673, 682–683, 696–697, 707–708, 713, 730–731, 764–766, 783–784, 793–795, 797–798, 814–815, 823–824
 POW camps (Serbia), 839–840
 POW camps (Soviet Union), 305, 362
 POW camps (Vichy Africa), 270, 273, 279, 280, 292, 298
 POW camps (Vichy France), 92, 129, 134, 152, 172, 182, 185, 188, 203, 215, 237
 POW camps (Yugoslavia), 427
 Požega. *See* Slavenska Požega
 Pozrom County, 360
 Prahova, 571, 620, 789
 Predappio, 428
 Prémol, **205**
 Preshevo, 32
 Prešov, 844, 849, 855, 864, 874
 Prešov–Strážske railway, 878
 Prešov-Vranov nad Topľou railway, 870
 Preveza, 515
 Prevlaka, 476, **551–552**
 Prezë (Preza), 452, 481, 482, 484, 486, 491, **494–495**, 496, 498, 499
 Prievidza, 868
 Prignano sulla Secchia, **453–454**
 Princess of Piedmont School, 417
 Pringy, 148, 149
 Prishtinë. *See* Priština
 prisoner of war camps. *See* POW camps
 Priština (Prishtinë), 479, 482, 488, 490, 491, 492, 493, **495–498**
 Privas, 122, 166
 Prizren, 479, 488, 490, 491, 492, 493, 499
 Prüg, 364
 Prut River, 571, 600, 622, 627, 631, 673, 705, 785, 808, 809, 820
 Psychiatric Hospital of Lannemezan. *See* Hôpital Psychiatrique de Lannemezan
 Puglia, 440, 467
 Puhtola, 87
 Pukë (Puk, Puke, Puka), 452, 471, 481, 482, 484, 486, 490, 494, **498–500**
 Punainen kylä. *See* Äänislinna
 Purcari-Iasca, 613, 785
 Püspökladány, 304
 Pustavám, 306
 Putila, 759
 Putna (Vrancea), 76, 648, 668, 679, 762
 Putnok, 353
 Puy-de-Dôme Département, 124, 136, 154, 167, 223
 Puy-l'Évêque, 119, **205–206**
 Pyhäniemi, 81
 Pyrenees Mountains, 93, 120, 150
 Pyrénées-Atlantique Département, 101, 109, 124, 125, 133, 136, 144, 148, 150, 167, 177, 189, 198, 223
 Pyrénées-Orientales Département, 96, 107, 123, 131, 148, 164, 174, 183, 197, 205, 213, 214, 218
 Pyrgaki, 517
 Pyrgos, 516
 Qābis. *See* Gabès
 Quargla (Ouargla, Wargla), 250, 278, **291–292**
 Queen Elisabeth Military Hospital (Spitalul Militar Regina Elisabeta), 619
 Quercy, 121
 Rab Island. *See* Arbe
 Rabat, 242, 259, 272, 276, 285, 286, 288, 289, 296
 Rabès, **206–207**
 Râbnîța (Rybnitsa), 575, 608, 610, 686, **747–748**, 749, 750, 768, 797, 812

- Ráckeve, 331
 Rădăuți, 571, 608, 622, 651, 671, 672, 677, 710, 715, 758, 810, 817, 820
 Rădăuți-Prut, 673
 Radauts, 667
 Radomir, 9, 29, 36
 Ragusa, 463
 Rahnei (Rakhny), 743
 Räisälä, 82
 Rakamaz, 364
 Rakhny. *See* Rahnei
 Rákoscaba, 311, 346
 Rákospalota, 311
 Ram Ram, **292–293**
 Râmanicu-Sărat, 571
 Râmniceni, 620
 Râmnicu Sărat, 620
 Râs el Ma. *See* Bedeau
 Rastadt, 579, 642, 719, 720, 775
 Rastislavice. *See* Degeš
 Ratnički dom, 833
 Raudaskylä, 22
 Răuț River, 600, 602, 710, 736
 Rautalampi, 82
 Rauțel. *See* Bălți/Rauțel
 Ravenna, 428
 Ravensbrück, 211, 238, 315, 350, 562, 849
 Rebrovo, 4, 17
 Récebédou, 96, 114, 123, 156, 177, 193, **207–209**
 “The Red House” (La Casa Rossa). *See* Alberobello
 “Red Village.” *See* Äänislinna
 Regat. *See* Moldavia; Romania
 Reggio Emilia, 457, 459, 460
 Reghin. *See* Szászrégen
 Regina Maria farm, 593
 Reguiseheim, 235
 Reillanne (Mas-des-Près, Notre-Dame des Prés), **210**, 232
 Reims, 896
 Reis Saltworks, 74
 Relizane (Rezaline), 257, **293**
 Remetea, 792
 René-Cassin School, 101
 Renicci di Anghiari, 416, 427, 433, 452, **454–455**, 471, 557
 Rennes, 180, **210–211**
 Reno farm (Odessa subcamp), 731
 Republicans’ Cemetery, 107
 Reșița, 655
 Revúca, 844, 856, **880–881**
 Rezaline. *See* Relizane
 Rezina, 599, 608, 610, 638, 677, 686, 710, 736, **748–750**, 768, 783
 Rhédey Garden, 363
 Rhodes, 425
 Rhon, 320
 Rhône-Alpes region, 105, 143, 166, 173, 183, 184, 217, 229
 Ribaritsa, **3**, **30**
 Rîbnița, 575
 Ricse, 303, **368–369**
 Rieti, 445, 459
 Rieti province, 401, 424, 445, 459
 Rieucros, 93, 114, 117, 156, **211–212**
 Riikhisyrjä (Krasnoznamenska), 87
 Riitasensuo, 82
 Rijeka. *See* Fiume
 Rillieux-la-Pape, 143
 Rimaszombat, 304
 Riom, 144
 Ripeaki, 579
 Risiera di San Sabba, 477, 542
 Rivel, 129, **212–213**, 225
 Rivesaltes (Camp Joffre), 96, 102, 103, 104, 114, 116, 123, 141, 148, 156, 169, 176, 183, 197, 207, 208, **213–215**, 218, 227
 Rivière des Bourbiers, 179
 Rocca Littorio. *See* Gaalkacyo
 Rocca of Caterina Sforza, 428
 Roccatederighi, **455–457**, 459
 Rock Pass. *See* Tash Boaz
 Rodez, 184
 Rogozna (Rohizna), 684, 714, 742, 770
 Röck-Szilárd Street (Budapest), **330**, 332, 333
 Roland-Garros, 92
 Romagna, 428
 Romainville, 211
 Roman, 624, 818
 Romania, 2, 7, 12, 30, 34, 39, 49, 125, 131, 302, 310, 317, 340, 348, 349, 356, 357, 362, 363, 377, 569–830
 Romanian National Road, 792
 Rome, 391, 401, 424, 428, 430, 432, 439, 447, 448, 470
 Rome province, 416
 “Rooster Hill.” *See* Äänislinna
 Rosiers d’Égletons. *See* Égletons
 Rostov, 579
 Rothschild Hospital, 135, 164
 Rouen, 184
 Rouergue, 121
 Rougé, 179
 Rouillé, 103, 130, 161, **215–217**, 237
 Roumeli, 522, 525
 Roussillon region, 11, 113
 Route de Limoges. *See* Poitiers
 Rovezzano. *See* Montalbano
 Royal Salt Works, 106
 Royallieu. *See* Compiègne-Royallieu
 Royan, 216
 Rrethi i Matit. *See* Mat District
 Rublenița (Rubelnița), 749, 783
 Rudiny, 889
 Rudnik, 13
 Ruelle, 168
 Ruffieux, **217–218**, 229, 230
 Ruokolahti, 82
 Rupe, 69
 Rusava River, 800–801
 Ruse, 11, 37
 Russia. *See* Soviet Union
 Ruthenia. *See* Carpatho-Ruthenia
 Ružový Dvor, 857
 Rybníky, 855
 Rybnitsa. *See* Râbnița
 Sabinov, 845
 Săcălaz, 792
 Sachsenhausen, 203, 849, 883
 Sădăgura (Sadhora), **750–752**, 774
 Sagrado, 429, 449
 Sahara, 240, 241, 249, 270, 291
 Šahy. *See* Ipolyság
 Saïda (Saida), 248, 262, 283. *See also* Le Kreider
 Saint-André-d’Allas, 125
 Saint-Brieuc, 202
 Saint-Calais, 132
 Saint-Chamas, 178
 Saint-Cyprien, 113, 123, 131, 174, 197, 207, 217, **218–219**, 894
 Saint Cyr, 103
 Saint-Denis-lès-Sens, 185, 222, 234
 Saint Ecaterina Normal School for Girls, 619
 Sainte Marie du Zit, **901**
 Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, 228
 Saint-Flour, 128
 Saint François prison, 105
 Saint-Georges d’Aurac, **219–221**
 Saint-Germain-les-Belles (Bagatelle), 115, 127, **221–222**, 224
 Saint-Gervais-les-Bains, 537
 Saint-Girons, 109
 St. George’s Prison, 504
 Saint-Jean Hospital. *See* Hôpital Saint-Jean
 St. Joseph School, 129
 St. Julien-des-Landes, 181
 Saint-Livrade, 116
 Saint-Louis Hospital. *See* Hôpital Saint-Louis
 St. Louis, Senegal, 280
 Saint-Marthe, 249
 Saint-Martin-Vésubie, 534, 537
 Saint-Maurice aux Riches Hommes, 181, **222–223**
 Saint-Maximin, 122
 Saint-Nectaire, 136, 167, **223–224**
 Saint-Nicolas, 168
 Saint-Paul-d’Eyjeaux, 122, 128, 190, 207, 221, **224–225**, 226, 253
 Saint Petersburg. *See* Leningrad
 Saint-Pierre-des-Corps, 160
 Saint-Sulpice-la-Pointe, 114, 117, 118, 122, 129, 146, 155, 207, 213, **225–227**, 253, 266
 St. Tekle Haymanot Church, 504
 Saint-Urcize, 128
 Saint-Vitte-sur-Briance, 221
 Sajmište. *See* Semlin
 Sajószentpéter, 353
 Sakharove. *See* Zahariovca
 Säkylä, 82
 Salánk, 361
 Sălard. *See* Szalárd
 Sălătruc, 646
 Salerno, 411, 412, 415. *See also* Gulf of Salerno
 Salgótarján, 311, 374
 Saliers, 215, **227–228**
 Salla, 82
 Sallanches, **228–229**
 Sallertaine, 182
 Salonika. *See* Thessalonika

970 PLACES INDEX

Salonta. *See* Nogyszalonta
 Salsomaggiore. *See* Scipione di Salsomaggiore
 Saluzzo, 408
 Salzburg, 843–844
 Salzgitter (Lager Kalbert), 74
 Samobor, 67
 Samokov, 11
 Samos, 510
 San Bartolomeo convent. *See* Campagna
 San Domino. *See* Tremiti Islands
 San Lucia, 450
 San Martino. *See* Sumartin
 San Nicola. *See* Tremiti Islands
 San Pietro, 401, 402, 543
 San Pietro della Brazza. *See* Supetar
 San Tomaso della Fossa (Bagnolo in Piano), 457–458, 460
 San Tomè, 428
 San Vittore Prison, 404, 405, 411, 418, 470
 Sanatorium des Pins, 162
 Sandanski. *See* Sveti Vrach
 Sandbostel, 238
 Sangro River, 422
 Sanremo, 471
 Santa Croce, 457
 Santa Maria al Bagno, 412
 Santa Maria dei Lumi monastery. *See* Civitella del Tronto
 Santa Maria Maggiore, 472
 Sant’Andrea, 443
 Saône-et-Loire Département, 156, 217, 230
 Saouaf (Aş Şawwāf), 899, **901**
 Saoura River, 251, 278, 281
 Saraevo, 593
 Säräisniemi, 82
 Sarajevo, 48, 53, 55, 68, 69, 70, 545, 547, 549, 554
 Saran’ovo (Septemvri), 13, 14
 Sardinia, 426, 432, 452, 455, 535, 550.
See also Kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia
 Şargorod (Shargorod, Sharhorod), 577, 578, 625, 629, 643, 644, 665, 666, 703, 713, 721, 722, **752–754**, 803, 804
 Šariš, 856
 Šariš-Zemplín County, 845, 879
 Sárospatak, 370
 Sarre Département. *See* Saar
 Sarthe Département, 132, 133, 180, 184, 186, 188, 202
 Sárvár, 303, 311, 333, **369–370**
 Sashalom, 311
 Sassari province, 426
 Sassoferrato, **458**
 Sathonay-Village, 143
 Sátorajújhely, 308, 334, 338, **370–371**
 Satu Mare. *See* Szatmárnémeti
 Satu Nou, 668
 Sauvaud camp. *See* Casseneuveil
 Sava, 64
 Sávár, 346
 Sava River, 49, 58, 61, 62, 64, 73, 835
 Säveni, 673, 742, 822
 Savières Canal, 217
 Savigny par Valleiry, 217, **229–230**
 Savoie Département, 184, 217, 531, 535, 537
 Savona province, 407, 409, 410

Savrani (Savran), 610, **754–756**, 811
 Savranka River, 754
 Sayennes, 135
 Sbikha (Aş Subaykhah), 899, **901**
 Scârba, 818
 Scazineţ (Scazeñti, Skazinet, Scazinţi, Skazintsy, Skazyntsi), 657, 694, 715, **756–758**, 799, 822
 Schachter House, 679
 Schmierer School, 679
 Scipione, 400, 456, **458–459**
 Scirocca. *See* Villa Shiroka
 Scolaire School for Boys, 205
 Scuola Santa Croce, **459–460**
 Scutari. *See* Shkodër
 Sdraussina. *See* Poggio Terza Armata
 Sebenico. *See* Šibenik
 Sebikotane (Sebikhoutane), 241, **293–294**
 Secchia River, 453
 Secretarca, 658
 Securenii, 677, **758–760**
 Seesjärvi Lake, 81
 Ségur, 128
 Seine Prefecture, 134, 135
 Seine-et-Marne Département, 154
 Seine-et-Oise Département (Val d’Oise), 102
 Sekernice. *See* Szecklenca
 Selce, 554
 Seletin, 759
 Seleuşu Mare. *See* Nagyszöllös
 Selişte. *See* Siliştea
 Semlin (Sajmište, Belgrade Fairgrounds), 74, 833, 835, 836
 Senchou, 116
 Senegal (Sénégal), 240, 241, 247, 248, 271, 276, 280, 286, 297
 Senigallia, **460–461**
 Senise, 419
 Senta, 381
 Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe, Szentgyörgy), 309, **371**
 Septemvri. *See* Saran’ovo
 Septfonds, 116, 182, 189
 Serb, Croat, and Slovene State. *See* Yugoslavia
 Serbia, 7, 19, 40, 41, 45, 47, 49, 74, 75, 304, 305, 311, 320, 359, 381, 415, 468, 479, 482, 484, 491, 493, 496, 831, 831–840
 Serchio Valley, 404
 Serebriya (Serebriya), **760**
 Sered’, 846, 847, 849, 855, **862**, 864, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 874, 877, **881–883**, 887, 889
 Sereilhac, 124, 158, 159, **230–231**
 Sereni Castle. *See* Pietrafitta-Tavernelle
 Seres, 19
 Serghieşti (Serhiivka), 615
 Sermoneta, 428
 Servigliano, 422, 435, **461–462**
 Sestrimo, 13, 28, 29
 Sète, 146
 Sétif-Satne-Saint-Arnaud, 268, 290
 Settāt (Fqih ben Salh), **294**
 Sevastopol, 615
 Sevcenko farm. *See* Vigoda
 Severin, 761

Severnaja. *See* Äänislinna
 Sevlievsko, 13
 Sevluš. *See* Nagyszöllös
 Sfântu Gheorghe. *See* Sepsiszentgyörgy
 Sfax, 896, 901
 Sforzacosta, 447, 450, **462**, 470
 Shano, 504
 Shargorod (Sharhorod). *See* Şargorod
 Shevchenkove. *See* Halcinţi
 Shijak, 491, 496
 Shikora Villa, 489
 Shiroka Polyana, 29
 Shkodër (Scutari), 482, 489, 490, 500, 501
 Shkodra, Lake, 500
 Shpykiv (Shpikov). *See* Spicov
 Shtip, 31, 32
 Shumen, 3, 11, **30–31**, 33, 42
 Shumilovka (Shumilovca). *See* Şumilovca
 Shumyliv. *See* Şumilovca
 Shyoltozero. *See* Soutjärvi
 Siam, 169
 Šibenik (Sebenico), 69, 441, 547, 553, 556
 Siberia, 613, 677, 735, 750, 758, 767, 773, 784, 808
 Sibuljine, 58
 Sicily, 410, 427
 Sidi Allal el Bahraoui. *See* Monod
 Sidi Azaz (Sidi Said), 527, **529–530**
 Sidi El Ayachi (Azemmour, Kaid El Ayachi), 247, 275, 289, 293, **294–295**
 Sidi Hadje (Sidi Hadjadj, Sidi Hajaj), 283
 Sidi Said. *See* Sidi Azaz
 Sidi-Bel-Abbès, 263, 291
 Sierra Leone, 260, 298
 Sighet. *See* Máramarosziget
 Siklós, **371–372**
 “The Silent City.” *See* Cité de la Muette
 Silesia, 842
 Siliştea, 736
 Silnitsia River, 807
 Sima, 364
 Simeonovets, 29
 Şimleul-Silvaniei. *See* Szilágysomlyó
 Sinaia, 571, 794
 Siófok, 311
 Siófok Szentgál, 385
 Siret, 673, 821
 Siret River, 571, 622, 627, 668, 669, 673, 679, 705, 773, 808, 809
 Şiria, **761–762**
 Sirova, 658
 Sisak I and II, 49, **73–75**
 Sisteron (Fort Sisteron), 129, 141, 210, **232–233**
 Skazintsy (Skazyntsi, Skazinet). *See* Scazineţ
 “Ski Factory.” *See* Äänislinna
 Skopje (Skopje, “Monopol” tobacco warehouse), 9, **31–33**, 496, 497
 Skiriat (Skhirat, Skhirat), **295–296**
 Slana, 58
 Slatina, 814
 Slavija Hotel, 549
 Slavonia (Slavonija), 48, 53, 76, 302, 554
 Slavonska Požega, 49, **75–76**
 Slavonski Brod, 69
 Slavošovec, 880

- Sliven, 27
 Slivina (Slyvyne), 579, 687, **762–764**
 Slobodca, 579, 728, 777
 Slobozia, 672, 708, 738
 Slobozia Doamnă (Slobozia Doamnei), 736
 Slobozia/LPRS No. 1, **764–766**, 794
 Slobozia Veche cemetery, 764
 Slovakia, 302, 315, 318, 327, 338, 340, 350, 356, 360, 363, 370, 424, 841, 842–891, 895
 Slovenia, 46, 53, 75, 391, 410, 416, 449, 459, 466, 477, 545, 550
 Sluserevo, 658
 Slyvyne. *See* Slivina
 Smederevska Palanka, 835, 836, **839–840**
 Smedovo, 14, **33–34**
 Šmerinca (Zhmerynka, Zhmerinka), 575, 577, 578, 625, 629, 630, 713, 714, **766–767**, 771, 797, 798, 799
 Smrikama, 69
 Sobibor, 145, 152, 235
 Sofia, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, **34–36**, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42
 Sofia-Plovdiv highway, 7, 8, 28, 29, 42
 Sofia-Varna highway, 26
 Sofivka. *See* Dobra-Nadejda
 Sokolovo, 26
 Sokyryany, 758
 Șoldanu, 621
 Solești, 814
 Solofra, **462–463**
 Sologne region, 162
 Soltvadkert, 345
 Soludervent, 22, 23
 Somalia (Italian-occupied), 502–504
 Sombor. *See* Zombor
 Somlyócséhi (Cehei), **377–378**
 Somogy County, 342
 Somogyszil, 343
 Somorja, 337
 Somovit, 10, 28, 35, **36–37**
 Sondrio, 401, **463–464**
 Sopron (Ödenburg), 311, **372–373**, 380
 Sopron-Bánfalva, 306
 Sorge Villa. *See* Lanciano
 Soroca, 574, 601, 603, 636, 651, 710, 749, **767–769**, 774, 783
 Soroksár, 311
 Sorponbánfalva, 372
 Sortavala, 82
 Sosnowiec, 887
 Sospello (Sospel), 531, 532, 535, **536–538**
 Sotiria, 506
 Soudain Français. *See* French Sudan
 Soudeilles, 138, **233**
 Souge, 178
 South Africa, 529
 Southern Kingdom (Italy), 401
 Southern Oran, 262, 271, 278, 281
 Southern Zone, Vichy France (Zone nonoccupée, ZNO), 91, 92, 93, 94, 96, 101, 109, 111, 114, 118, 124, 125, 139, 140, 144, 148, 156, 167, 169, 172, 176, 206, 214, 215, 220, 225, 227, 232, 236, 531
 Soutjärvi (Shyoltozero), 82
 Soviet Asia, 736
 Soviet Karelia (Suojärvi), 81, 86, 87
 Soviet Union, 19, 20, 24, 67, 70, 80, 83, 84, 86, 87, 103, 303, 343, 364, 485, 562, 570, 571, 580, 606, 613, 615, 620, 622, 625, 627, 628, 631, 633, 640, 646, 648, 647, 654, 656, 659, 660, 670, 671, 673, 677, 678, 679, 690, 697, 698, 702, 705, 706, 707, 708, 710, 715, 720, 721, 727, 728, 737, 738, 748, 752, 754, 759, 764, 766, 768, 770, 773, 781, 783, 788, 789, 791, 792, 793, 795, 797, 802, 805, 807, 809, 814, 815, 817, 820, 823, 825, 833, 848, 863, 895
 Sozopol, 3
 Spain, 50, 101, 108, 125, 131, 150, 158, 191, 294, 297, 485
 Spalato. *See* Split
 Spanish camp. *See* Casseneuil
 Spicov (Spikov, Shpikov, Shpykiv), 742, **769–770**, 805
 Spitalul Militar Regina Elisabeta. *See* Queen Elisabeth Military Hospital
 Split (Spalato), 494, 543, 546, 547, 549, 556
 Spotorno camp. *See* Bergeggi
 Srem, 832
 Sremska Mitrovica. *See* Hrvatska Mitrovica
 Stains, 130
 Stalag 309, 82, 83
 Stalag 322 (Kriegsgefangenen-Mannschafts-Stammlager), 82
 Stalingrad, 19, 108, 579
 Stalino, 579, 701, 732, 807
 Stanislavcic (Stanislavchik, Stanislavchyc, Stanislavcia), 579, 629, **770–772**
 Stara Gradiška. *See* Jasenovac V
 Stara Kanjiž, 381
 Stará Máša, 880
 Stara Zagora, 11
 Stari Bečej, 381
 Stari Grad (Cittavecchia), 548, 549
 Stari Vrabas, 381
 Stary Tekov, 350
 Stavanger, 562
 Ștefan Cel Mare farm, 730
 Ștefănești, 574
 Stepanchi (Stepanky, Stepanki, Stepanca), **772–773**
 Știoborăni, 814
 Stokit (Stokite), 13
 Stone Quarry camp. *See* Ladijin/Stone Quarry
 Storojinet (Storozhynets'), 677, 710, 715, 758, 759, **773–775**, 817, 820
 Straflager, 320
 Străjescu, 679
 Strasbourg, 133, 226, 408
 Strasshof, 315, 317, 333, 335, 342, 375, 379
 Strážske, 844, 855, 874, 878
 Struma Valley, **37–39**
 Struthof. *See* Natzweiler
 Štubnianske Teplice, 864
 Stuhlweissenburg. *See* Székesfehérvár
 Stúpava train station, 877
 Stuttgart, 221
 Stutthof/Thorn, 352, 366
 Štvrtok na Ostrove, 872
 Subcarpathian Rus' (Zakarpats'ka, Zakarpattia), 340, 347, 355, 357, 872, 873, 886
 Subotica. *See* Szabadka
 sub-Saharan Africa, 240, 241
 Suceava, 622, 629, 671, 715, 752, 817, 820
 Suchava, 667
 Sucleia, 797
 Suha Balca (Suha Balka, Suhaia Balca, Sukha Balka, Ferma de Stat Suha Balca), 690, **775–777**
 Suha Verba (Sukha Verba, Suhaia Verba), 720, **777–778**
 Suhaia Balca. *See* Suha Balca
 Sukha Balka. *See* Suha Balca
 Sukha Verba. *See* Suha Verba
 Suksitehdas. *See* Äänislinna
 Sumartin (San Martino), 543
 Șumilovca (Shumilovka, Shumilovca, Shumyliv, Șumilova, Șumilovo), 707, **778–779**
 Sumovca (Sumovka, Șumovca, Sumofca, Sumivka), **779–781**
 Sunja, 75
 Suojärvi. *See* Soviet Karelia
 Suomussalmi, 82
 Supetar (San Pietro della Brazza), 543
 Surdulica, 7
 Šúr River, 883
 Sușarca, 713
 Süttő, 329
 Suzzara, 462
 Svätý Jur, 845, 862, 868, 870, **883–884**
 Sveta Anastasia, 3
 Sveti Kirik, 3
 Sveti Nikola, 3
 Sveti Vrach (Sandanski), 3, 8, 37, 38
 Svezhen, 29
 Svir River (Syväri River), 81
 Svishtov, 14, 26, **39–40**
 Svishtovsko, 13
 Sweden, 81, 87, 566, 567
 Swedish Empire, 80
 Switzerland, 81, 105, 167, 184, 228, 229, 230, 335, 339, 402, 533, 848
 Syamozero. *See* Säämäjärvi
 Sydspissen, 562
 Syros Island, 508, 512
 Syväri River. *See* Svir River
 Szabadka (Subotica), 311, 315, 381, 382
 Szabó brickyard, 376
 Szabolcs County, 364
 Szabolcs Street (Budapest), 327, 329
 Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County, 347
 Szalárd (Sălard), 362
 Száldobos, 377
 Szamosújvár, 309, 336, 348
 Szandapuszta, 378
 Szarvas, 311
 Szászrégen (Reghin), 309, 371, **373**
 Szatmár, 309, 357, 358
 Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare, Szatmárnémeti), 309, 319, 335, 357, **373–374**
 Szécsény, **374–375**
 Szeged, 304, 307, 311, 342, **375–376**, 383
 Székelyhid, 362
 Székesfehérvár (Stuhlweissenburg), 304, 307, 310, 311, **376–377**
 Szeklenca (Sekernice), **377**
 Szekszárd, 365

972 PLACES INDEX

Szelis. *See* Nagyszőlős
 Szentendre, 311
 Szentés, 311
 Szentgotthárd, 379
 Szentgyörgy. *See* Sepsiszentgyörgy
 Szentkirályszabadja, 354, 387
 Szentlőrinc, 366, 371
 Sziget (Győrsziget), 339
 Szigetszentmiklós, 331, 332
 Szigetvár, 316, 343
 Szikszó, 353
 Szilágy County, 309, 353
 Szilágysomlyó (Șimleul-Silvaniei), 309, **377–378**
 Szob, 341
 Szöllősvégárdó, 361
 Szolnok, 311, **378–379**
 Szolnok-Doboka County, 309, 335, 348
 Szombathely, 304, 307, 311, 359, **379–380**
 Szőny, 329
 Szencs, 353
 Szűcs-és Szörmeárúgyár. *See* Tschuk

Tab, 343
 Tabakova Cheshma, 21, 28, 36, 37
 Tacovo. *See* Técső
 Tafilet, 256
 Taksony, 331
 Tállya, 353, 370
 Talzaza Menabba, **296**
 Tamarar (Mogador, Tamana, Tanoundja Tamarar), 284, **296–297**
 Tamlelt, 254, 255
 Tandara. *See* Tendirara
 Țândărei, 672
 Țândăreni, 764
 Tangiers, 289
 Tanoundja Tamarar. *See* Tamarar
 Țânțari, 823
 Tapolca, 386
 Tarañ, 857
 Taranto, 449
 Taravölgy (Taracvölgy), 380
 Tarbe jail, 120
 Tarcal, 370
 Târgoviște. *See* Teiș-Târgoviște
 Târgu Frumos, 624
 Târgu Jiu, 571, 622, 627, 647, 656, 673, 674, 679, 687, 705, 706, **781–783**, 809
 Târgul Vertujeni (Vertiujeni, Vârtejeni, Vertijeni), 575, 608, 651, 691, 747, 749, 751, 768, **783–784**
 Târgu Mureș. *See* Marosvásárhely
 Târgușor, 574
 Tarn Département, 104, 113, 114, 117, 122, 129, 146, 155, 177, 207, 212, 213, 225, 226
 Tarn-et-Garonne Département, 116, 123, 182
 Tarnovano, 450
 Tarpa, 318
 Tarsia. *See* Ferramonti di Tarsia
 Tarutino (Tarutyne), 613, **784–785**
 Tash Boaz (Dospatski Prokhorod, Rock Pass), 29
 Taşlâc, 797
 Tasnád, 304

Tassit, 251
 Tătărești (Tătărăși, Tatarbunary), **785–787**
 Tatarovca (Tatarovka), **787–788**
 Tatra, 856
 Tatra Mountains, 879
 Tattersall (Budapest), **330–331**
 Tattersall racetrack, 326–327, 330
 Tavernelle. *See* Pietrafitta-Tavernelle
 Teatro Olimpico. *See* Olympic Theater
 Teceu Mare. *See* Técső
 Técső (Tacovo, Teceu Mare, Tiachiv, Tyachovo), 308, **380–381**
 Tecuci, 571, 614, 669, **788–789**
 Téglás, 311, 335
 Teiș, 571
 Teiș-Târgoviște, **789–790**
 Tekeháza, 361
 Teleorman (Vlașca), 615, 751, 817
 Telergma (Telerghma), **297**
 Teliki Square, 326
 Tamarar. *See* Tamarar
 Tence, **233–234**
 Tendirara (Tandara, Tendarra), **297–298**
 Tenje, 49, 75, **76–77**
 Tepa, 540
 Teramo, 415, 419, 422, 434, 435, 445, 446, 464, 465, 466
 Terezín, 849, 883
 Teslić, 73
 Tét, 364
 Teteven, 3, 13, 30
 Tevere River, 454
 Thebes (Thēva), **522–523**
 Theresienstadt, 315, 330, 333, 342, 360, 375, 376
 Thessalia, 505
 Thessalonika (Thessaloniki, Salonika), 2, 19, 508, 510, 518
 Thessaly, 509, 519, 520, 523
 Thēva. *See* Thebes
 Third Army Hill. *See* Poggio Terza Armata
 Thorn. *See* Stutthof/Thorn
 Thrace, 24, 25, 508
 Tiachiv. *See* Técső
 Tiaret, 266
 Tibana, 574
 Tibriv. *See* Tivriv
 Țibulovca (Tsybulivka, Tzibulovca), 651, **790–792**
 Tige bet, 504
 Tighina (Bender), 601, 615, 638, 658, 687, 718, 785, 795, 796, 797, 812
 Tighrina. *See* Triginna
 Timbuktu (Timbuctoo). *See* Tombouctou
 Timiș, 654, 705, 761, 792, 818
 Timișoara/LP No. 17, 789, **792–793**
 Timișul de Jos, 618
 Timișul de Jos/LPRA No. 18, **793–795**
 Tirană (Tirana), 401, 402, 479, 484, 485, 490, 491, 492, 496, 497, 501
 Tiraspol, 575, 591, 612, 615, 638, 658, 659, 682, 687, 716, 718, 720, 736, 739, 740, 755, 762, 763, **795–797**, 827
 Tiraspol/LPRS Nos. 5 and 11, 620, 682, 730, **797–798**, 824
 Tisovec, 880
 Tisza River, 311

Tiszacsege, 335
 Tiszaeszlár, 353, 364
 Tiszaledány, 364
 Tiszaújlak, 361
 Titel, 383
 Tivriv (Tivarif, Tibriv, Tyvrov, Tyvrviv), 757, **799–800**, 825
 Tniet-Agarev (El Agareb), 896, **901**
 Todorovtsi, 3
 Tokaj, 370
 Tököl, 331, 332
 Tolcsa, 370
 Tolentino, 469
 Tollo, 406, **464**
 Tolmino, 410
 Tolna County, 365
 Toloncház I & II. *See* Mosonyi Street
 Toloncház II. *See* Kistarsca
 Tomány, 358
 Tomașpol (Tomashpil, Tomashpol), **800–802**, 811
 Tomba Grammar School, 261
 Tombebec, 93, 124
 Tombo Island, 260
 Tombouctou (Timbuctoo, Timbuktu), 241, 261, 274, 280, **298–299**
 Tonezza del Cimone (Colonia alpina Umberto I, Umberto I Alpine estate), **464–465**, 474
 Tønsberg, 561, 565
 Tönyeistál, 337
 Toplit Izvori, 28
 Topol'čany, 848, 868
 Topolita, 373
 Topolya (Backa Topola), 303, 311, 315, 375, **381–382**, 383
 Torino, 408, 409, 415, 529
 Törtel, 345
 Tortoreto, **465**
 Tortoreto Stazione (Alba Adriatica), 445, 465
 Tossicia (Mirti House, Casa Mirti), 435, 440, **466**
 Toszigetcsiliköz, 339
 Toul, 137
 Toulboubou. *See* Pontivy
 Toulouse, 108, 109, 114, 118, 120, 140, 155, 183, 207, 208, 209, 212, 218
 Tourelles. *See* Paris
 Tours, 157, 160, 161, 186
 Train Station camp. *See* Casseneuil
 Transcarpathia. *See* Carpatho-Ruthenia
 Trans-Carpathian highway (Transfăgărășan), 646
 Transdanubia, 310, 311
 Transfăgărășan. *See* Trans-Carpathian highway
 Transnistria, 534, 569, 570, 572, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593n1, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 604, 605, 606, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 621, 622, 625, 626, 628, 629, 630, 632, 634, 635, 636, 637, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 656, 657, 658, 660, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 670,

- 672, 673, 674, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 707, 709, 710, 711, 713, 714, 715, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 723, 724, 725, 726, 728, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 739, 740, 741, 742, 745, 746, 747, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 758, 760, 762, 763, 766, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 782, 783, 784, 785, 790, 791, 795, 796, 797, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 806, 807, 809, 811, 812, 815, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 824, 825, 826, 827, 829, 830
- Trans-Saharan Railroad. *See* Mediterranean-Niger railway
- Transylvania, 310, 319, 347, 351, 357, 580, 654, 755, 803. *See also* Northern Transylvania
- Travnik, 69, 70
- Trebeža River, 58
- Treblinka, 16, 19, 31, 33, 36
- Trebusa Inferiore (Dolenja Trebuša), **545**
- Trei Scaune, 371
- Treia (Villa La Quiete, Villa Spada), **446**
- Treize-Septiers, 181
- Tremiti Islands (San Nicola and San Domino), 420, 435, **467–468**, 469
- Trenčín, 856, 860, 864
- Trento, 463
- Treviso, 442, 543
- Trevna, 13
- Trianon, 311
- Tridubi (Triduby, Triduve, Tridube, Triduba), **802–803**
- Trieste, 410, 429, 432, 439, 450, 464, 470, 477, 546, 557
- Trieste Coroneo, 429
- Trieste-Capodistria, 439
- Triginnna (Tighrina), 528
- Trihaiy, 811
- Trihati (Trikhaty), 579, 590, 645, 667, 703, 712, 722, 723, 730, 742, 746, 747, 753, 771, 803, 804, 807, 826
- Trikala, 506, **523–525**
- Trikhaty. *See* Trihati
- Tripoli, 413, 527, 529, 530
- Triveneto, 399
- Trnava, 848, 854
- Troița, 593
- Tromsdalen, 562
- Tromsø, 562
- Trondheim, 562, 567
- Tropova, **803–805**
- Trostineț (Trostianet, Trostineti, Trostianets), 598, 626, 634, 684, 698, 699, 700, 707, 725, 731, 732, **805–806**
- Troyan, 11, 30
- Troyanski Pass. *See* Beklemeto Pass
- Troyansko, 13
- Troyes, **234–236**
- Trünska Klisura, 7, **40–41**
- Trüvna, 8, 13
- Tryavna, 13
- Tschuk (Tsuk, Szűcs-és Szörmeárúgyár), 332, 333
- Tserovo, 4, 17
- Tsuk. *See* Tschuk
- Tsybulevca, 707
- Tsybulivka. *See* Țibulovca
- Tulcin (Tulchin, Tulcyn), 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 626, 634, 645, 684, 691, 698, 699, 700, 701, 703, 714, 716, 724, 725, 731, 732, 740, 742, 746, 747, 753, 769, 774, 775, 796, 797, 799, **806–808**, 811, 826
- Tunis, 894, 895, 896, 899
- Tunisia, 144, 240, 242, 250, 528, *893*, 894–897, *898*, 899–902
- Turin, 404, 421, 432
- Turkey, 2, 31, 438
- Turku, 83
- Turnu Măgurele. *See* Bolgrad/Turnu Măgurele
- Turnu Severin (Drobeta-Turnu Severin), 571, **808–809**
- Tuscany, 470
- Tutova, 669, 678
- Tuusula, 82
- Tyachovo. *See* Técső
- Tyit-bet, 504
- Tylihul River, 592
- Tyrrhenian Sea, 451
- Tyvrov (Tyvrviv). *See* Tivriv
- Tzia Island. *See* Kea Island
- Tzibulovca. *See* Țibulovca
- Udine, 410, 427, 454, 476
- Údolie, 860
- Udvarhely, 309, 352
- Ugliano (Ugljian), **468–469**
- Ugocsa County, 360
- Újfehértó, 364
- Ujlaki Brickyards, 229, 327, 329
- Újpest, 311, 323, 331
- Újtelep. *See* Horthyliget
- Újvidék (Novi Sad), 311, 381, **382–383**
- Ukraine, 125, 303, 304, 305, 318, 340, 347, 348, 355, 359, 360, 364, 368, 370, 377, 380, 384, 575, 576, 588, 589, 591, 592, 595, 596, 604, 608, 611, 613, 615, 616, 618, 625, 626, 629, 630, 631, 634, 636, 640, 641, 642, 643n1, 644, 650, 652, 657, 658, 664, 665, 666, 670, 680, 682, 683, 685, 690, 691, 693, 695, 697, 698, 700, 701, 702, 703, 706, 709, 711, 713, 715, 718, 719, 720, 721, 723, 724, 726, 731, 732, 737, 739, 741, 742, 745, 750, 752, 754, 756, 758, 760, 762, 766, 769, 770, 772, 773, 775, 777, 778, 779, 784, 785, 786, 787, 790, 799, 800, 802, 803, 805, 806, 807, 811, 813, 816, 818, 820, 821, 824, 827, 828, 830, 842, 843
- Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, 570
- Ulven, 562
- Umberto I Alpine estate. *See* Tonezza del Cimone
- Ung County, 384
- Ungheni, 648
- Ungvár (Uzhhorod, Užhorod), 308, 360, **384–385**
- United Kingdom. *See* Great Britain
- United States, 80, 94, 169, 393, 401, 409, 457, 467, 484, 848, 871
- Unteraltertheim, 104
- Urbisaglia, 415, 432, 447, 462, **469–470**
- Uriage, 205, 236
- Uriage-les-Bains, 205
- Urmín, 857
- Uroševac (Ferizaj), 488, 492
- Urziceni, 764
- Uskočke šume, 64
- Ussel, 138
- USSR. *See* Soviet Union
- Ustia (Ustie), 707, **809–810**
- Ustica, 455, 494, 495, 499
- Ustica Island (Isola di Ustica), **470–471**
- Ústie nad Oravou, 844, **884–885**
- Uzbekistan, 736
- Uzhhorod (Užhorod). *See* Ungvár
- V. E. barracks (Caserma Vittorio Emanuele III), 550
- Vaasa, 82
- Vabre, 155
- Vacarjani (Odessa subcamp), 731, 797
- Vădeni, 680
- Vado, 407
- Vadul-Roșca, 679
- Vaghia, 523
- Váh River, 864, 865, 866, 868, 869, 890
- Vakarel, 12, 22, 23
- Valbonnais, **236**
- Vâlcov, 785
- Val di Chiana. *See* Civitella della Chiana
- Val d'Oise. *See* Seine-et-Oise Département
- Valea Burcutului. *See* Borpatak
- Valea Homorod. *See* Vlădeni-Homorod/LPRS No. 2
- Valea lui Mihai. *See* Érmihályfalva
- Valence, 173
- Valgros Chateau, 112
- Vălișoara, 655
- Valjevo, 835
- Valkeakoski, 82
- Valkeala, 22
- Valkjärvi, 22
- Vallecrosia, **471–472**
- Valle d'Aosta, 401
- Valle Grande (Vallegrande, Vela Luka), 468, 546, 547
- Vallo della Brazza. *See* Bol
- Valona (Vlorë), 479, 487, 488, 501
- Valovishte, 8
- Vameș, 697, 823–824
- Vámospércs, 335
- Vannes, 204
- Vapniarca (Vapniarka, Vapnearca), 579, 580, 674, 687, 707, 720, 733, 754, 755, 777, 782, 802, **811–813**
- Varaždín, 48, 71
- Var Département, 94, 122, 129, 145, 169, 226
- Varjúlapos, **364–365**
- Varna, 8, 11, 18, 25, 26
- Várpalota, 385
- Vártejeni. *See* Târgul Vertujei
- Värtsilä, 82, 87

974 PLACES INDEX

Varvarovca (Varvarivka), 579, 650, 652, 726, 762, 803
 Vas County, 369, 379
 Vásárosnamény, 318
 Vásárút, 337
 Vășcăuți, 759
 Vaselino (Veselinovo, Veselynove), 690, 719, 775, **813–814**
 Vaslui, 571, 574, 607, 614, 615, 669, 782, 818
 Vaslui/LPRS No. 4, 620, 656, **814–815**, 823
 Vasto Marina. *See* Istonio Marina
 Vasvár, 379
 Vatican City, 410
 Vatici, 601
 Vaubeurs, 147
 Vaucluse, 122, 264
 Vaudeurs, 222
 Vaulnavays-le-Haut, 205
 Vazdovca (Cvozdavca, Gvozdovka, Hvozdvka Druha), **815–816**
 Vazdovca, Golta Prefecture (Ivanovka), 830
 Vela Luka. *See* Valle Grande
 Vel d'Hiv. *See* Vélodrome d'Hiver
 Velebit Mountains, 48, 54, 55
 Veles, 32
 Veliki Bečkerek, 73
 Veliki Strug River, 58, 60
 Veliko Tŕrnovo, 4, 7, 18, 19, 42
 Veljun, 48
 Vel'ká Bytča, 842
 Vel'ký Kýr, 844, 871, 872, 873, **885–887**
 Vélodrome d'Hiver (Vel d'Hiv), 92, 96, 134, 135
 Velyka Mykhailivka. *See* Grosulovo
 Vence, 214, 531, 537, **538–539**
 Vencsellő, 364
 Vendée, 182, 203
 Vendychanca River, 821
 Vendychany. *See* Vindiceni
 Veneto province, 433, 442
 Venezia Giulia (Friuli–Venezia Giulia), 400, 401, 406, 409–410, 420, 429, 434, 436, 443, 445, 448, 449, 459, 465, 469
 Venice, **472**
 Venier Villa. *See* Vo' Vecchio
 Vénissieux, 217
 Ventimiglia, 471
 Ventotene, 432, 471, **472–474**, 493
 Verbőc, 361
 Vercelli, 402, 438
 Verebely (Vráble), **385**
 Verhovca (Verkhivka), 727, **816–817**
 Verinsko, 12
 Verkhivka. *See* Verhovca
 Vernonvilliers, 234
 Veroli, 439
 Verona, 430, 431, 457, 464, 465, **474**
 Verpelét, 337
 Versailles, 103
 Vertujeni (Vertiujeni). *See* Tărgul Vertujeni
 Veselinovo (Veselynove), 14n42
 Vesima, 409
 Veszprém, 365, **385–386**
 Vicenza, 464, **474–475**

Vichy Africa, 240–299, 894–897, 898, 899–901
 Vichy France. *See* France/Vichy
 Victor Emmanuel II Orphanage, 458
 Videle, 751, **817–818**
 Vidima, 13n14
 Vidin, 11
 Vienna, 16, 315, 317, 329, 335, 375, 416, 537, 832, 883
 Vienne Département, 161, 180, 186, 202, 203, 215, 216, 237
 Vieux Port, 145
 Vigneux, 102
 Vigoda (Vyhoda, Sevchenko farm), 591, 739, **818–820**
 Viipuri, 22, 82, 83
 Viitivka. *See* Voitovca
 Vijnița (Vijnitsa, Vișnița, Vyzhnytsya), 759, **820–821**
 Vikulenszki house, 341
 Vilga, 81
 Villa La Quiete. *See* Treia
 Villa La Selva. *See* Bagno a Ripoli
 Villa Lauri. *See* Pollenza
 Villány, 371
 Villary, 119
 Villa Shiroka (Scirocca), **500–501**
 Villa Spada. *See* Treia
 Villemur-sur-Tarn, **236–237**
 Villeneuve, 124
 Villeneuve-le-Comte, 154
 Villeneuve-Sainte-Odile castle, 202
 Villeneuve-sur-Lot, 232
 Vilmány, 353
 Vinchiatturo, **475–476**
 Vindiceni (Vendychany), 756, **821–823**
 Vinnitsa (Vinnytsia, Vinnyts'ka), 689, 771, 800. *See also* Balta
 Vinogradov. *See* Nagyszöllős
 Vipacco, 450
 Vis Island, 542, 547
 Visco (Borgo Piave, Luigi Sbaiz barracks), **476–477**, 550, 557
 Vișnița. *See* Vijnița
 Visterniceni, 637, 638
 Vitez, 69
 Vitrovitica, 76
 Vittell, 185, 234
 Vizhnitsa, 667, 743
 Vlădeni-Homorod/LPRS No. 2, 793, **823–824**
 Vladimirovca, 590
 Vlașca. *See* Teleorman
 Vlorë. *See* Valona
 Vocational School, 679
 Vodizza (Vodice), 552
 Voidvodina Province, 383
 Voinești, 680
 Voitovca (Voitovka, Viitivka), 780, **824–825**
 Vojvodina, 302, 315
 Volce, 410
 Volcineț, 601
 Volos, 523, 524
 Voluyak, 13
 Vonitsa, 513, 515, 519, **525–526**
 Vorarlberg, 320

Voronezh, 305
 Vorosilovca (Voroșilofca, Voroshylivka), 757, **825–827**
 Vosges Département, 234
 Vo' Vecchio (Venier Villa, Vo' Euganeo), **477–478**
 Voves, 103, 130, 201, 216, **237–239**
 Vráble. *See* Verebely
 Vrachan, 16, 41
 Vradieva (Vradiivka), 588, 612, **827–828**
 Vradiyevca, 815
 Vrancea. *See* Putna
 Vranov nad Topľou, 844, 870
 Vratsa, 11, 12, **41–42**
 Vulcan/LPRS No. 9, **654–656**
 Vuolijoki, 22
 Vütren, 13
 Vyhne, 847, 864, 867, 870, 877, 882, **887–888**
 Vyhoda. *See* Vigoda
 Vynohradiv. *See* Nagyszöllős
 Vyšný Žipov, 855
 Vyzhnytsya. *See* Vijnița

 Wapniarca, 747
 Wargla. *See* Quargla
 Warsaw, 323
 Wartu Chagal, 503
 Watenstedt, 238
 West Africa. *See* Vichy Africa
 Westfalen, 320
 Wiener-Neudorf, 140
 William Ponty School, 293

 Xanthi, 16, 19, 24

 Yalant'. *See* Elanet
 Yalkala. *See* Jalkala
 Yampil (Yampol). *See* Iampol
 Yannena. *See* Iōannina
 Yarishev. *See* Iarișev
 Yaroshenka (Iaroșinca), 722
 Yaruha. *See* Iaruga
 Yasenove. *See* Iasinova
 Yasnopillya, 777
 Yassy. *See* Iași
 Yefren. *See* Jefren
 Yonne Département, 22, 147, 181, 222
 Ytrac, 128
 Yugoslavia, 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 11, 24, 31, 40, 41, 46, 47, 50, 53, 67, 71, 73, 131, 206, 302, 311, 326, 354, 357, 381, 382, 383, 387, 390, 391, 392, 393, 400, 401, 404, 418, 420, 427, 432, 433, 454, 458, 462, 479, 485, 490, 494, 496, 500, 540–557, 792, 793, 832, 836, 840, 895
 Yugoslavia (Italian-occupied), 400, 401, 404, 418, 420, 427, 432, 454, 485, 540–557

 Zábala, 371
 Zabocrici (Zabokrich, Zhabokrych, Iabocricior, Jabocrici), **828–830**
 Zachariyevca, 815
 Zadar. *See* Zara
 Zagabria, 468
 Zaghwan (Zaghwan), 895, 899, **901–902**
 Zagorje, 48

- Zagreb, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 416, 547, 554, 555
 Žagubica, 320
 Zahariovca (Sakharove, Zaharovca, Zakhariivka, Zakhariiovka), 690, **830**
 Zaist'ováci tábor v Ilave. *See* Ilava/
 Detention Center
 Zakarpats'ka (Zakarpattia). *See* Subcarpathian Rus'
 Zakhariivka (Zakhariiovka). *See* Zahariovca
 Zala County, 311, 345, 358, 369, 386
 Zalaegerszeg (Egersee, Jageršek, Jegersek), 311, 345, **386**
 Zaouia Kadrya, 258
 Zara (Zadar), 58, 440, 458, 464, 468, 469, 486, 494, 552, 553, 556
 Zaravecchia (Biograd na Moru), 552
 Zarfati, 428
 Zarzecze, 887
 Zatih's'e (Zatišcea, Zatiša). *See* Noschivē
 Zavadovca, 594, 642
 Zdravščina. *See* Poggio Terza Armata
 Željecare, 69
 Zemplén County (Zemplin), 334, 338, 368, 370, 856
 Zemun. *See* Semlin
 Zenica, 69
 Zhabokrych. *See* Zabocrici
 Zhelūzartsi (Zhelezartsi), 13, 19, **42**
 Zhitomir, 305
 Zhmerynka (Zhmerinka). *See* Šmerinca
 Zhugastru. *See* Jugastru
 Zilah, 336
 Žilina, 842, 847, 855, 862, 874, 881, **889–890**
 Zlarino (Zlarin), **556–557**
 Zlataustovo (Zlatoustove), 690
 Zlaté Moravce, 886
 Zlatusha, 7
 ZNO. *See* Southern Zone, Vichy France
 ZO. *See* Occupied Zone, Vichy France
 Zohor, 845, 868, **891**
 Zombor (Sombor), 381, 382, **386–387**
 Zone interdite. *See* Forbidden Zone, Vichy France
 Zone nonoccupée. *See* Southern Zone, Vichy France
 Zone occupée. *See* Occupied Zone, Vichy France
 Zōsimaia School, 514, 516
 Zrenjanin. *See* Petrovgrad
 ZTI. *See* Ilava/Detention Center
 Zvūnichevo, 13, **42–44**

ORGANIZATIONS AND ENTERPRISES INDEX

This index lists organizations and entities, such as industrial firms, governmental agencies, political parties, educational institutions, private associations, and small businesses mentioned in the text. Some German titles refer to both the person and the office; therefore they are included here. Note that extremely prevalent organizations such as Jewish Councils and the Jewish police have not been indexed. Page numbers in *italics* refer to illustrations and their captions.

- Abbazia di Santa Croce. *See* Holy Cross,
 Abbey of the
 Academic Hlinka Guard (Akademická
 Hlinkova garda), 843, 871, 885
 Action Française. *See* French Action party
 Administration des Forêts et Voies
 navigables. *See* French Administration of
 Forests and Waterways (Administration
 des Forêts et Voies navigables)
 AFSC. *See* American Friends Service
 Committee
 Agrarian Party, 3
 AJJDC. *See* American Jewish Joint
 Distribution Committee
 Akademická Hlinkova garda. *See* Academic
 Hlinka Guard
 Albanian Communist Party (PKSh), 492
 Albanian Council of Ministers, 481, 482,
 487, 491, 493, 494, 496, 499
 Albanian Fascist Militia, 482, 500
 Albanian Fascist Party (Partia Fashiste
 Shqiptarë, PFSH), 490, 491
 Albanian Finance Ministry, 499
 Albanian High Commissioner, 490, 496
 Albanian Interior Ministry, 479, 482, 485,
 487, 488, 493, 495, 496, 497, 499, 500
 Albanian Office of the Italian Ministry of
 Foreign Affairs, 484
 Albanian Red Cross (Kryqi i Kuq Shqiptar,
 KKSh), 487, 490, 499
 Albanian Territorial Defense Command,
 494
 Aleksandër Nevski Cathedral, 35
 Algerian Communist Party, 266
 Algerian National Railway, 268
 Algerian People's Party (Parti Poulair
 Algérien, PPA), 266
 Algerian Workers Group, 249
 Algiers Office of Manpower and Work, 276
 Algiers Regional Office of Labor, 252, 253,
 259
 Allied Control Commission, 83, 619, 620,
 672
 Allied Displaced Persons Sub-Commission,
 412
 Allied High Command (Înaltul Comanda-
 ment Aliat), 672, 708
 A.M. Kir. Rednőrség topolyai kisegítőton-
 cháza. *See* Royal-Hungarian Transport
 Firm
 American Committee of Assistance
 (Comité américain de Secours, CAS), 176
 American Friends Service Committee
 (AFSC), 111, 118, 124, 156, 169, 172, 190,
 191, 192, 193, 198, 205, 214, 241, 242, 255,
 262, 271, 287
 American Jewish Joint Distribution
 Committee (AJJDC, JDC), 12, 192, 209,
 241, 242, 578, 716, 848, 877, 887
 American Mennonites, 214
 Amitié Chrétien. *See* French Christian
 Friendship
 Anafi, Commune of Political Exiles of, 507
 ANSC. *See* Christian National Student
 Association
 Apărarea Patriotică. *See* Patriotic Defense
 Arenai Street synagogue, 376
 Armée secrete (AS). *See* French Secret Army
 Armeoberkommando Norwegen. *See*
 German Army
 Armistice Commission, 531, 615
 Arrow Cross Party (Nyilaskeresztes Párt),
 305, 306, 307, 309, 312, 322, 324, 325,
 326, 327, 329, 330, 343, 349, 350, 353, 357,
 358, 378, 385
 AS. *See* French Secret Army
 Asociația Națională a Studenților Creștini.
See Christian National Student
 Association
 Assembly of Slovak Republic. *See* Slovak
 National Parliament
 Association of the Agricultural Coopera-
 tives of Trikala, 523
 Association of the Friends of Foreign
 Legion Volunteers, 532
 l'Aumônier Israélite, 124
 Australian Air Force (RAAF), 117, 280
 Austrian forced labor camps for Jews. *See*
 German forced labor camps for Jews
 Autonomous Group of Foreign Workers,
 241, 252, 292
 Autonomous Group of Ground Anti-
 Aircraft Forces, 250

 Bačić & Co., 60, 61
 Baiersdorf Old Age Home, 877
 Balta Gendarmes Legion, 616, 726, 754,
 790
 Balta Labor Battalion, 608, 747
 Balta Medical Service, 662
 Banca Națională a României. *See* Romanian
 National Bank
 Banda Maro. *See* Maro Gang
 Banderovci brigades, 756
 Baptists, 575, 734, 735, 782, 783
 Baross Association, 358
 Batalion de Granicerio. *See* Bucharest
 3rd Frontier Battalion
 Batalion de Lucru. *See* Romanian Labor
 Battalion
 Bavarian Army, 161
 BdO. *See* German Order Police Com-
 mander/Headquarters
 BdS. *See* German Security Police and the
 Security Service
 Beauséjour Hotel, 103
 Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des
 Sicherheitsdienstes. *See* German Security
 Police and the Security Service
 Beit Midrash school, 820
 Belgian Army, 101, 550
 Belgian Rexists, 171
 Belgrade Einsatzkommando. *See* Einsatz-
 kommando Belgrade
 Bereichkommando 11 (BK 11), 642, 719,
 720
 Bereichkommando 20 (BK 20), 720, 777
 Bereichkommando 26 (BK 26), 592
 Bernáth Iron and Metal Works, 358
 Bertrand de Brioude, 220
 Bevollmächtigter des Auswärtiges Amtes.
See Plenipotentiary of the German
 Foreign Office
 BK 11. *See* Bereichkommando 11
 BK 20. *See* Bereichkommando 20
 BK 26. *See* Bereichkommando 26
 BL. *See* Romanian Labor Battalion
 Black Legion, 47
 Blackshirts. *See* Italian Volunteer Militia
 for National Security
 BNR. *See* Romanian National Bank
 Bon Pasteur du Faubourg Madeleine, 153
 Bor Copper Mine and Metallurgy (Bor
 Kupferbergwerke und Hütten AG), 320
 Brannik youth group, 11, 16, 37
 Bratislava Construction Company
 (Bratislavská stavebná spoločnosť), 867
 Bratislava Police Directorate (Policajné
 riaditeľstvo v Bratislave), 854
 Bratislavská stavebná spoločnosť. *See*
 Bratislava Construction Company
 BRCS. *See* British Red Cross Society
 Brens Camp, Jewish Social Committee of
 the, 114
 Brethren, 575, 680, 692, 693
 British Army, 275, 462; Eighth Army, 425,
 527, 529, 530, 896, 899, 901
 British Fleet Air Arm (FAA), 280
 British MI-9, 117, 282
 British Parliament, 269
 British Pioneer Corps, 271, 278, 296
 British Red Cross Society (BRCS), 274, 298

- British Royal Air Force (RAF), 30, 103, 238, 274, 280, 527, 618, 793, 900
- British Royal Merchant Navy, 274, 275, 298
- British Royal Naval Reserves (RNR), 298
- British Royal Navy (RN), 260, 275, 280, 282
- British Special Operations Executive (SOE), 117
- British West African Governors' Conference, 298
- Bucharest 3rd Frontier Battalion, 730
- Bucharest People's Tribunal/Court, 582, 589, 600, 601, 612, 614, 617, 632, 643, 647, 659, 670–671, 678, 689, 696, 711, 718, 720, 722, 729, 733, 735, 736, 751, 755, 757, 759, 763, 768, 774, 778, 782, 796, 803, 804, 808, 812, 819
- Budapest, Relief and Rescue Committee of, 375–376
- Bugan and Danišovič engineering, 884
- Bulgarian Army, 2, 3, 29, 30, 37, 41; 1st Construction Company, 18; 1st Labor Battalion, 4, 7, 12, 17, 18n1, 22, 23, 40, 42; 2nd Labor Battalion, 8, 13n20, 28–29, 30nn5–6, 42; 4th Labor Battalion, 33, 34; 5th Labor Battalion, 4, 7, 13n14, 18, 19, 39, 42; 6th Labor Battalion, 8, 12, 25–26, 39, 40; 12th Labor Battalion, 8, 38; 14th group of the 2nd Detachment, 12; Sveti Vrach Detachment, 8
- Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor (Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost, OVTP), 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 19, 26, 29, 33, 37, 40, 42, 43
- Bulgarian Commissariat of Jewish Affairs (Komisarstvo za evreiskite vüprosi, KEV), 2, 7, 8–12, 16, 20–21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41
- Bulgarian Communist Party, 2
- Bulgarian Council of Ministers, 3, 6, 8, 21, 23, 42
- Bulgarian Interior Ministry, 2, 9, 11, 24, 25, 32, 33
- Bulgarian Ministry of Public Works (Ministerstvo naobshchestvenite sgradi, pütishtata i blagoustroistvoto, OSPB), 2, 5, 6, 19, 22, 26, 28, 33, 34, 37, 40, 42
- Bulgarian Orthodox Church, 2, 11, 28
- Bulgarian Parliament, 34
- Bulgarian security police, 18
- Bulgarian State Security Section of the Police Directorate (DPODS), 2–4, 9, 13, 30
- Bulgarian War Ministry, 26
- Bulgarian Workers Youth League, 3
- Bundesfinanzministerium. *See* German Federal Ministry of Finance
- Cagoulards. *See* La Cagoulle
- Căile Ferate Române. *See* Romanian Railways Company
- Camicie Nere (Blackshirts). *See* Italian Volunteer Militia for National Security
- Camps et Centres d'Internement. *See* French Camps and Internment Centers
- Canadian Air Force (RCAF), 117, 298
- Canadian Merchant Navy, 279
- CAR. *See* French Committee of Assistance to Refugees
- Caritas (Catholic Relief Services), 66, 209
- Carthusian Order, 205
- CAS. *See* American Committee of Assistance
- Catholic Relief Services. *See* Caritas
- CCI. *See* French Camps and Internment Centers
- CDEC. *See* Milan Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation
- CDJ. *See* French Committee for the Protection of Jews
- Central Bureau of Romanian Jews (Centrala Evreilor din România, CER), 578, 588, 591, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 604–605, 607, 612, 617, 621, 622, 625, 626, 628, 629, 630, 633, 635, 640, 645, 649, 650, 657, 660, 664, 666, 667, 674, 676, 681, 683, 684, 685, 689, 693, 694, 698, 699, 701, 703, 704, 709, 712, 716, 722, 723, 725, 726, 729, 733, 737, 740, 741, 743, 746, 753, 755, 757, 766, 767, 771, 779, 780, 787, 791, 796, 799, 800, 801, 802–803, 804, 806, 807, 810, 811–812, 822, 824–825, 826, 829
- Central Office for State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes (Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen, ZdL), 73
- Central Supplies Warehouse (Depozitul Central de Materiale), 789
- Centrala Evreilor din România. *See* Central Bureau of Romanian Jews
- Centrála pre riešenie židovského problému na Slovensku. *See* Slovak Center for the Solution of the Jewish Problem
- Centre d'accueil du Service Social des Étrangers. *See* French Office of Social Services for Foreigners
- Centre de Propagande de la Révolution Nationale. *See* French Propaganda Center of the National Revolution
- Centres Scolaires Médicaux de Megève. *See* Megève, Medical Teaching Institutions of
- Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea. *See* Milan Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation
- Centrolomy reconstruction, 857
- Centrul de Recrutare Tecuci. *See* Tecuci Military Recruitment Center
- CER. *See* Central Bureau of Romanian Jews
- Cercul de Recrutare Cernăuți. *See* Cernăuți Recruitment Center
- Cercul Teritorial Covurlui. *See* Covurlui Territorial Circle
- Cernăuți Insane Asylum, 700
- Cernăuți Old Age Home, 700
- Cernăuți Recruitment Center (Cercul de Recrutare Cernăuți), 632
- Četnici movement. *See* Chetnik movement
- CFL. *See* Franc Corps of Liberation
- CFR. *See* Romanian Railways Company
- CGC. *See* Chemin de Grande Communication
- CGQJ. *See* French General Commissariat on the Jewish Question
- CGT. *See* French General Confederation of Labor
- CGTU. *See* French Unitary General Confederation of Labor
- Chantiers de la jeunesse Française. *See* French Obligatory Youth Service Corps
- Chemin de Fer du Maroc Oriental. *See* Morocco, Eastern Railroads of
- Chemin de Grande Communication (CGC), 212
- Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger. *See* Mediterranean Niger Company
- Chetnik movement, 401
- Chevrá Kadisha, 425
- ChGK. *See* Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiiia)
- Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA), 274
- Christian National Student Association (Asociația Națională a Studenților Creștini, ANSC), 362
- Christian Welcome Home for Children (Maison d'Accueil Chrétienne pour Enfants, MACE), 214
- CIAF. *See* Italian Commission of the Armistice with France
- CIMADE. *See* French Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced
- Circle of Hungarian Fitness Activists (Magyar Testgyakorlók Köre, MTK), 332
- CJF. *See* French Obligatory Youth Service Corps
- Clairfond Center, 183
- Cluj People's Tribunal. *See* Kolozsvár People's Tribunal
- CMA. *See* Christian and Missionary Alliance
- CMO. *See* Railroads of Eastern Morocco
- COJASOR. *See* French Jewish Committee for Community Care and Reconstruction
- Collegio Gentile, 423
- Comandamentul Detașamentelor Lucrări Căi Ferate. *See* Romanian Railway Works Detachments Etampel
- Comandamentul Etapelor de Est. *See* Romanian Headquarters Rear Area for the East
- Comandamentul Forțelor de Apărare Interioară a Teritoriului. *See* Romanian Command Office of the Interior Defense Forces
- Comandamentul Lagărelor de Internați Evrei Galați. *See* Galați Command of Jewish Internment Camps
- Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia." *See* Superior Command of the Italian Armed Forces, "Slovenia and Dalmatia"
- Combicorn, 730

- Comisia de Ajutorare. *See* Romanian Autonomous Assistance Committee
- Comité américain de Secours. *See* American Committee of Assistance
- Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés. *See* French Committee of Assistance to Refugees
- Comité de Recrutement de la Main-d'Oeuvre Juive. *See* French Recruitment Committee of Jewish Labor
- Comité generalde defense de Juifs. *See* French Committee for the Protection of Jews
- Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprès des Évacués. *See* French Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced
- Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction. *See* French Jewish Committee for Community Care and Reconstruction
- Comité Juif de bienfaisance de Toulouse. *See* Toulouse, Jewish Charity Committee of
- Comité Social Israélite du Camp de Brens. *See* Brens Camp, Jewish Social Committee of
- Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives. *See* French General Commissariat on the Jewish Question
- Commissariat à la Lutte contre le Chômage. *See* French Commissariat for Unemployment Relief
- commission de criblage. *See* French Prefecture Screening Committee
- Commission de triage. *See* French Sorting Commission
- Commission italienne d'armistice avec la France/Commissione Italiana di Armistizio con la Francia. *See* Italian Commission of the Armistice with France
- Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (Comité Inter-Mouvements Auprès des Évacués, CIMADE), 114, 156, 177, 198, 209, 214, 236
- Commonwealth War Graves Commission, 279
- Communist Party, 2, 3, 70, 190, 750, 769
- Companies de Travailleurs Étrangers (CTE), 93, 121, 131, 171, 191, 205, 219, 258
- Confédération Générale du Travail. *See* French General Confederation of Labor
- Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire. *See* French Unitary General Confederation of Labor
- Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Agricoltura. *See* Italian Confederation of Agricultural Workers
- Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Industria. *See* Italian Confederation of Industrial Workers
- Conference for Jewish Material Claims against Germany, 292
- Constanța Agricultural Inspectorate, 823
- Constanța Recruitment Center (Cercul Teritorial Constanța), 574
- Contrôle Social des Étrangers. *See* French Social Control of Foreigners
- Controspionaggio. *See* Italian Counter Espionage
- Corps Franc de Libération. *See* Franc Corps of Liberation
- Cosenza Fascist Party, 424
- Covurlui Territorial Circle (Cercul Teritorial Covurlui), 574
- Cowl, The. *See* La Cagoulle
- Crédit Lyonnais, 248
- CRF. *See* French Red Cross
- Croatian Army (Domobrani), 47, 49, 63
- Croatian Caritas, 66
- Croatian Directorate for Land Reclamation and Water Regulation (Ravnateljstvo melioracijskih i regulacijskih radova), 59
- Croatian Directorate for Public Order and Security (Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost, RAVSIGUR), 48, 53, 59, 60, 61, 63
- Croatian gendarmerie (Oružništvo), 47
- Croatian German Commissioner. *See* German Commissioner in Croatia
- Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry (Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova, MUP), 54, 59, 60, 67, 68
- Croatian Ministry of Health (Ministarstvo zdravstva, MZ), 53
- Croatian paramilitary, 418
- Croatian Peasant Party (Hrvatska seljačka stranka, HSS), 46
- Croatian Red Cross (Hrvatski Crveni Križ, HCK), 74, 416
- Croatian Revolutionary Movement. *See* Ustaša regime
- Croatian Revolutionary Organization. *See* Ustaša regime
- Croix-Rouge Française. *See* French Red Cross
- CRR. *See* Romanian Red Cross
- Crucea Roșie din România. *See* Romanian Red Cross
- C.S. *See* Italian Counter Espionage
- CSE. *See* French Social Control of Foreigners
- CSMM. *See* Megève, Medical Teaching Institutions of
- CTE. *See* Companies de Travailleurs Étrangers
- Czechoslovak Army, 849
- Czechoslovak National Court (Národný súd), 849
- Danube Airplane Factory (Dunai Repülőgépgyár, DR), 332, 333
- DCA. *See* French air-defense training center
- Défense contre avion. *See* French air-defense training center
- DELASEM. *See* Italian Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants
- Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei. *See* Italian Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants
- Délégué des les Territoires Occupés du Secrétariat Général pour la Police Nationale. *See* French Delegate of the Occupied Territories of the General Secretariat for the National Police
- Demobilized Foreign Workers Group, 140, 247, 259, 283, 287
- Demobilized Workers Group, 241, 268, 277, 278, 281
- Deployment Command of the Security Police and SD with Army Command Norway, Headquarters Finland. *See* Einsatzkommando Finnland
- Depozitul Central de Materiale. *See* Central Supplies Warehouse
- Dessewffy Estate, 364
- Detachment Sveti Vrach, 8
- Detășamentul de Grinzi Beton. *See* Romanian Concrete Beams Brigade
- Deutsche Jugend. *See* German Youth
- Deutsche Partei. *See* German Party
- Deutscher Bevollmächtigter General in Kroatien. *See* German Commissioner in Croatia
- 2ème Bureau. *See* Second Bureau of the French General Staff, Intelligence
- DGPN. *See* French General Directorate of the National Police
- Dggs. *See* Italian General Directorate of Public Security
- Dgsg. *See* Italian General Directorate of War Services
- Diderot School, 234, 235
- Diéfthinsi Eidikís Asfaleías tou Krátous. *See* Greek Directorate of Special Security of the State
- Dirrecția Drumurilor. *See* Ovidiopol Road Directorate
- Direction de la Production Industrielle. *See* French Department of Industrial Production
- Direction des Affaires Politiques. *See* French Direction of Political Affairs
- Direction des Réfugiés. *See* French Directorate of Refugees
- Direction Générale de la Police Nationale. *See* French General Directorate of the National Police
- Direktsia na politsiata, otdel dŭrzhavna sigurnost. *See* Bulgarian State Security section of the Police Directorate
- Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza. *See* Italian General Directorate of Public Security
- Direzione generale servizi di guerra. *See* Italian General Directorate of War Services
- DK. *See* Yugoslav State Commission to Investigate Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators
- DNL. *See* Norwegian Legion
- Dohány Street Synagogue, 312, 324
- Domobrani. *See* Croatian Army
- DP. *See* German Party
- DPODS. *See* Bulgarian State Security section of the Police Directorate
- DR. *See* Danube Airplane Factory
- Dreher-Haggenmacher brewery, 363
- Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača. *See*

- Yugoslav State Commission to Investigate Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators
- DTOSGPN. *See* French Delegate of the Occupied Territories of the General Secretariat for the National Police
- Dunai Repülőgépgyár. *See* Danube Airplane Factory
- EA. *See* Greek National Solidarity movement
- EAM. *See* Greek National Liberation Front
- East Karelia Military Administration Headquarters (Itä-Karjalan Sotilashallinnon Esikunnalle), 86
- Eaux-et-Forêts. *See* French Water and Forest Department
- Eclaireurs Israélites de France. *See* French Jewish Scouts
- Éclaireuses et Éclaireurs unionistes de France. *See* French Unionist Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts
- École Lamartine. *See* Lamartine School
- EDES, 515
- EES. *See* Hellenic Red Cross
- ÉEUF. *See* French Unionist Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts
- E&F. *See* French Water and Forest Department
- Egerscehi Coal and Portland Cement Mine, 337
- EG-J. *See* Einsatzgruppe of the Security Police and Security Service for Yugoslavia
- EIF. *See* French Jewish Scouts
- Einsatzgruppe C, 799
- Einsatzgruppe D, 575, 592, 594, 608, 631, 637, 642, 675, 691, 698, 715, 756, 768, 769, 795, 827
- Einsatzgruppe G, 680
- Einsatzgruppe H, 849, 871, 882
- Einsatzgruppe of the Security Police and Security Service for Yugoslavia (Einsatzgruppe der Sipo und des SD für Jugoslawien, EG-J), 832, 833
- Einsatzgruppe Russland Süd, 650, 799
- Einsatzkommando 5, 606, 799
- Einsatzkommando Belgrade (Einsatzkommando der Sipo und des SD Belgrad), 832
- Einsatzkommando Finnland (Einsatzkommando der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD beim Armeekorpskommando Norwegen, Befehlsstelle Finnland), 83, 84
- Einsatzkommando Tunis, 895
- Einsatzkommandos in Norway, 562
- Einsatzstaffel, 71, 72, 73
- ELAS. *See* Greek People's Liberation Army
- Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós. *See* Hellenic Red Cross
- Ellinikós Laikós Apeletherotikós Stratós. *See* Greek People's Liberation Army
- Empireirkeio Asylum of Homeless Children, 510
- Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre. *See* French Foreign Legion for the duration of the war
- Enlisted Volunteers of Montauban (Amicale des Engagés Volontaires de Montauban), 182
- Ente Sardo di Colonizzazione. *See* Sardinian Authority for Colonization
- l'entre'Aide Sociale. *See* French National Mutual Social Aid
- l'équipe Glasberg. *See* Glasberg team
- ESC. *See* Sardinian Authority for Colonization
- Estonian General Staff, 80
- Ethiopian Christian Coptic church, 502
- Ethniki Allileggyi. *See* Greek National Solidarity movement
- Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo. *See* Greek National Liberation Front
- Evangelical Teacher-Training Institute (Evangelikus Tanítóképző Intézet), 372
- EVDG. *See* French Foreign Legion for the duration of the war
- FAA. *See* British Fleet Air Arm
- Farfa, Benedictine Abbey of, 424
- Fatherland and Liberty (Patria e libertà), 470
- Fatherland Front (Otechestven Front, OF), 3, 4, 23, 43
- Federatia Comunităților Evreiești din România. *See* Romanian Federation of the Jewish Communities
- Fédération Amicale Engagés Volontaires étrangers. *See* Association of the Friends of Foreign Legion Volunteers
- Federation of Jewish Communities, 555, 578, 677, 759
- Fédération protestante de France. *See* French Protestant Federation
- Feldkommandantur. *See* German field headquarters
- Ferrus & Elambert, 134
- FFI. *See* French Forces of the Interior
- Finnish Army, 80, 86, 87
- Finnish Communist Party (Suomen Kommunistinen Puolue), 80
- Finnish General Headquarters, 81, 87
- Finnish Security Police (Valtioliinienpoliisi, Valpo), 83, 84
- Finnish Social Democratic Party (Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue, SDP), 80
- Finnish-Soviet Union Peace and Friendship Society (Suomen-Neuvostoliiton rauhan ja ystävyyden seuran, SNS I), 87
- First Legion of Indochinese Workers, 101
- First Sisak Partisan Brigade, 49
- FK. *See* German field headquarters
- Flemish National Union (Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond, VNV), 171
- Florence Public Security Office, 443
- Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur. *See* French Forces of the Interior
- Ford automotive plant (Odessa), 730
- Foreign Workers Group, 92, 93, 94, 101, 105, 113, 115, 116, 119, 121, 123, 125, 138, 140, 146, 151, 165, 169, 178, 179, 182, 184, 197, 205, 206, 215, 217, 219, 220, 223, 229, 230, 231, 233, 241, 247, 248, 251, 254, 255, 256, 259, 260, 261, 262, 267, 271, 272, 273, 276, 277, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 290, 291, 294, 295, 296, 297
- Foundazione Gigante, 400
- Fourth French Republic. *See* French Fourth Republic
- Franc Corps of Liberation (Corps Franc de Libération, CFL), 155
- Franco-German Armistice Commission, 139, 281, 531
- Franco-German Commission of Ernst Kundt. *See* Kundt Commission
- Francs-Tireurs et Partisans Français. *See* French partisans
- Free French Army, 250, 292
- Freemasons, 835
- Freiwillige Schutzstaffel (FS), 842, 843, 847, 854
- French 37th Aviation Regiment, 256
- French Action (Action Française) party, 95, 139
- French Administration of Forests and Waterways (Administration des Forêts et Voies navigables), 289
- French air-defense training center (Défense contre avion, DCA), 237
- French Army, 107, 116, 119, 121, 165, 168, 171, 181, 205, 212, 234, 241, 249, 250, 253, 258, 259, 263, 273, 278, 283, 284, 285, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 297, 298; 41st Infantry Regiment, 127; 17th French Military Regiment, 119. *See also* Free French Army
- French Army Service (Service de l'Armée de Terre), 261
- French Attorney General of the Republic (Procureur de la République), 208
- French Camps and Internment Centers (Camps et Centres d'Internement, CCI), 162
- French Children's Aid Society (Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants, OSE), 105, 154, 155, 169, 175, 214, 533, 578–579
- French Christian Friendship, 175
- French Colonial Army, 284
- French Commissariat for Unemployment Relief (Commissariat à la Lutte contre le Chômage), 119, 133, 165
- French Committee for Assistance to Refugees (Comité d'assistance aux Réfugiés, CAR), 122, 158, 172, 192, 193
- French Committee for the Protection of Jews (Comité generalde defense de Juifs, CDJ), 105
- French Committee to Coordinate Activities for the Displaced (Comité Inter-Mouvements Au près des Évacués, CIMADE), 114, 156, 177, 198, 209, 214, 236
- French Committee for the Recruitment of Jewish Labor (Comité de Recrutement de la Main-d'Oeuvre Juive), 895, 899, 901, 902
- French Communist Party (Parti communiste français, PCF), 103, 130, 131, 160, 201, 226
- French Defense Ministry. *See* French War and National Defense Ministry

- French Delegate of the Occupied Territories of the General Secretariat for the National Police (Délégué des les Territoires Occupés du Secrétariat Général pour la Police Nationale, DTOSGPN), 160–161
- French Directorate of Industrial Production (Direction de la Production Industrielle), 251, 259, 267, 272, 276, 285, 286, 288, 289
- French Departmental Union-General Confederation of Labor (L'Union Départementale-Confédération Générale du Travail, UD-CGT), 121
- French Directorate of Political Affairs (Direction des Affaires Politiques), 289
- French Directorate of Refugees (Direction des Réfugiés), 157
- French Forces of the Interior (Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur, FFI), 147, 159, 178, 225, 226
- French Foreign Affairs Ministry, 183
- French Foreign Legion (Légion Étrangère, LE), 131, 145, 241, 247, 248, 249, 250, 262, 263, 264, 266, 269, 270, 271, 276, 277, 284, 287, 291, 293, 294, 296, 900
- French Foreign Legion for the duration of the war (Engagés volontaires à la Légion étrangère pour la durée de la guerre, EVDG), 131, 165, 241, 248, 251, 256, 277, 278, 285, 291, 294
- French Fourth Republic, 145, 148, 156, 168
- French Garde Civil, 177
- French Gaullists. *See* Gaullists
- French Gendarmerie Nationale (GN), 121, 132, 160, 186, 537
- French General Commissariat on the Jewish Question (Commissariat Général aux Questions Juives, CGQJ), 95, 96, 158
- French General Confederation of Labor (Confédération Générale du Travail, CGT), 130, 139
- French General Directorate of the National Police (Direction Générale de la Police Nationale, DGPN), 93, 128
- French General Inspectorate of Camps (Inspection Générale des Camps, IGC), 93, 168, 172, 200, 211, 232, 237
- French Industrial and Commercial Societies, 226
- French Industrial Production and Labor Ministry (Ministère de la Production Industrielle et du Travail), 93, 241
- French Inspectorate of Concentration Camps. *See* French General Inspectorate of Camps
- French Interior Ministry. *See* French/Vichy Interior Ministry
- French Jewish Committee for Community Care and Reconstruction (Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction, COJASOR), 177
- French Jewish Scouts (Eclaireurs Israélites de France, EIF), 116, 155
- French Jewish Union for Resistance and Mutual Aid (Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'Entraide, UJRE), 199
- French Justice Ministry, 190
- French Labor and Industrial Production Ministry, 119
- French Labor Ministry, 101, 158, 159, 207, 230
- French Left, 151, 171
- French Legion of Veterans (Legion française des combattants, LFC), 123, 262
- French militia, 179
- French Ministry of Prisoners of War, Deportees, and Refugees (Ministère des Prisonniers de guerre, Déportés et Réfugiés), 221
- French Mobile Police (Garde-Mobile), 132, 234
- French Mobile Reserve Group (Groupe Mobile de Réserve, GMR), 103, 116, 139, 140, 169
- French National Defense Ministry. *See* French War and National Defense Ministry
- French National Movement against Racism (Mouvement National contre le Racisme, MNCR), 177
- French National Mutual Social Aid (l'entre'Aide Sociale), 159
- French National Police (Sûreté Nationale), 206, 207, 214, 534
- French National Relief (Secours Nationale), 177, 237
- French Naval Construction Service, 258
- French Navy, 241, 257
- French Obligatory Labor Service (Service du Travail Obligatoire, STO), 92, 116, 153, 171, 186, 203
- French Obligatory Youth Service Corps (Chantiers de la jeunesse Française, CJF), 133, 256
- French Office of Social Services for Foreigners (Centre d'accueil du Service Social des Étrangers, SSE), 105, 116, 124, 125, 133, 158, 184, 210
- French Office of the Social Control of Foreigners (Service du Contrôle Social des Étrangers, SSCE), 103, 104, 133
- French Parliament, 90
- French partisans (Francs-Tireurs et Partisans Français, FTPF), 156
- French police. *See* French National Police; French/Vichy police
- French Police of Territory and Foreigners (Police du Territoire et des Étrangers), 94
- French Popular Front (Front Populaire), 90, 144
- French Popular Party (Parti Populaire Français, PPF), 266
- French Prefecture Screening Committee (commission de criblage), 183
- French Propaganda Center of the National Revolution (Centre de Propagande de la Révolution Nationale), 90
- French Protestant Federation (Fédération protestante de France), 169
- French Provisional Government (Gouvernement Provisoire), 93, 94, 159
- French Public Health Ministry, 197, 198
- French Reconstruction Ministry, 231
- French Red Cross (Croix-Rouge Française, CRF), 111, 114, 140, 153, 163, 192, 193, 203, 209, 222, 236, 237, 249
- French Resistance, 92, 116, 123, 135, 137, 155, 160, 178, 190, 201, 212, 214, 216, 231, 236, 536
- French Saharan Army, 285
- French Second Bureau of General Staff, Intelligence. *See* Second Bureau of the French General Staff, Intelligence
- French Secret Army (Armée secrète, AS), 232
- French Social Control of Foreigners (Contrôle Social des Étrangers, CSE), 103, 158, 184, 207, 230
- French Sorting Commission (Commission de triage), 206
- French Third Republic, 90, 91, 93, 112, 115, 143, 144, 171, 181, 234, 250, 26
- French Unionist Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts (ÉÉUF), 155
- French Unitary General Confederation of Labor (Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire, CGTU), 102
- French War and National Defense Ministry, 93, 101, 127, 131, 164, 185, 221
- French Water and Forest Department (Eaux-et-Forêts, E&F), 93, 181, 219, 222
- French Workers' and Peasants' Party (Parti ouvrier et paysan français, POPF), 103
- French/Vichy Interior Ministry, 93, 101, 103, 104, 107, 109, 116, 117, 120, 122, 124, 129, 133, 137, 143, 146, 148, 167, 171, 183, 188, 189, 198, 200, 201, 206, 207, 212, 213, 221, 223, 225, 228, 234, 241
- French/Vichy police, 91, 92, 95, 96, 101, 103, 112, 114, 133, 134, 293
- Freýer company, 864, 865
- Front Populaire. *See* French Popular Front
- FS. *See* Freiwillige Schutzstaffel
- FTPF. *See* French partisans
- Furnir Deta, 793
- GAFTA. *See* Autonomous Group of Ground Anti-Aircraft Forces
- Galați Command of Jewish Internment Camps (Comandamentul Lagărelor de Internați Evrei Galați), 679
- Galați Military Tribunal, 680
- Garda de Fier. *See* Romanian Iron Guard
- Garde-Mobile. *See* French mobile police
- Garibaldi partisan brigade, 420
- Gaullists, 137, 140, 190, 280, 535, 536
- Geheime Feldpolizei. *See* German Secret Military Police
- Geheime Staatspolizei. *See* German Secret State Police
- General Delegation of the French Government in the Occupied Territories, 183
- General Plenipotentiary for the Economy in Serbia (Generalbevollmächtigter für die Wirtschaft in Serbien), 832
- General Union of French Jews (Union Générale des Israélites de France,

- UGIF), 104, 124, 125, 138, 154, 169, 192, 207, 209, 210, 220, 232
- Generalbevollmächtigter für die Wirtschaft in Serbien. *See* General Plenipotentiary for the Economy in Serbia
- Génie Artillerie. *See* Artillery Engineering Corps
- German Afrika Korps, 896
- German Armed Forces. *See* High Command of the German Armed Forces
- German Army, 49, 82, 234, 237, 281, 318, 362, 400, 437, 472, 572, 603, 615, 652, 680, 710, 732, 738, 750, 759, 760, 762, 766, 768, 769, 770, 771, 805, 816, 820, 821, 824, 825, 827, 828, 830, 849, 859, 865, 866, 869; Armeoberkommando (AOK), 20, 82; Armeoberkommando (AOK) Lappland, 82; Armeoberkommando (AOK) Norwegen, 80, 82, 83; Army Group E, 49; Eleventh Army, 575, 602; Fifth Panzer Army, 895; XC Army Corps, 894
- German Command Office of the Security Police and Security Service (Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes, KdS), 532, 849
- German Commissioner in Croatia (Deutscher Bevollmächtigter General in Kroatien), 73
- German Embassy (France), 95, 183
- German Federal Ministry of Finance (Bundesfinanzministerium), 292
- German field headquarters (Feldkommandantur, FK), 92, 152, 153, 157, 161, 177, 179, 186, 202, 203, 215–216, 234
- German forced labor camps for Jews (Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden, ZALfJ), 316, 807
- German Foreign Office in Tunisia, 895
- German Order Police (Ordnungspolizei, Orpo), 833
- German Order Police Commander/Headquarters (Befehlshaber der Ordnungspolizei, BdO), 835
- German Party (Deutsch Partei, DP), 842, 843, 871, 885
- German Secret Military Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP), 82
- German Secret State Police (Geheime Staatspolizei, Gestapo), 104, 105, 125, 144, 169, 179, 196, 318, 319, 328, 330, 346, 361, 362, 378, 496, 534, 561, 567, 602, 725, 833
- German Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo), 49, 82, 83, 95, 306, 346, 477, 528, 562, 833, 895
- German Security Police and the Security Service (Sicherheitspolizei Sicherheitsdienst, Sipo-SD), 83, 84, 95, 532, 562, 832, 833, 835, 839
- German Security Police and Security Commander/Headquarters (Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes, BdS), 561, 562
- German Social Democrats, 173
- German Youth, 843
- Gestapo. *See* German Secret State Police
- GFP. *See* German Secret Military Police
- Gittonists, 103
- Glasberg team, 122
- GMR. *See* French Mobile Reserve Group
- GN. *See* French Gendarmerie Nationale
- Gnome-et-Rhône factory, 188
- Gnr. *See* Italian National Republican Guard
- Golta Agricultural Office (Serviciul Agricol), 682
- Golta Praetor's Office (Pretura), 683
- Gouvernement Provisoire. *See* French Provisional Government
- GPTEs. *See* Palestinian Foreign Workers Group
- Gramsci partisan brigade, 420
- Greek Army, 24, 516, 518, 521
- Greek Communist Party (Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas, KKE), 506, 507, 513, 515, 517, 522
- Greek Directorate of Special Security of the State (Diéftinsi Eidikís Asfaleías tou Krátous), 505
- Greek Interior Ministry, 505
- Greek National Liberation Front (Ethnikó Apeleytherotikó Métopo, EAM), 507, 513, 514, 515, 517, 520, 522, 525
- Greek National Solidarity movement (Ethniki Allileggyi, EA), 505, 506, 513, 516, 518, 520, 522, 526
- Greek People's Liberation Army (Ellinikós Laikós Apeleftherotikós Stratós, ELAS), 506, 508, 516, 520, 522
- Greek Red Cross. *See* Hellenic Red Cross
- Greek Sub-Ministry of Public Security, 505
- Grenadiers of Sardinia. *See under* Italian Army
- Group of Algerian workers. *See* Algerian Workers Group
- Group of Jewish workers. *See* Jewish Workers Group
- Groupe Autonome des Forces Terrestres Antiaériennes. *See* Group of Ground Anti-Aircraft Forces
- Groupe Mobile de Réserve. *See* French Mobile Reserve Group
- Groupement des Travailleurs Algériens (GTA). *See* Algerian Workers Group
- Groupement des Travailleurs Démobilisés (GTDs). *See* Demobilized Workers Group
- Groupement des Travailleurs Étrangers (GTEs). *See* Foreign Workers Group
- Groupement des Travailleurs Étrangers Autonomes (GTEAs). *See* Autonomous Group of Foreign Workers
- Groupement des Travailleurs Étrangers Démobilisés (GTEDs). *See* Demobilized Foreign Workers Group
- Groupement Palestiniens des Travailleurs Étrangers (GPTEs). *See* Palestinian Foreign Workers Group
- Groupe de Travailleurs Israélites (GTI). *See* Jewish Workers Group
- GTA. *See* Algerian Workers Group
- GTDs. *See* Demobilized Workers Group
- GTEAs. *See* Autonomous Group of Foreign Workers
- GTEDs. *See* Demobilized Foreign Workers Group
- GTEs. *See* Foreign Workers Group
- GTI. *See* Jewish Workers Group
- Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana. *See* Italian National Republican Guard
- Hali Market, 35
- Hashomer Hatzair, 328, 882
- Haute-Vienne Department of Bridges and Roads (Service des Ponts et Chaussées de la Haute-Vienne), 221, 224
- HCK. *See* Croatian Red Cross
- Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS), 169
- Hebrew Immigration/Jewish Colonisation Association/Emig-Direkt (HICEM), 169, 218, 241, 265, 275, 872
- Hellenic Red Cross (Ellinikós Erythrós Staurós, EES), 505, 506, 507, 511, 516, 517, 518, 520, 526
- HG. *See* Hlinka Guard
- HIAS. *See* Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
- HICEM. *See* Hebrew Immigration/Jewish Colonisation Association/Emig-Direkt
- High Command of the German Armed Forces (Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, OKW), 80, 561. *See also* Wehrmacht
- Higher SS and Police Leader (Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer, HSSPF), 561
- Hirden. *See* Norwegian paramilitary
- Hitler Youth, 5, 842
- Hlinka Guard (Hlinkova garda, HG), 842, 843, 844, 847, 848, 849, 854, 857, 858, 864, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 874, 876, 877, 879, 881, 882, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891. *See also* Academic Hlinka Guard
- Hlinka Slovak People's Party (Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana, HSES), 842, 843, 844, 845, 848, 849, 863, 871, 885
- Hlinka Youth (Hlinkova mládež), 842
- Hlinkova garda. *See* Hlinka Guard
- Hlinkova mládež. *See* Hlinka Youth
- Hlinkova slovenská ľudová strana. *See* Hlinka Slovak People's Party
- Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer. *See* Higher SS and Police Leader
- Holy Cross, Abbey of (Abbazia di Santa Croce), 458
- Holy See, 847, 848
- Honvéd. *See* Hungarian Army
- HrNa. *See* Hrvatski narod
- Hrvatska revolucionarna organizacija. *See* Ustaša regime
- Hrvatska seljačka stranka. *See* Croatian Peasant Party
- Hrvatski Crveni Križ. *See* Croatian Red Cross
- Hrvatski narod (HrNa), 59
- Hrvatski revolucionarni pokret. *See* Ustaša regime
- HSES. *See* Hlinka Slovak People's Party
- HSS. *See* Croatian Peasant Party
- HSSPF. *See* Higher SS and Police Leader
- HSSPF Norway, 561, 562
- Hungarian Academic Hlinka Guard. *See* Academic Hlinka Guard

- Hungarian Army (Honvéd), 304, 305, 306, 320, 321, 322, 362
- Hungarian Arrow Cross Party. *See* Arrow Cross Party
- Hungarian Center of National Defense, 330
- Hungarian Christian National Student Association. *See* Christian National Student Association
- Hungarian Council of Ministers, 303, 304, 307, 308, 384
- Hungarian Defense Ministry, 303, 304, 305, 306, 320, 329
- Hungarian Gendarmerie, 306, 315
- Hungarian Interior Ministry, 303, 306–307, 308, 310, 312, 316, 318, 323, 324, 329, 335, 345, 348, 357, 368, 369, 371
- Hungarian Jews, Benevolent Society of, 368
- Hungarian Labor Battalions, 304, 320, 346, 349, 355, 357, 358, 362, 366
- Hungarian labor camps for Jews (ZALDJ), 359
- Hungarian National Center for Secondary Sports Clubs (Középiskolai Sportkörök Országos Központja, KISOK), 326–327
- Hungarian National Central Alien Control Office (Külföldiek Ellenőrző Országos Központi Hatóság, KEOKH), 338, 368
- Hungarian National Central Authority for Controlling Foreigners, 332
- Hungarian National Council of People's Courts (Népbírószágok Országos Tanácsa, NOT), 343
- Hungarian National Rabbinical Institute (Országos Rabbiképző Intézet, ORI), 303, 330, 346
- Hungarian Party, 842, 843
- Hungarian Public Kitchen of the Orthodox Jewish community, 338
- Hungarian Public Labor Service (A Közérdekű Munkaszolgálat Országos Felügyelője, KMOF), 303, 316, 320, 341, 344, 354, 362, 363, 366, 368, 374, 376, 378, 379, 383, 387
- Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, 326
- Hungarian State Railway, 366
- Iași Recruitment Center, 574
- ICRC. *See* International Committee of the Red Cross
- IEQJ. *See* Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question
- IGC. *See* French General Inspectorate of Camps
- IKL. *See* SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps
- IMIs. *See* Italian Military Internees
- Imperial War Museum (IWM), 282
- IMT. *See* International Military Tribunal
- Înaltul Comandament Aliat. *See* Allied High Command
- Ing. Danisovič, 866
- Ing. Dohnányi, 864, 865
- Ing. Gustáv Hamburger, 891
- Ing. Kruliš, 864, 865
- Ing. Lozovský and Štefanec, 855, 856, 859, 860, 861
- Ing. Petri, 859, 866
- Inochentists, 575, 680, 734, 735, 768
- Inspection académique de Maine-et-Loire. *See* Maine-et-Loire, Academic Inspectorate
- Inspection Générale des Camps. *See* French General Inspectorate of Camps
- Inspectoratul Agricol Constanța. *See* Constanța Agricultural Inspectorate
- Inspectoratul General al Taberelorși Coloanelor de Muncă. *See* Romanian General Inspectorate of Labor Camps and Brigades
- Inspektion der Konzentrationslager. *See* SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps
- Institut d'Étude des Questions Juives. *See* Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question
- Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question (Institut d'Étude des Questions Juives, IEQJ), 95
- Intendenza Civile delle Terre Annesse. *See* Italian Civil Intendancy of the Annexed Lands
- Inter-Allied Reparations Agency, 50–51
- International Brigade (Interbrigade), 18, 107, 117, 118, 150, 197, 211, 264, 269, 278, 296–297
- International Commission, 62
- International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 31, 39, 62, 64, 66, 113, 156, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 259, 265, 267, 272, 276, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 294, 296, 326, 391, 403, 406, 412, 413, 414, 416, 420, 422, 437, 442, 447, 451, 452, 457, 458, 466, 467, 476, 482, 487, 490, 494, 505, 510, 513, 518, 520, 522, 541, 598, 619, 629, 708, 753, 794, 796, 798
- International League against Antisemitism (Ligue internationale contre l'antisemitisme, LICA), 253, 265, 266
- International Military Tribunal (IMT), 356
- International Solidarity of Anti-Fascists (Solidarité internationale antifasciste, SIA), 266
- International Tracing Service (ITS), 70, 73, 74, 75, 92, 111, 118, 136, 152, 190, 217, 218, 219, 229, 238, 260, 261, 281, 296, 315, 327, 328, 334, 359, 402, 408, 416, 417, 433, 434, 437, 438, 459, 471, 474, 476, 482, 487, 531, 532, 535, 536, 537, 541, 555, 557, 788, 862
- Iron Guard (Garda de Fier). *See* Romanian Iron Guard
- Israelita Siketnéma Országos Intézete. *See* Jewish National Institute for the Deaf and Dumb
- Istituto Elioterapico Merello. *See* Merello Heliotherapeutic Institute
- Itä-Karjalan Sotilashallinnon Esikunnalle. *See* East Karelia Military Administration Headquarters
- Italian Africa, Police of (Polizia dell'Africa Italiana, PAI), 528, 530
- Italian Anti-Communist Voluntary Militias (MVAC), 541
- Italian Army, 43, 47, 55, 57, 58, 65, 393, 400, 410, 413, 422, 427, 430, 447, 450, 453, 454, 471, 479, 482, 484, 490, 491, 498, 500, 516, 518, 531, 540, 545, 548, 553, 555, 895, 896, 901; Second Army, 391, 416, 422, 427, 432, 476, 540, 543, 544, 545, 546, 548, 549, 550, 552, 553, 555; Fourth Army, 531, 532, 535, 536, 537; Ninth Army, 482, 540; Eleventh Army, 519; V Army Corps, 544, 554, 555; VI Army Corps, 468, 545, 548, 549, 551, 553; VIII Army Corps, 515; XI Army Corps, 422; XIII Army Corps, 409; XVIII Army Corps, 543, 549, 556; XXVI Army Corps, 515; 1st Mountain "Superga" Division, 899, 901–902; 21st Infantry Division, "Sardinia Grenadiers," 432, 550
- Italian Army Engineers, 481
- Italian Civil Intendancy of the Annexed Lands (Intendenza Civile delle Terre Annesse), 437
- Italian Commission of the Armistice with France (Commission italienne d'armistice avec la France/Commissione Italiana di Armistizio con la Francia, CIAF), 533, 537
- Italian Communist Party (Partito Comunista Italiano, PCI or PCd'I), 131
- Italian Confederation of Agricultural Workers (Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Agricoltura), 557
- Italian Confederation of Industrial Workers (Confederazione dei Lavoratori dell'Industria), 557
- Italian Council of Ministers, 409
- Italian Counter Espionage (Controspionaggio, C.S.), 512
- Italian Customs Office, 435
- Italian Delegation for the Assistance of Jewish Emigrants (Delegazione per l'Assistenza degli Emigranti Ebrei, DELASEM), 402, 404, 405, 406, 411, 454, 484, 491, 496, 547
- Italian Directorate of Fascist Women, 463
- Italian Education Ministry, 400
- Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry (Ministero degli Affari Esteri), 436, 454, 484, 487
- Italian General Directorate of Public Security (Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza, Dggs), 424, 439, 449
- Italian General Directorate of War Services (Direzione generale servizi di guerra, Dgsg), 426, 439
- Italian Interior Ministry, 390, 391, 399, 400, 401, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 420, 422, 423, 424, 428, 429, 431, 432, 434, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 473, 475, 479, 482, 487, 544, 552, 557
- Italian Military Intelligence Service (Servizio Informazioni Militare, SIM), 532, 535
- Italian Military Internees (Italienische Militärinternierte, IMIs), 320, 575
- Italian Military Mission, 647
- Italian National Fascist Party (Partito Nazionale Fascista, PNF), 423

- Italian National Republican Guard (Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana, Gnr), 402, 404, 407, 421, 445, 460, 461, 471, 474
- Italian Navy, 400
- Italian Office of the Prime Minister (Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri), 468
- Italian Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism (Organizzazione Vigilanza Repressione Antifascismo, OVRA), 452, 531, 532, 537
- Italian Public Security (Pubblica Sicurezza), 390, 399, 401, 402, 403, 404, 407, 409, 410, 414, 424, 431, 434, 441, 443, 449, 450, 452, 456, 459, 466
- Italian Red Cross (Croce Rossa Italiana, CRI), 391, 392, 406, 413, 415, 416, 417, 419, 422, 428, 443, 451, 454, 458, 459, 463, 487, 505, 526
- Italian Royal General Lieutenancy (Regia Luogotenenza Generale, RLG), 479, 482, 484, 487, 493, 494, 496, 499, 500
- Italian Social Democratic Party (PSI), 470
- Italian Social Republic (Repubblica Sociale Italiana, RSI), 392, 393, 403, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 411, 412, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 425, 428, 430, 431, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 451, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 464, 472, 474, 477, 534, 647
- Italian Society for Construction and Public Works (Società Italiana Costruzioni e Lavori Pubblici, SICELP), 501
- Italian Special Court for the Defense of the State (Tribunale Speciale per la Difesa dello Stato), 450
- Italian Superior Command. *See* Superior Command FF. AA. Albania; Superior Command of the Italian Armed Forces, "Slovenia and Dalmatia"
- Italian Volunteer Militia for National Security (Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale, MVSN), 391, 392, 403, 425, 427, 450, 451, 456, 457, 459, 471, 472, 473, 554
- Italian War Ministry, 390, 442, 449, 462
- Italianische Militärinternierte. *See* Italian Military Internees
- ITS. *See* International Tracing Service
- IWM. *See* Imperial War Museum
- Jasenovac Assembly Camps, Central Command Post for, 63
- JDC. *See* American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
- Jedinstveni narodnooslobodilački. *See* Unitary People's Liberation Front
- Jehovah's Witnesses, 304, 320, 359, 382, 575, 734, 735
- Jewish Agency, 229, 578
- Jewish National Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (Israelita Siketnémak Országos Intézete), 325
- Jewish Social Work (Oeuvres sociales israélites), 220
- Jewish Workers Group, 249, 297
- JNOF. *See* Unitary People's Liberation Front
- Jó Pásztor Bizottság. *See* Protestants of Jewish Origin of the Good Shepherd Committee
- Joint, the. *See* American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
- JSU. *See* Unified Socialist Youth
- Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas. *See* Unified Socialist Youth
- Kaposvár People's Tribunal, 343
- KdS. *See* German Command Office of the Security Police and Security Service
- KEOKH. *See* Hungarian National Central Alien Control Office
- KEV. *See* Bulgarian Commissariat of Jewish Affairs
- KGB. *See* Soviet Committee for State Security
- KISOK. *See* Hungarian National Center for Secondary Sports Clubs
- KKE. *See* Greek Communist Party
- KKSH. *See* Albanian Red Cross
- Klein Brickworks, 378
- KMOF. *See* Hungarian Public Labor Service
- Kolozsvár People's Tribunal, 320, 352, 363, 371, 373, 374, 762
- Komisarstvo za evreiskite vüprosi. *See* Bulgarian Commissariat of Jewish Affairs
- Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti (KGB). *See* Soviet Committee for State Security
- Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und des Sicherheitsdienstes. *See* German Command Office of the Security Police and Security Service
- Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas. *See* Greek Communist Party
- Komunistická strana Slovenska. *See* Slovak Communist Party
- König Glass Factory, 358
- Konstruktíva company, 864, 865
- Kovpak Partisans, 829
- Középiskolai Sportkörök Országos Központja. *See* Hungarian National Center for Secondary Sports Clubs
- Közérdekű Munkaszolgálat Országos Felügyelője. *See* Hungarian Public Labor Service
- Krajinský úrad. *See* Slovak Country Office
- Kryqi i Kuq Shqiptar. *See* Albanian Red Cross
- KSS. *See* Slovak Communist Party
- KÚ. *See* Slovak Country Office
- Külföldiek Ellenőrző Országos Központi Hatóság. *See* Hungarian National Central Alien Control Office
- Kundt Commission, 91, 119, 136, 168, 171, 173, 174, 175, 206, 211
- La Cagoulle, 139
- Ladislav Hits engineering, 867, 868, 880
- Landesschützbataillon 726, 172
- Lanna construction, 856, 870, 878
- LE. *See* French Foreign Legion
- Légion de Gendarmerie, 134
- Légion Étrangère. *See* French Foreign Legion
- Legion française des combattants. *See* French Legion of Veterans
- Legion of the Archangel Michael (Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail), 570, 618, 781, 819
- Legionary Order Service (Service d'Ordre Légionnaire), 116, 249, 258
- Legionnaires, 116, 128, 285, 291, 296, 474
- Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail. *See* Legion of the Archangel Michael
- Legiunea de Jandarmi. *See* Romanian Gendarmes Legion
- LFC. *See* French Legion of Veterans
- LICA. *See* International League against Antisemitism
- Ligue internationale contre l'antisemitisme. *See* International League against Antisemitism
- Lipoveni. *See* Old Believers
- Loffredo Orphanage, 444
- Eudáks. *See* Hlinka Slovak People's Party
- Luftwaffe, 133, 505, 562, 621
- MACE. *See* Christian Welcome Home for Children
- Magdelene's Hospice for the Poor (Ospizio dei Poveri della Maddalena), 402
- Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája. *See* Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews
- Magyar Párt. *See* Hungarian Party
- Magyar Testgyakorlók Köre. *See* Circle of Hungarian Fitness Activists
- MAI. *See* Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs
- Maine-et-Loire Academic Inspectorate, 186
- Maison d'Accueil Chrétienne pour Enfants. *See* Christian Welcome Home for Children
- Makabi Hacair, 882
- Manfréd Weiss Works, 331, 332
- Marele Cartier General. *See* Romanian Army General Headquarters
- Marele Stat Major. *See* Romanian Army General Staff
- Marienheim monastery, 792
- Maro Gang (Banda Maro), 43
- Marxists, 507
- Masons. *See* Freemasons
- Mattéoli Commission. *See* Study Commission on the Spoliation of the Jews of France
- Mayer Machine Works, 379, 380
- MCG. *See* Romanian Army General Headquarters
- MDVP. *See* Slovak Transportation and Public Works Ministry
- Mediterranean Niger Company (Chemins de Fer de la Méditerranée au Niger, MN), 247, 251, 254, 259, 260, 273, 277, 286, 289, 296, 297
- Megève, Medical Teaching Institutions of (Centres Scolaires Médicaux de Megév, CSMM), 534

- Mennonites, 214
 Merello Heliotherapeutic Institute (l'Istituto Elioterapico Merello), 407
 Mer-Niger Company. *See* Mediterranean Niger Company
 Mestský športový klub Žilina. *See* Municipal Sports Club Žilina
 Mezey Lumberyard, 362
 Mihai Viteazul Guard Regiment, 618
 Milan Center of Contemporary Jewish Documentation (Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea, CDEC), 404
 Milice. *See* French militia
 Milizia volontaria anticomunista. *See* Italian anti-communist voluntary militias
 Milizia volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale. *See* Italian Volunteer Militia for National Security
 Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova. *See* Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry
 Ministarstvo zdravstva. *See* Croatian Ministry of Health
 Ministère de la Production Industrielle et du Travail. *See* French Industrial Production and Labor Ministry
 Ministère des Prisonniers de guerre, Déportés et Réfugiés. *See* French Ministry of Prisoners of War, Deportees, and Refugees
 Ministero degli Affari Esteri. *See* Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry
 Ministerstvo dopravy a veřejných prác. *See* Slovak Transportation and Public Works Ministry
 Ministerstvo naobšttestvenite sgradi, pütishtata i blagoustroistvoto. *See* Bulgarian Ministry of Public Works
 Ministerstvo národnej obrany. *See* Slovak National Defense Ministry
 Ministerstvo Vnútra. *See* Slovak Interior Ministry
 Ministerstvo zahraničných vecí. *See* Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 Ministerul Afacerilor Interne. *See* Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs
 Ministerul Apărării Naționale. *See* Romanian National Defense Ministry
 MIPI. *See* Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews
 Mission d'Étude sur la Spoliation des Juifs de France, Mission Mattéoli. *See* Study Commission on the Spoliation of the Jews of France—the Mattéoli Commission
 MN Company. *See* Mediterranean Niger Company
 MNCR. *See* French National Movement against Racism
 MNO. *See* Slovak National Defense Ministry
 Moghilev Gendarmes Legion, 618, 625, 713–714, 715, 721, 752, 756, 760, 799, 804
 Moghilev Jewish Labor Office, 630, 644
 Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, 608
 Molokans, 575
 Montauban, Friends of Enlisted Volunteers (Amicale des Engagés Volontaires de Montauban), 182
 Moravod. *See* Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative
 Moroccan Sharpshooters, 2nd Regiment (Regiment de tirailleurs marocains, 2nd RTM), 284
 Moroccan Society of the Coal Mines at Djerrada (Société Chérifiennes Charbonnages de Djérada), 248
 Morocco, Eastern Railroads of, 241, 297
 Mouvement National contre le Racisme. *See* French National Movement against Racism
 Mpoumpoulina, 509
 MSM. *See* Romanian Army General Staff
 MTK. *See* Circle of Hungarian Fitness Activists
 Municipal Sports Club Žilina (Mestský športový klub Žilina), 890
 MUP. *See* Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry
 MV. *See* Slovak Interior Ministry
 MVAC. *See* Italian Anti-Communist Voluntary Militias
 MVSNI. *See* Italian Volunteer Militia for National Security
 MZ. *See* Croatian Ministry of Health
 MZV. *See* Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs
 Nalchik College of Medicine, 662
 Nancy Justice Court, 137
 Nansenhjelpen, 567
 Narodne novine, 62
 Narodnooslobođilacki pokret. *See* Yugoslav National Liberation Movement
 Národný súd. *See* Czechoslovak National Court
 Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del. *See* Romanian People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
 Nasjonal Samling. *See* Norwegian National Unity party
 National Bank of Romania. *See* Romanian National Bank
 National Society of the Red Cross of Romania (Societatea Națională de Cruce Roșie din România, SNCRR), 610, 612
 Nazi Storm Troopers (Sturmabteilungen, SA), 271, 560
 Neo-Destour Party. *See* Tunisian Neo-Destour Party
 Népbírószágok Országos Tanácsa. *See* Hungarian National Council of People's Courts
 New Constitutional Party of Tunisia. *See* Tunisian Neo-Destour Party
 NKVD. *See* Romanian People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs
 NOP. *See* Yugoslav National Liberation Movement
 Norwegian Legion (Den Norske Legion), 560
 Norwegian National Unity party (Nasjonal Samling, NS), 560, 561, 565, 566
 Norwegian paramilitary (Hirden), 561, 565, 566
 Norwegian Parliament (Storting), 560
 Norwegian Red Cross, 565
 Norwegian Reichskommissariat (Reichskommissariat Norway), 560, 561, 566
 Norwegian State Police (Statspolitiet, Stapo), 561, 565, 566, 567
 Norwegian Supreme Court, 566
 NOT. *See* Hungarian National Council of People's Courts
 NS. *See* Norwegian National Unity party
 Nyilas. *See* Arrow Cross Party
 Nyilaskeresztes Párt. *See* Arrow Cross Party
 OBE. *See* Order of the British Empire
 Oberkommando der Wehrmacht. *See* High Command of the German Armed Forces
 Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda. *See* Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work
 Ocolul Silvic. *See* Ovidiopol Forestry Department
 Odelenje specijalne policije. *See* Serbian Special Police
 Odessa 590th Infantry Battalion, 730
 Odessa Agricultural University, 730
 Odessa Office of Labor, 730
 Odessa Orthodox Church Mission Office, 730
 Oeuvre de Secours aux Enfants. *See* French Children's Aid Society
 Oeuvres sociales israélites. *See* Jewish Social Work
 OF. *See* Fatherland Front
 Office of Economic Aryanization, 240
 Office of the Military Government for Germany, United States (OMGUS), 409
 Ohel David Home and Shelter, 877
 OKW. *See* High Command of the German Armed Forces
 Old Believers, 507, 624
 Old Calendar Believers (Stiliști), 575, 680, 768
 Omada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Anaphēs. *See* Anafi, Commune of Political Exiles of
 Omada Symviōsēs Politikōn Exoristōn Pholegandrou. *See* Pholegandos, Commune of the Political Exiles of
 OMGUS. *See* Office of the Military Government for Germany, United States
 Order of the British Empire (OBE), 532
 Order Police (Ordnungspolizei, Orpo), 833, 835
 Ordine di Nostra Signora della Misericordia. *See* Our Lady of Mercy, Order of
 Ordnungspolizei. *See* German Order Police
 Organisation Todt (OT), 92, 93, 106, 114, 119, 138, 179, 205, 216, 320, 321, 477, 562, 598, 637, 650, 699, 700, 701, 731, 792, 799
 Organizația Sionistă. *See* Romanian Zionist Organization
 Organizzazione Vigilanza Repressione Antifascismo. *See* Italian Organization

- for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism
- ORI. *See* Hungarian National Rabbinical Institute
- Orpo. *See* German Order Police
- Országos Rabbiképző Intézet. *See* Hungarian National Rabbinical Institute
- ORT. *See* Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work
- Oružništvo. *See* Croatian gendarmerie
- OSE. *See* French Children's Aid Society
- Oslobodilna Fronta. *See* Slovenian Liberation Front
- OSP. *See* Serbian Special Police
- OSPB. *See* Bulgarian Ministry of Public Works (Ministerstvo naobshchestvenite sgradi, pūtishtata i blagoustroistvo, OSPB)
- OSPEA. *See* Anafi, Commune of Political Exiles of
- OSPEPh. *See* Pholegandos, Commune of the Political Exiles of
- Ospizio dei Poveri della Maddalena. *See* Magdelene's Hospice for the Poor
- OT. *See* Organisation Todt
- Otdel vremenna trudova povinnost. *See* Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor
- Otechestven Front. *See* Fatherland Front
- Our Lady of Mercy, Order of, 423
- Ovidiopol Forestry Department (Ocolul Silvic), 740
- Ovidiopol Road Directorate (Direcția Drumurilor), 740
- OVRA. *See* Italian Organization for Vigilance and Repression of Anti-Fascism
- OVTP. *See* Bulgarian Bureau of Temporary Labor
- PAI. *See* Italian Africa Police (Polizia dell'Africa Italiana, PAI)
- Palestinian Foreign Worker Group, 93, 123, 169, 233
- Parrini Company, Eugenio, 416, 424
- Parti communiste français. *See* French Communist Party
- Parti ouvrier et paysan français. *See* French Workers' and Peasants' Party
- Parti Populaire Français. *See* French Popular Party
- Parti Poulair Algérien. *See* Algerian People's Party
- Partia Fashiste Shqiptarë. *See* Albanian Fascist Party
- Partia Komuniste e Shqipërisë. *See* Albanian Communist Party
- Partido Comunista de España. *See* Spanish Communist Party
- Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña. *See* Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia
- Partidul Comunist Român. *See* Romanian Communist Party
- Partito Comunista Italiano. *See* Italian Communist Party
- Partito Nazionale Fascista. *See* Italian National Fascist Party
- Passionist Fathers, Order of, 434
- Patria e libertà. *See* Fatherland and Liberty
- Patriotic Defense (Apărarea Patriotică), 793
- PCd'I. *See* Italian Communist Party
- PCE. *See* Spanish Communist Party
- PCF. *See* French Communist Party
- PCI. *See* Italian Communist Party
- PCR. *See* Romanian Communist Party
- Pentecostals, 448, 575, 680
- People's Court Panel VII, 12, 20, 26, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42
- People's Tribunal in Kolozsvár. *See* Kolozsvár People's Tribunal
- People's Tribunal/Court in Bucharest. *See* Bucharest People's Tribunal
- Permanent Assembly of Social Workers of the Camps at Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande, 111
- Peugeot, 142
- PFSH. *See* Albanian Fascist Party
- Pholegandos, Commune of the Political Exiles of, 521
- Phónix Factory, 358
- Pious Institute of the Holy Spirit (Pio Istituto di S. Spirito), 416
- PKSh. *See* Albanian Communist Party
- Plenipotentiary of the German Foreign Office (Bevollmächtigter des Auswärtigen Amtes), 832
- Plovdiv Jewish Community Fund, 28
- PNF. *See* Italian National Fascist Party
- Poglavnik Bodyguard Battalion, 47
- POHG. *See* Hlinka Guard
- Pohotovostné oddiely Hlinkovej gardy. *See* Hlinka Guard
- Policajné riaditeľstvo v Bratislave. *See* Bratislava Police Directorate; Slovak Police Directorate in Bratislava
- Police du Territoire et des Étrangers. *See* French Police of Territory and Foreigners
- Polish Army, 275
- Polizeihaftlager. *See* SS-police detention camp
- Polizia dell'Africa Italiana. *See* Italian Africa, Police of
- POPE. *See* French Workers' and Peasants' Party
- Popular Front, 536
- Poudrerie Nationale de Toulouse. *See* Toulouse National Gunpowder Factory
- PPA. *See* Algerian People's Party
- PPF. *See* French Popular Party
- Pracovná skupina. *See* Slovak Working Group
- Premier Spahis, 282
- Presidenza del Consiglio dei ministri. *See* Italian Office of the Prime Minister
- Pretura. *See* Golta Praetor's Office
- Prisoners Office, The, 487
- Procureur de la République. *See* French Attorney General of the Republic
- Promeyrat, 220
- Propagandaabteilung Südost. *See* Serbian Propaganda Department Southeast
- Pro-Palestine League, 352
- Protecting Power, 298, 794
- Protestants of Jewish Origin of the Good Shepherd Committee (Jó Pásztor Bizottság), 368
- PSI. *See* Italian Social Democratic Party
- PSUC. *See* Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña, PSUC)
- Pubblica Sicurezza. *See* Italian Public Security
- Quakers, 177. *See also* American Friends Service Committee
- RAAF. *See* Australian Air Force
- rabotnicheskia mladezhki süioz. *See* Bulgarian Workers Youth League
- RAD. *See* Reich Labor Service
- Radio Moscow, 67
- RAF. *See* British Royal Air Force
- Ravnateljstvo melioracijskih i regulacijskih radova. *See* Croatian Directorate for Land Reclamation and Water Regulation
- Ravnateljstvo za javni red i sigurnost. *See* Croatian Directorate for Public Order and Security
- RAVSIGUR. *See* Croatian Directorate for Public Order and Security
- RCAF. *See* Canadian Air Force
- Red Army, 12, 19, 31, 34, 39, 40, 81, 83, 86, 108, 201, 279, 307, 310, 312, 325, 327, 329, 333, 335, 349, 355, 358, 363, 375, 376, 386, 574, 579, 580, 581, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 600, 604, 606–607, 608, 609, 610, 612, 613, 615, 617, 618, 621, 622, 625, 626, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 636, 637, 640, 643, 644, 645, 650, 657, 659, 660, 662, 665, 666, 667, 669, 674, 675, 677, 678, 681, 683, 685, 687, 689, 691, 693, 694, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 707, 709, 710, 711, 712, 714, 715, 716, 720, 721, 722, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 732, 733, 735, 736, 737, 740, 741, 742, 743, 745, 746, 747, 748, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 763, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 773, 774, 776, 778, 779, 780, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 791, 793, 795, 796, 798, 800, 801, 802, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 811, 812, 813, 820, 822, 825, 826, 828, 829, 849, 862, 863, 883
- Red Cross, 74, 107, 111, 114, 140, 148, 149, 153, 163, 192, 193, 203, 209, 214, 215, 222, 236, 237, 241, 391, 392, 406, 413, 415, 416, 419, 422, 428, 443, 451, 454, 458, 459, 463, 487, 490, 499, 505, 506, 507, 511, 516, 517, 518, 520, 522, 526, 565, 595, 610, 612, 619, 620, 624, 670, 697, 708, 714, 794, 815. *See also* International Committee of the Red Cross
- Reds, the. *See* Finnish Social Democratic Party
- Reformed Adventists, 575
- Regia Luogotenenza Generale. *See* Italian Royal General Lieutenancy
- Regiment de tirailleurs marocains. *See* Moroccan Sharpshooters, 2nd Regiment

- Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst, RAD), 5
- Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA), 8, 82, 83, 95, 430, 433, 537. *See also* SS-Reich Security Main Office
- Reich Traffic Directorate (Reichsverkehrsdirektion), 771
- Reichsarbeitsdienst. *See* Reich Labor Service
- Reichskommissariat Norway. *See* Norwegian Reichskommissariat
- Reichssicherheitshauptamt. *See* Reich Security Main Office
- Reichstag, 118
- Reichsverkehrsdirektion. *See* Reich Traffic Directorate
- Renault factory, 186, 188
- Repubblica di Salò, 515
- Repubblica sociale italiana. *See* Italian Social Republic
- Rescue Committee of the Zionist Organization, 578
- Riaditeľ'stvo štátnych lesov a majetkov v Banskej Bystrici. *See* Slovak Directorate of State Forests and Properties in Banská Bystrica
- Riaditeľ'stvo štátnych lesov Žarnovica. *See* Slovak Directorate of State Forests, Žarnovica
- Righteous Among the Nations, 104, 109, 116, 123, 162, 169, 204, 214, 215, 357, 582, 624, 687, 812
- Ripault gunpowder factory, 157, 158
- RKU. *See* Ukrainian Reichskommissariat
- RLG. *See* Italian Royal General Lieutenantancy
- RMAI. *See* Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs
- RN. *See* British Royal Navy
- RNR. *See* British Royal Naval Reserves
- Roata wagon factory, 730
- Roman Catholic Church, 47, 74. *See also* Vatican
- Roman Catholic Order of Notre Dame, 792
- Roman Property Management Company (Società Gestione Immobiliare Romana), 424
- Romanian Army, 312, 349, 358, 363, 574, 575, 576, 577, 590, 594, 596, 599, 600, 603, 604, 610, 615, 623, 627, 637, 638, 647, 652, 653, 654, 677, 696, 708, 710, 728, 730, 749, 750, 758, 760, 762, 764, 766, 768, 769, 770, 773, 774, 783, 786, 789, 805, 816, 820, 821, 824, 825, 827, 828, 830; I Territorial Corps/Command, 668; I Territorial Corps/Command, 623, 627, 646, 672; II Territorial Corps/Command, 574, 620, 707, 764; III Territorial Corps/Command, 615, 679, 696, 814; IV Army Corps, 649; IV Territorial Corps/Command, 574, 600, 649, 672, 678; V Territorial Corps/Command, 649, 823, 824; VI Territorial Corps/Command, 792; VII Army Corps, 654, 761; VII Territorial Corps/Command, 706; Infantry Regiments/Battalions, 609, 624, 686, 710, 730, 765, 816; Pioneer Regiments, 648, 668, 761; Roads Battalions, 574, 614, 648, 649, 668, 678, 768, 785
- Romanian Army Corps of Engineers, 573, 601
- Romanian Army General Headquarters (Marele Cartier General, MCG), 673
- Romanian Army General Staff (Marele Stat Major, MSM), 572, 573, 574, 599, 615, 619, 620, 622, 623, 627, 668, 669, 672, 682, 696, 705, 706, 707, 745, 761, 781, 794, 808, 809, 814, 818
- Romanian Autonomous Assistance Committee (Comisia de Ajutorare), 578, 579, 580
- Romanian Command Office of the Interior Defense Forces (Comandamentul Forțelor de Apărare Interioară a Teritoriului), 823, 824
- Romanian Communist Party (Partidul Comunist Român, PCR), 582
- Romanian Concrete Beams Brigade (Detașamentul de Grinzi Beton), 668–669
- Romanian Council of Ministers, 581, 582, 646, 673–674, 688, 819
- Romanian Department of Health, 729
- Romanian Department of Industries, 729
- Romanian Department of Labor, 728
- Romanian Federation of the Jewish Communities (Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România), 578, 677, 759
- Romanian Gendarmes Legion (Legiunea de Jandarmi), 589, 590, 594, 597, 602, 604, 606, 611, 613–614, 618, 625, 638, 641, 651, 654, 658, 660, 670, 675, 677, 682, 686, 690, 691, 694, 697, 699, 700, 714, 715, 717, 721, 726, 730, 732, 734, 736, 739, 742, 744, 747, 748, 752, 754, 756, 760, 762, 766, 768, 769, 773, 777, 786, 790, 799, 802, 804, 805, 807, 813, 818, 821–822
- Romanian General Inspectorate of Gendarmes, 572, 573, 600, 622, 627, 701, 777, 797
- Romanian General Inspectorate of Labor Camps and Brigades (Inspectoratul General al Taberelorși Coloanelor de Muncă), 572
- Romanian Headquarters Rear Area for the East (Comandamentul Etapelor de Est), 730, 731, 797
- Romanian Interior Ministry. *See* Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs
- Romanian Iron Guard, 347, 570
- Romanian Jewish Labor Bureau, 659, 799
- Romanian Jews, Central Bureau of. *See* Central Bureau of Romanian Jews
- Romanian Labor Battalion (Batalion de Lucru, BL), 599–600, 747
- Romanian Labor Ministry, 572, 771
- Romanian Legion of Gendarmes. *See* Romanian Gendarmes Legion
- Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs (Ministerul Afacerilor Interne, RMAI), 572, 580, 582, 610, 612, 622, 623, 624, 627, 628, 638, 673, 705, 706, 733, 744, 759, 781, 782, 789, 808, 809, 811, 812, 817
- Romanian National Bank (Banca Națională a României, BNR), 611, 638, 651, 710, 711, 768, 774
- Romanian National Defense Ministry (Ministerul Apărării Naționale), 572, 583, 646, 649, 789
- Romanian National Legionary State, 570
- Romanian People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del, NKVD), 728
- Romanian Railway Works Detachments Command (Comandamentul Detașamentelor Lucrări Căi Ferate), 817
- Romanian Railways Company (Căile Ferate Române, CFR), 654, 679, 726, 817, 823
- Romanian Rear Echelon Command, 573
- Romanian Red Cross (Crucea Roșie din România, CRR), 595, 619, 620, 624, 670, 697, 708, 714, 794, 815. *See also* National Society of the Red Cross of Romania
- Romanian Security Services (Siguranța), 670, 679, 684, 691
- Romanian War Ministry, 672
- Romanian Zionist Organization (Organizația Sionistă), 578
- Romanianization Bureau, 638
- Royal Air Force (RAF). *See* British Royal Air Force
- Royal Army. *See* British Royal Army
- Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF). *See* Australian Air Force
- Royal Bavarian Army. *See* Bavarian Army
- Royal Canadian Air Force. *See* Canadian Air Force
- Royal Hungarian Army (Honvéd). *See* Hungarian Army
- Royal Hungarian Gendarmerie. *See* Hungarian Gendarmerie
- Royal Italian Army. *See* Italian Army
- Royal Merchant Navy. *See* British Royal Merchant Navy
- Royal Naval Reserves. *See* British Royal Naval Reserves
- Royal Navy. *See* British Royal Navy
- Royal Yugoslav Army. *See* Yugoslav Army
- Royal-Hungarian Transport Firm (A.M. Kir. Rednörsegtopolyai kiségitőtonchaza), 381
- RSHA. *See* Reich Security Main Office
- RSI. *See* Italian Social Republic
- RTM. *See* Moroccan Sharpshooters, 2nd Regiment
- Ružomberok textile company, 875
- SA. *See* Nazi Storm Troopers
- Saharan Army. *See* French Saharan Army
- Saim Company, 407
- SAP. *See* Squad of Patriotic Action
- Sardinia Grenadiers. *See* Italian Army
- Sardinian Authority for Colonization (Ente Sardo di Colonizzazione, ESC), 426
- SBU. *See* Siemens Construction Union
- Schück Steam Mill, 385

- Schutzstaffel. *See* SS
- SD. *See* German Security Police and Security Service; SS Security Service
- SDK. *See* Serbian Volunteer Corps
- SDP. *See* Finnish Social Democratic Party
- SDS. *See* Serbian State Guard
- Sebenico, Commission for the Verification of War Crimes Perpetrated by the Occupiers and their Supporters in the Commune of, 556
- Second Bureau of the French General Staff, Intelligence (2ème Bureau), 263
- 2nd RTM. *See* Moroccan Sharpshooters, 2nd Regiment
- Secours National. *See* French National Relief
- Secours Suisse. *See* Swiss Relief Organization
- Secours Suisse aux Enfants. *See* Swiss Relief Organization for Children
- Selbstschutz, 606
- Serbian Education Ministry, 836, 839
- Serbian General Plenipotentiary for the Economy. *See* General Plenipotentiary for the Economy in Serbia
- Serbian Institute for Compulsory Youth Education, 836, 839–840
- Serbian Interior Ministry, 836, 839
- Serbian Orthodox Church, 369
- Serbian Propaganda Department Southeast (Propagandaabteilung Südost), 832
- Serbian Special Police (Odeljenje specijalne policije, OSP or Specijalna policija Srbije, SPS), 833, 836
- Serbian State Guard (Srpska državna straža, SDS), 835, 836, 839
- Serbian Volunteer Corps (Srpski dobrovoljački korpus, SDK), 833, 839
- Service de l'Armée de Terre. *See* French Army Service
- Service des Construction Navales. *See* French Naval Construction Service
- Service des Ponts et Chaussées de la Haute-Vienne. *See* Haute-Vienne Department of Bridges and Roads
- Service d'Ordre Légionnaire. *See* Legionary Order Service
- Service du Contrôle Social des Étrangers. *See* French Office of the Social Control of Foreigners
- Service du réfugiés espagnols. *See* Service of Spanish Refugees
- Service du Travail Obligatoire. *See* French Obligatory Labor Service
- Service of Spanish Refugees (Service du réfugiés espagnols), 257
- Service Social des Étrangers. *See* French Office of Social Services for Foreigners
- Serviciul Agricol. *See* Golta Agricultural Office
- Servizio Informazioni Militare. *See* Italian Military Intelligence Service
- Seventh-Day Adventists, 68, 320, 575, 734, 735, 811
- Shoah Foundation, 137, 217, 218, 219
- SIA. *See* International Solidarity of Anti-Fascists
- SICELP. *See* Italian Society for Construction and Public Works
- Sicherheitsdienst. *See* German Security Police and Security Service; SS Security Service
- Sicherheitspolizei. *See* German Security Police
- Siemens Construction Union (Siemens Bauunion, SBU), 320
- Šiesti Rabortný Prápor. *See* Slovak Sixth Labor Battalion
- Siguranța. *See* Romanian Security Services
- SIM. *See* Italian Military Intelligence Service
- Simoncini, 481
- Sipo. *See* German Security Police
- Sipo-SD. *See* German Security Police and Security Service
- Sisters of Marie-Joseph, 194
- Sisters of Saint Vincent Convent, 74
- Škoda ammunition factory, 859, 860
- SkR. *See* Sonderkommando Russland
- Slovak Army, 848, 859, 872, 886
- Slovak Center for the Solution of the Jewish Problem (Centrála pre riešenie židovského problému na Slovensku), 871, 885–886
- Slovak Central Economic Office (Ústredný hospodársky úrad, ÚHÚ), 845, 846
- Slovak Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps (Ústredná kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov), 848, 858, 869
- Slovak Central Office of the Autonomous Orthodox Jewish Religious Communities (Ústredná kancelária autonómnych ortodoxných židovských náboženských obcí), 872, 886
- Slovak Committee for the Solution of the Jewish Question, 844
- Slovak Communist Party (Komunistická strana Slovenská, KSS), 882
- Slovak Construction Consortium (Slovenská Konštruktíva), 864, 865
- Slovak Country Office (Krajinský úrad, KÚ), 873, 886
- Slovak Directorate of State Forests, Žarnovica (Riaditeľ'stvo štátnych lesov Žarnovica), 878
- Slovak Directorate of State Forests and Properties in Banská Bystrica (Riaditeľ'stvo štátnych lesov a majetkov v Banskej Bystrici), 862
- Slovak Educational Asylum for Women (Ženský výchovný ústav), 854
- Slovak Forced Labor Battalions, 846. *See also* Slovak Sixth Labor Battalion
- Slovak General Construction Cooperative (Všeobecné stavebné družstvo), 877
- Slovak Interior Ministry (Ministerstvo Vnútra, MV), 843, 844, 846, 847, 848, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 873, 874, 875, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 883, 884, 885, 887, 889, 890, 891
- Slovak Jewish Center (Ústredňa Židov, ÚŽ), 845, 846, 848, 855, 866, 869, 874, 875, 887, 888, 889
- Slovak Jewish Central Bureau (Židovská ústredná úradovňa, ŽÚÚ), 887
- Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative (Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo, Moravod), 866, 870, 883, 884, 891
- Slovak Military Center (Vojenské ústredie, VÚ), 848
- Slovak Ministry of Economy, 845
- Slovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministerstvo zahraničných vecí, MZV), 843, 844, 871
- Slovak National Bank (Slovenská národná banka), 858
- Slovak National Council (Slovenská národná rada, SNR), 848, 849, 854
- Slovak National Court, 854, 855, 889
- Slovak National Defense Ministry (Ministerstvo národnej obrany, MNO), 843, 845, 847, 858, 859, 860, 870, 874, 879, 883, 889, 891
- Slovak National Parliament, 843, 845
- Slovak National Uprising (Slovenské národné povstanie, SNP), 849, 857, 860, 867, 876, 882, 888, 890
- Slovak Orthodox Jewish Religious Communities, 872, 886
- Slovak People's Party. *See* Hlinka Slovak People's Party
- Slovak Police Directorate in Bratislava (Policačné riaditeľ'stvo v Bratislave), 871
- Slovak Propaganda Office (Úrad propagandy), 842, 874
- Slovak Red Cross, 854
- Slovak Sixth Labor Battalion (Šiesti Rabortný Prápor, ŠP), 845, 870, 883, 891
- Slovak State Council (Štátnarada), 843
- Slovak State Security Headquarters (Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti, ÚŠB), 843, 863, 871, 884
- Slovak Transportation and Public Works Ministry (Ministerstvo dopravy a verejných prác, MDVP), 858, 865, 869, 880
- Slovak Working Group (Pracovná skupina), 848, 877
- Slovenian Liberation Front (Oslobodilna Fronta), 442, 542
- Slovenská Konštruktíva. *See* Slovak Construction Consortium
- Slovenská národná banka. *See* Slovak National Bank
- Slovenská národná rada. *See* Slovak National Council
- Slovenské dolnomoravské vodné družstvo. *See* Slovak Lower Moravian Water Cooperative
- Slovenské národné povstanie. *See* Slovak National Uprising
- SNCRR. *See* National Society of the Red Cross of Romania
- Snem Slovenskej republiky. *See* Slovak National Parliament
- SNP. *See* Slovak National Uprising
- SNR. *See* Slovak National Council
- SNS 1. *See* Finnish-Soviet Union Peace and Friendship Society

- Società Gestione Immobiliare Romana.
See Roman Property Management Company
- Società Italiana Costruzioni e Lavori Pubblici. *See* Italian Society for Construction and Public Works
- Società Montecatini, 410
- Societatea Națională de Cruce Roșie din România. *See* National Society of the Red Cross of Romania
- Société Chérifiennes Charbonnages de Djérada. *See* Moroccan Society of the Coal Mines at Djerrada
- Society for Handicrafts and Agricultural Work (Obshchestvo remeslennogo i zemledel'cheskogo truda, ORT), 169, 209, 214
- Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, 180
- SOE. *See* British Special Operations Executive
- SOL. *See* Legionary Order Service
- Solidarité internationale antifasciste.
See International Solidarity of Anti-Fascists
- Sonderkommando 10a and 10b, 592, 604, 691, 698, 715
- Sonderkommando Russland (SkR), 592, 642, 719, 720, 777
- Soviet Army. *See* Red Army
- Soviet Committee for State Security (Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti, KGB), 808
- Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (Chrezvychainaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissii, ChGK), 650, 663, 707, 712, 737, 772
- ŠP. *See* Slovak Sixth Labor Battalion
- Spanish Communist Party (Partido Comunista de España, PCE), 113
- Spanish Red Cross, 107
- Spanish Republican Army, 107, 108, 205
- Spanish Republicans, 90, 91, 93, 108, 191, 216, 241, 255, 264, 271, 287, 900
- Specijalna policija Srbije. *See* Serbian Special Police
- Sports Club Institute, 840
- SPS. *See* Serbian Special Police
- Squad of Patriotic Action (Squadre di azione patriottica, SAP), 461
- Srpska državnastraža. *See* Serbian State Guard
- Srpski dobrovoljački korpus. *See* Serbian Volunteer Corps
- SS (Schutzstaffel), 24, 25, 35, 37, 48, 92, 96, 111, 134, 141, 144, 169, 199, 200, 216, 232, 238, 301, 306, 311, 315, 316, 323, 326, 330, 338, 339, 348, 349, 351, 356, 357, 359, 361, 362, 364, 379, 382, 385, 401, 408, 419, 431, 445, 451, 459, 528, 532, 538, 560, 561, 567, 579, 594, 602, 642, 675, 690, 699, 700, 720, 726, 743, 770, 777, 778, 786, 807, 825, 832, 833, 835, 846, 848, 863, 871, 874, 877, 879, 881, 882, 885, 895. *See also* Einsatzgruppe; Einsatzkommando; Einsatzstaffel; Higher SS and Police Leader; Waffen-SS
- SS Deutschland Regiment, 115
- SS Inspectorate of Concentration Camps (Inspektion der Konzentrationslager, IKL), 48
- SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs (Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle, VoMi), 592, 641, 642, 719, 777, 813
- SS Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst, SD), 67, 73, 83, 95, 151, 310, 348, 528, 562, 847, 894, 895, 896, 900, 901. *See also* German Security Police and Security Service
- SSCE. *See* French Office of the Social Control of Foreigners
- SSE. *See* French Office of Social Services for Foreigners
- SS-Main Office of Budget and Buildings, Office II, 24
- SS-police detention camp (Polizeihaftlager), 230
- SS-Reich Security Main Office (SS-Reichssicherheitshauptamt, SS-RSHA), 433, 845
- SS-Selbstschutz, 642
- Stapo. *See* Norwegian State Police
- Štátnarada. *See* Slovak State Council
- Statpolitiet. *See* Norwegian State Police
- Status Quo Ante synagogue, 337, 364, 370
- Stilišti. *See* Old Calendar Believers
- STO. *See* French Obligatory Labor Service
- Storm Troopers. *See* Nazi Storm Troopers
- Storting. *See* Norwegian Parliament
- 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), 92, 206
- Sturmabteilungen. *See* Nazi Storm Troopers
- Suomen Kommunistinen Puolue. *See* Finnish Communist Party
- Suomen Sosialidemokraattinen Puolue. *See* Finnish Social Democratic Party
- Suomen-Neuvostoliiton rauhan ja ystävyyden seuran. *See* Finnish-Soviet Union Peace and Friendship Society
- Superior Command FF. AA. Albania, 479, 481, 482, 487, 488, 492, 494, 499
- Superior Command of the Italian Armed Forces, "Slovenia and Dalmatia" (Comando Superiore FF. AA. "Slovenia e Dalmazia," Supersloda), 422, 476, 477, 542, 544
- Sûreté Nationale. *See* French National Police
- Šúrskej Basin State Building Office, 867
- Swiss Embassy (Italy), 413
- Swiss legation, 413, 439
- Swiss Red Cross, 148, 149, 214, 215
- Swiss Relief Organization (Secours Suisse), 177, 214, 215
- Swiss Relief Organization for Children (Secours Suisse aux Enfants), 214
- Szeged Railway Athletic Association, 375
- Tatra construction company, 868
- Tatranská construction company, 868, 869
- Tecuci Military Recruitment Center (Centrul de Recrutare Tecuci), 788
- Third French Republic. *See* French Third Republic
- Tito Partisans. *See* Yugoslav Partisans
- Toulouse, Jewish Charity Committee of, 114
- Toulouse Executive Committee, 218
- Toulouse National Gunpowder Factory (Poudrerie Nationale de Toulouse), 207
- Transnistria Department of Labor, 609, 621
- Transnistrian Government's Health Service, 662
- Traunstein District Court, 73
- Tre Venezie National Institution, 429
- Tribunale Speciale per la Difesa dello Stato. *See* Italian Special Court for the Defense of the State
- Tsardakas Group, 508
- Tunis Einsatzkommando. *See* Einsatzkommando Tunis
- Tunisian Neo-Destour Party, 144, 900
- Účastinárske Brickworks and Chemical Companies, 857–858
- UCII. *See* Union of Italian Jewish Communities
- UD-CGT. *See* French Departmental Union-General Confederation of Labor
- UGIF. *See* General Union of French Jews
- UHRO. *See* Ustaša regime
- ÚHÚ. *See* Slovak Central Economic Office
- UJRE. *See* French Jewish Union for Resistance and Mutual Aid
- Ukrainian Front, 39
- Ukrainian Nationalists, 618, 756, 769, 820
- Ukrainian Reichskommissariat (RKU), 362, 576, 577, 579, 799
- UNES. *See* Union of Electrical Concerns
- Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (Partido Socialista Unificado de Cataluña, PSUC), 113
- Unified Socialist Youth (Juventudes Socialistas Unificadas, JSU), 113
- Unió Mill, 366, 371
- L'Union Départementale-Confédération Générale du Travail. *See* French Departmental Union-General Confederation of Labor
- Union des Juifs pour la Résistance et l'Entraide. *See* French Jewish Union for Resistance and Mutual Aid
- Union des sociétés de bienfaisance israélites. *See* Union of Jewish Charitable Associations
- Union Générale des Israélites de France. *See* General Union of French Jews
- Union of Electrical Concerns (Unione Esercizi Elettrici, UNES), 460
- Union of Italian Jewish Communities (Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane, UCII), 417, 484, 496
- Union of Jewish Charitable Associations (Union des sociétés de bienfaisance israélites), 183
- Unione delle Comunità Israelitiche Italiane. *See* Union of Italian Jewish Communities

- Unione Esercizi Elettrici. *See* Union of Electrical Concerns
- Unitarian Service Committee (USC), 118
- Unitary People's Liberation Front (Jedinstveni narodnooslobodilački, JNOF), 551
- United Combative Organization of Labor (Združena Borbeno Organizacija Rada, Zbor), 832, 833, 836, 839
- United Nations, 392
- United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), 242
- United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC), 523, 532
- United States Armed Forces, 849, 894
- United States Army, 130, 137, 253
- United States Army Air Force (USAAF), 30, 117, 280, 333, 438, 618, 793
- United States consulates (Africa), 261, 275, 298
- United States Embassy (Italy), 467
- United States Office of the Military Government for Germany. *See* Office of the Military Government for Germany, United States
- United States State Department, 242, 794
- UNRRA. *See* United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
- UNS. *See* Ustaša Security Police
- UNWCC. *See* United Nations War Crimes Commission
- Upper Bácska Mill, 382, 383
- Úrad propagandy. *See* Slovak Propaganda Office
- USAAF. *See* United States Army Air Force
- ÚŠB. *See* Slovak State Security Headquarters
- USC. *See* Unitarian Service Committee
- USIKS. *See* Ustaša Disciplinary and Criminal Court
- Ustaša Battalions, 56, 59, 61, 63, 69, 70, 75, 440, 832
- Ustaša Defense (Ustaška obrana), 59, 61, 63
- Ustaša Disciplinary and Criminal Court (Ustaški stegovni i kazneni sud, USIKS), 56
- Ustaša militia, 47, 49, 57, 59, 68
- Ustaša (Ustaše) regime, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 401, 440, 476, 546
- Ustaša Security Police (Ustaška Nadzorna Služba, UNS), 45, 48, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 69, 71, 76
- Ustaška Nadzorna Služba. *See* Ustaša Security Police
- Ustaška obrana. *See* Ustaša Defense
- Ustaški stegovni i kazneni sud. *See* Ustaša Disciplinary and Criminal Court
- Ústredná kancelária autonómnych ortodoxných židovských náboženských obcí. *See* Slovak Central Office of the Autonomous Orthodox Jewish Religious Communities
- Ústredná kancelária pre pracovné tábory Židov. *See* Slovak Central Office for Jewish Labor Camps
- Ústredňa štátnej bezpečnosti. *See* Slovak State Security Headquarters
- Ústredňa Židov. *See* Slovak Jewish Center
- Ústredný hospodársky úrad. *See* Slovak Central Economic Office
- ÚŽ. *See* Slovak Jewish Center
- Vaada. *See* Zionist Aid and Rescue Committee in Budapest
- Va'adat ha-'ezrah vaha-hatsalah be-Budapesht. *See* Zionist Aid and Rescue Committee in Budapest
- Valpo. *See* Finnish security police
- Valtioliinpoliisi. *See* Finnish security police
- Vatican, 435, 454, 847, 848
- Vichy Interior Ministry. *See* French/Vichy Interior Ministry
- Vichy Office of Economic Aryanization, 240
- Vichy paramilitary. *See* French Mobile Reserve Group
- Vlaamsch Nationaal Verbond. *See* Flemish National Union
- VNV. *See* Flemish National Union
- Vojenské ústredie. *See* Slovak Military Center
- Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle. *See* SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs
- Volunteers engaged in the French Foreign Legion for the duration of the war. *See* French Foreign Legion for the duration of the War
- VoMi. *See* SS Office for Ethnic German Affairs
- Všeobecné stavebné družstvo. *See* Slovak General Construction Cooperative
- VÚ. *See* Slovak Military Center
- Waffen-SS, 121, 321, 747
- Wehrmacht, 2, 5, 10, 92, 134, 153, 169, 171, 182, 210, 306, 346, 422, 425, 442, 445, 516, 550, 562, 575, 576, 615, 620, 621, 672, 792, 793, 894, 895. *See also* German Army, Luftwaffe
- Welfare Bureau of Hungarian Jews (Magyar Izraeliták Pártfogó Irodája, MIPI), 303, 334, 338, 346, 368
- Whites, the (Finland), 80
- Wiesbaden (Armistice) Commission, 139
- WJC. *See* World Jewish Congress
- Workers' International, 536
- World Jewish Congress (WJC), 229, 578
- Yad Vashem, 104, 109, 116, 123, 162, 167, 169, 203–204, 214, 215, 346, 357, 582, 624, 687, 800, 812
- Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 169, 207, 209, 214, 253
- Yugoslav Army, 46, 75, 427, 476, 482, 486, 493, 494, 495, 550, 792, 836
- Yugoslav Communist Party, 70, 486
- Yugoslav Federation of Jewish Communities, 555
- Yugoslav National Liberation Army, 836
- Yugoslav National Liberation Movement (Narodnooslobodilački pokret, NOP), 70, 382
- Yugoslav Navy, 418
- Yugoslav Partisans, 39, 49, 62, 63, 65, 70, 108, 354, 446, 540, 542, 544, 547, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 557, 793, 833, 835, 839, 840
- Yugoslav Sokol, 74
- Yugoslav State Commission to Investigate Crimes by the Occupiers and their Collaborators (Državna komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača, DK), 836, 840
- Yugoslav War Crimes Commission, 65
- Zagreb Academy of Fine Arts, 547
- ZALDJ. *See* Hungarian labor camps for Jews
- ZALfJ. *See* German forced labor camps for Jews
- Zanetti Company, 448
- Zapovjedništvo sabirnih logora Jasenovac. *See* Jasenovac Assembly Camps
- Zavod za prinudno vaspitanje omladine. *See* Serbian Institute for Compulsory Youth Education
- Zbor. *See* United Combative Organization of Labor
- ZdL. *See* Central Office for State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes
- Združena Borbeno Organizacija Rada. *See* United Combative Organization of Labor
- Ženský výchovný ústav. *See* Slovak Educational Asylum for Women
- Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen, ZdL. *See* Central Office for State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes
- Židovská ústredná úradovňa. *See* Slovak Jewish Central Bureau
- Zionist Aid and Rescue Committee in Budapest (Va'adat ha-'ezrah vaha-hatsalah be-Budapesht, Vaada), 357
- Zionist organizations, 357, 578, 882
- Zoodochos Pigi, 523
- ŽÚÚ. *See* Slovak Jewish Central Bureau
- Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden. *See* German forced labor camps for Jews